Ars Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.

FROM THE ISABELLA MISSAL



BRITISH MUSEUM ADD. MSS., 18,851
CIRCA 1500 A.D.

EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY W. J. SONGHURST, P.G.D.,
AND LIONEL VIBERT, P.A.G.D.C.

VOLUME XLI. PART 1.

CONTENTS.

W. J. PARRETT, LTD., PRINTERS, MARGATE.
1929

THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

was warranted on the 28th November, 1884, in order

1.—To provide a centre and bond of union for Masonic Students.

2.—To attract intelligent Masons to its meetings, in order to imbue them with a love for Masonic research.

3.—To submit the discoveries or conclusions of students to the judgment and criticism of their fellows by means of papers read in Lodge.

4.—To submit these communications and the discussions arising therefrom to the general body of the Craft by publishing, at proper intervals, the Transactions of the Lodge in their entirety.

5.—To tabulate concisely, in the printed Transactions of the Lodge, the progress of the Craft throughout the World.

6.—To make the English-speaking Craft acquainted with the progress of Masonic study abroad, by translations (in whole or part) of foreign works.

7.—To reprint scarce and valuable works on Freemasonry, and to publish Manuscripts, &c.

8.—To form a Masonic Library and Museum.

9.—To acquire permanent London premises, and open a reading-room for the members.

The membership is limited to forty, in order to prevent the Lodge from becoming unwieldy.

No members are admitted without a high literary, artistic, or scientific qualification.

The annual subscription is one guinea, and the fees for initiation and joining are twenty guineas and five guineas respectively.

The funds are wholly devoted to Lodge and literary purposes, and no portion is spent in refreshment. The members usually dine together after the meetings, but at their own individual cost. Visitors, who are cordially welcome, enjoy the option of partaking—on the same terms—of a meal at the common table.

The stated meetings are the first Friday in January, March, May, and October, St. John's Day (in Harvest), and the 8th November (Feast of the Quatuor Coronati).

At every meeting an original paper is read, which is followed by a discussion.

The *Transactions* of the Lodge, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, are published towards the end of April, July, and December in each year. They contain a summary of the business of the Lodge, the full text of the papers read in Lodge together with the discussions, many essays communicated by the brethren but for which no time can be found at the meetings, biographies, historical notes, reviews of Masonic publications, notes and queries, obituary, and other matter. They are profusely illustrated and handsomely printed.

The Antiquarian Reprints of the Lodge, *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*, appear at undefined intervals, and consist of facsimiles of documents of Masonic interest with commentaries or introductions by brothers well informed on the subjects treated of.

The Library has now been arranged at No. 27, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, where Members of both Circles may consult the books on application to the Secretary.

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers about 3500 members, comprising many of the most distinguished brethren of the Craft, such as Masonic Students and Writers, Grand Masters, Grand Secretaries, and nearly 300 Grand Lodges, Supreme Councils, Private Lodges, Libraries and other corporate bodies.

The members of our Correspondence Circle are placed on the following footing:—

1.—The summonses convoking the meeting are posted to them regularly. They are entitled to attend all the meetings of the Lodge whenever convenient to themselves, but, unlike the members of the Inner Circle, their attendance is not even morally obligatory. When present they are entitled to take part in the discussions on the papers read before the Lodge, and to introduce their personal friends. They are not visitors at our Lodge meetings, but rather associates of the Lodge.

2.—The printed *Transactions* of the Lodge are posted to them as issued.

3.—They are, equally with the full members, entitled to subscribe for the other publications of the Lodge, such as those mentioned under No. 7 above.

4.—Papers from Correspondence Members are gratefully accepted, and as far as possible, recorded in the *Transactions*.

5.—They are accorded free admittance to our Library and Reading Rooms.

A Candidate for Membership in the Correspondence Circle is subject to no literary, artistic, or scientific qualification. His election takes place at the Lodge-meeting following the receipt of his application.

Brethren elected to the Correspondence Circle pay a joining fee of twenty-one shillings, which includes the subscription to the following 30th November.

The annual subscription is only half-a-guinea (10s. 6d.), and is renewable each December for the following year. Brethren joining us late in the year suffer no disadvantage, as they receive all the *Transactions* previously issued in the same year.

It will thus be seen that for only half the annual subscription, the members of the Correspondence Circle enjoy all the advantages of the full members, except the right of voting in Lodge matters and holding office.

Members of both Circles are requested to favour the Secretary with communications to be read in Lodge and subsequently printed. Members of foreign jurisdictions will, we trust, keep us posted from time to time in the current Masonic history of their districts. Foreign members can render still further assistance by furnishing us at intervals with the names of new Masonic Works published abroad, together with any printed reviews of such publications.

Members should also bear in mind that every additional member increases our power of doing good by publishing matter of interest to them. Those, therefore, who have already experienced the advantage of association with us, are urged to advocate our cause to their personal friends, and to induce them to join us. Were each member annually to send us one new member, we should soon be in a position to offer them many more advantages than we already provide. Those who can help us in no other way, can do so in this.

Every Master Mason in good standing throughout the Universe, and all Lodges, Chapers, and Masonic Libraries or other corporate bodies are eligible as Members of the Correspondence Circle.

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum,

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

Quatuor Coronati Lodge of A.F. & A.M., London,

No. 2076.

VOLUME XLI.

FRIDAY, 6th JANUARY, 1928.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. George Norman, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, I.P.M.; Rev. H. Poole, P.Pr.G.Ch., Cumberland & Westmorland, S.W.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; Gilbert W. Daynes, S.D.; J. Walter Hobbs, P.A.G.D.C., J.D.; W. J. Williams, I.G.; Thos. M. Carter, P.Pr.G.St.B., Bristol, Stew.; Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., P.M.; A. Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M.; and J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Ivor Grantham, E. Warburton, I. V. Hall, C. Komierowski, Geo. Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., T. E. Scott, P.A.G.D.C., A. V. Elder, Wm. E. A. Candy, J. E. Whitty, F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., H. Johnson, Ed. M. Phillips, F. J. Asbury, P.A.G.D.C., C. E. L. Livesey, Ed. B. Holmes, K. Eckenstein, A. Strange, E. W. Marson, A. B. Napier, W. D. Vallance, W. P. Le Feuvre, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., F. Vuillermoz, B. Ivanoff, A. Regnauld, B. Telepneff, A. E. Gurney, L. G. Wearing, F. M. Atkinson, P. H. Horley, S. C. Keville, F. K. Jewson, R. J. Sadleir, G. T. Lee, C. F. Sykes, C. F. Tyson, W. Emerson, Willoughby Bullock, Wm. Lewis, W. Brinkworth, H. A. Matheson, A. D. Bowl, and S. J. Smith.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. S. Bullett, W.M., Mornington Lodge No. 1672; G. Chadwick, I.G., Marble Craft Lodge No. 3522; J. Rockliff, Euphrates Lodge No. 212; W. J. Ross, P.M., Carrington Lodge No. 2421; F. W. MacKenzie Skues, Authors Lodge No. 3456; and G. Lidstone Crimp, P.M., Sir Thomas White Lodge No. 1820.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Ed. Conder, L.R., P.M.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; Rodk. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; Edward Armitage, P.G.D., Treasurer; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; John Stokes, P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M.; and J. E. S. Tuckett, P.A.G.S.B., P.M.

Congratulations were offered to Bro. John Heron Lepper on his appointment as Past Grand Deacon in the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and to Bro. John Stokes who had been appointed Provincial Assistant Grand Master of the Province of West Yorkshire.

One Lodge and Thirty-six Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Secretary drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. Lionel Vibert, of Bath.

Apron, possibly of the Order of Free Gardeners. Dark blue serge about 19in. deep by 16in. wide. Design is entirely painted and consists of an irradiated Eye, Sun, Moon and seven Stars, Rainbow, Dove and Olive branch, Bell, Pomegranate, Bible with Square and Compasses, terrestrial Globe, Crown with Sceptre and Sword, Beehive, Pineapple, Square and Compasses with one point raised, the letters P E G H, Monograms ANS and AES. The Apron is edged with yellow braid, and it has no fall.

By Bro. W. Emerson, of London.

Jewel. Engraved P.M.'s, about 1800, originally belonging to Jas. Ridler; Birr, King's Co., Ireland.

By Bro. T. E. Scott, P.A.G.D.C., of London.

Medal, Silver. Bath Masonic Hall. 1819.

By Bro. John Hill, of Birmingham.

Jewel. Birmingham New Masonic Hall; Inauguration Festival. 1927. *Presented.*

By Bro. Capt. C. Plenderleath, of Devon.

Certificate:

JAS. LUMSDAINE S, By the Supereminently Beneficent and Superlatively Benevolent SIR JAMES LUMSDAINE Sovereign of the most Ancient and most puissant Order of the BEGGARS BENNISON and MERRYLAND in the Nineteenth year of his GUARDIANSHIP and in that of the Order 5793.

HAVING nothing more sincerely at Heart than the Happiness and Prosperity of our Well beloved Subjects the Inhabitants of our celebrated Territories of MERRYLAND and the Encouraging of Trade, Manufactures & Agriculture in that delightful Colony: and Whereas We are fully satisfied that WILLIAM ROBERTS Esquire of the Twenty first Regiment of foot * * * * has all manner of Inclination as well as sufficient Abilities and other necessary Qualifications for promoting these Noble and Laudable purposes and willing that such bold Adventurers should have all suitable Encouragement. We DO hereby Create, admit and receive Him a Knight Companion of the most ancient and most Puissant Order of the BEGGARS BENNISON and MERRYLAND by the Name Stile and Title of Sir WILLIAM ROBERTS to be used and enjoyed by him in all time coming With our full powers and priviledges of INGRESS EGRESS and REGRESS from and to, and to and from all the Harbours, Creeks, Havens and Commodious Inlets upon the Coasts of our said Extensive Territories at His pleasure, and that without payment of Toll CUSTOM or any other Taxes or Impositions whatsoever—

DONE at the BEGGARS BENNISON Chambers of ANSTRUTHER upon this Twenty second day of the Month known to the Vulgar by the name of May

P. Plenderleath D.R.

WITNESS I the RECORDER

[Endorsement.]

DIPLOMA
the
BEGGARS BENNISON
In Honor of
Sir William Roberts
5793

[*A.Q.C.* xxix. (1916), p. 34:—

BEGGARS' BENISON or the BEGGARS' BENISON CLUB. This was a powerful Order, instituted at Anstruther in Scotland in 1739, and lasting till about 1830. It was an association of gentlemen, including eminent men of all classes, noblemen and even some members of the Royal Family, whose object it was to form a collection of facetious articles of all kinds. The entrance fee was ten guineas.]

A cordial vote of thanks was accorded to the Brethren who had kindly lent these objects for exhibition, and made presentations to the Lodge.

Bro. H. C. de Lafontaine read the following paper:—

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

BY BRO. H. T. C. DE LAFONTAINE, P.G.D.

"DR. FRANKLIN, who has lately arrived in this country from the English colonies, is much run after and feted by our 'savants.' He has a fine physiognomy, but little hair, and he constantly wears a fur cap. He is very reserved when in public on the news from his country, though he is never tired of speaking of its natural beauties. In fact he says that heaven is so jealous of this same beauty that it has sent down upon it the scourge of war. Our wise-acres have diplomatically sounded him on the point of religion, and they have believed that he is one with them in this respect, viz., that he has none at all."

These words are taken from the French archives, and are embodied in a report made by the police soon after Franklin's arrival in Paris. I say "soon after Franklin's arrival," but for those who are precisians I may add *that* it was after a period of three weeks that this report was made, so we may conjecture that he had been shadowed during that time, and subjected to a certain amount of espionage.

Our immediate purpose in this paper is to trace, so far as is possible, the career of Franklin as a Mason in America, and also in France. As a man, Franklin presents to us an amazing personality, whether we survey him as a man of science and inventor of many things that we use without being conscious of their inventor; or as a diplomat, who, though entangled in the thorns and briers of political controversy in this country, freed himself to become the emancipator of the country of his birth; or as a poor lad who rose from obscurity and diligent painstaking toil to stand in the presence of kings: or as one who by his *bonhomie* and infinite tact, combined with an admirable spirit of *finesse*, moved amongst the highest in the land in France, and was hailed by the French populace as a sort of demi-god; or as one who, though beset by sins, was not ashamed in a spirit of transparent honesty to confess the same, and to raise himself by dominant force of will to a position of integrity and deserved honour. We might survey Franklin under any of these aspects, and that with moral advantage to ourselves and to our neighbours. His career is throughout a most fascinating study, and a moral tonic to any temporarily enervated system. His Autobiography is, I suppose, not so widely read to-day as in former times, but everyone should be acquainted with it, and it should be a handbook in the course of education imparted to a rising generation. Some people have sniffed at Franklin, because at the outset he did not enter into lawful wedlock, and therefore allowed his son to be born into the world with the slur of illegitimacy upon him, and others have considered that because he was a Dissenter he was not worth consideration, and could be dismissed as only another 'Jeremiah Square-Toes.' Such an attitude of mind calls to memory the title of a work by Dumas, *Les Grands Hommes en Robe de Chambre*. "No man is a hero to his own valet" is the saying, but least of all to any crowd of sneering, cynical, surface-praising hypocrites, who are always announcing to the world their good intentions. However, all must be free to form their own opinions, and what I have just written may be more an expression of 'genuine Franklinese' than my own immediate thoughts on the matter. But all this is beyond the point, which is, as I have already stated, to consider

Franklin as a Mason. In this regard, one is placed somewhat in a difficulty, for in his voluminous correspondence, and in his writings, as also in his Journal, Franklin never gives us any details respecting his Masonic career. There may be, indeed there are, one or two rare exceptions, but these are statements in the most guarded language. And in this connection, we must remember that in those early days men did not go about chattering Freemasonry with the same dangerous licence that they do at the present time. It was judged, and rightly judged, that if the society were secret, it was not a thing to be talked about in the profane world. The publicity of the Freemasonry of to-day is, if persisted in, bound to shake forcibly the foundations of the society and hasten a process of disintegration. As a question of research, it is, of course, a disappointment to find that Franklin was so rigidly reticent, but, on the other hand, I suppose we must all admire a loyal respect for the traditions of the Craft. Some one may say to me, "We have heard that Franklin published various items of Masonic interest in his newspaper: how does that accord with your statements?" I know, and I shall presently show you, that Franklin *did* print these things as items of news in just the same way that you find them in our early newspapers. What I am alluding to is the manner of his ordinary converse with the men of his time, whether by open speech, or written word. Looking at the paucity of statement already mentioned, we find ourselves compelled to form some more or less adequate picture by piecing together scraps of information drawn from various sources, and not yielding a ready facility to be woven into a homogeneous whole. I can only, therefore, give you the result of my own research, which is small and scanty, and leave you yourselves to fill up all the chinks and crannies. It may be as well to state at the outset that Franklin was born in Boston on January 17, 1706. He left Boston in 1723, and settled in Philadelphia, after a trip to London, in 1726. Bro. Sachse tells us "that while in London Franklin had undoubtedly learned something about the Craft . . . the knowledge thus obtained appears to have quickened the ambitious philosophic brain of the young printer upon the subject of Freemasonry, and whetted his desire to be numbered amongst the elect: an ambition not to be realized under existing conditions, as he was then still under the lawful Masonic age and a journeyman printer, a virtual stranger in the community, and as a mere soap-boiler's son, lacking both social and financial standing." When Franklin returned to Philadelphia, he put this knowledge to some purpose by establishing a secret society of his own. This was called the "Leather Apron Club," but in later years it became known as "The Junto."[1] And here Franklin himself shall interpose, and tell you in his own words somewhat of this association: "We met on Friday evenings. The rules that I drew up required that every member, in his turn should produce one or more queries on any point of Morals, Politics, or Natural Philosophy to be discuss'd by the company: and once in three months produce and read an essay of his own writing, on any subject he pleased. Our debates were to be under the direction of a president, and to be conducted in the sincere spirit of inquiry after truth, without fondness for dispute, or desire for victory: and, to prevent warmth, all expressions of positiveness in opinions, or direct contradiction, were after some time made contraband, and prohibited under small pecuniary penalties." Parton, in his voluminous and exhaustive "Life of Franklin," mentions that there was a little book read by Franklin in his youth, and it was this same book apparently that sowed the brain-seeds that led, as a fruitful outcome, to the establishment of the Junto. Franklin again speaketh, and this time in a letter to a Mr. Samuel Mather: "When I was a boy I met with a book entitled 'Essays to do Good,' which I think was written by your father, Cotton Mather. It had been so little regarded by a former possessor that several leaves of it were torn out: but the remainder gave me such a turn of thinking as to have an influence on my conduct through life . . . If I have been, as you seem to

[1] The word "Junto" is rather an uncommon term. It is really a Spanish word, "Junta," pronounced "hunta," meaning "a secret society or confederation." "Junto" is the Portuguese form of the word. It may be that Franklin became acquainted with this term during his early sea-journeyings.

think, a useful citizen, the public owe the advantage of it to that book." Cotton Mather was the son of Increase Mather, the latter being so named in accordance with the peculiar nomenclature adopted by the Puritans. Both father and son were what was known as "ministers of the Gospel" in Boston. Cotton Mather was the originator of a kind of Neighbourhood Benefit Societies, one of which he endeavoured to form in each church. "He drew up," says his biographer, "certain Points of Consideration to be, with due pauses, read in the Societies every time they met, for any to offer what Proposal he pleased upon any of the points at the Reading of it . . . There were ten of these Points, and No. 9 read, 'Do we know of any Person languishing under sore and sad Affliction: and is there any thing we may do for the Succor of such an afflicted Neighbour?'"

As additional information with regard to the Junto, I may mention that a candidate for admission was obliged to declare, standing with one hand laid upon his breast, that he had no particular disrespect for any member of the Junto: that he loved mankind in general, of whatsoever profession or religion; that he thought no person ought to be harmed in his body, name, or goods, for mere speculative opinion, or for his external way of worship: that he loved the truth for the truth's sake, and would endeavour impartially to find and receive it, and communicate it to others.

I have purposely dwelt at some length on the character of this society, because we so evidently have here in view an interesting chain of events which come to fruition in the full light of Masonry. First, we have the idea suggested to the boy's mind germinating therein, and later bringing forth buds in the establishment of the Leather Apron Club, and then the full flower blossoms out as the Junto. So that we safely say that even from his youthful years there were in Franklin the makings of a good and honest Mason. Probably Cotton Mather had no idea of such an eventual happening when he wrote his book, but who can tell what a seed dropped in fruitful soil may bring forth?

When Franklin became publisher of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in 1728, his leanings towards Masonry were again betrayed in the fact that between July and August, 1730, no less than three items of Masonic news, taken from London papers, and all relating to English Lodges, were inserted in the *Gazette*. One of these items was an account of a Lodge meeting held at the Horn Tavern in London on May 12, 1730. At the end of 1730 Franklin printed in the *Gazette* an alleged *exposé* of Freemasonry which had been circulated for some time in England. Let us hope he did this innocently, if unwisely. It is only fair to say that after he became a Mason he endeavoured, in reparation of his unfortunate action (for so he seems to have regarded it), to set Masonry before the community in its proper light. He therefore printed in the issues of the *Gazette* for May 6 to 13, 1731, "Some information concerning the Society called Free Masons." This, strange to say, was in the form of an extract from *Chamber's Universal Dictionary of all Arts and Sciences*, he having borrowed this volume from his employer's office.

Early in 1731 we find Franklin initiated, passed, and raised to the sublime degree of a Master Mason in St. John's Lodge, held at the Sun Tavern, in Water Street, Philadelphia. The cost of his entrance fee was three pounds, two of which were not paid until the following St. John the Baptist's Day. "The exact date of Franklin's initiation is not known, but it was before the legal year of 1730 expired, evidently in February 1730-1." I notice that Bro. Johnson in his book, *The Beginnings of Freemasonry in America*, says with decision, "Franklin was made a Mason during this month (February) in Philadelphia." And he goes on to add that he was made "in an assemblage of Brethren which met 'according to the Old Customs,' although that method had for ten years been forbidden. Although irregular, they undoubtedly met and worked in Philadelphia as well as in Boston and perhaps elsewhere. They became regular in Pennsylvania after February 21, 1734-5."

Let us take it, so far as Franklin's entry into Masonry is concerned, that it was in February, 1730-1. We are told, as an addendum to this, that in June

he became Master of St. John's Lodge, and that in the next year on June 24 he was appointed Junior Grand Warden. (This meteoric course almost takes one's breath away.) Further, that on St. John the Baptist's Day in 1734 he was installed Grand Master of Pennsylvania. In November of that same year, 1734, Franklin writes to the Grand Master and Grand Lodge of Massachusetts: "We have seen in the Boston prints an article of news from London, importing that at a Grand Lodge held there in August last Mr. Price's deputation and Power was extended over all America, which advice we hope is true . . . and though this has not been as yet regularly signified to us by you, yet, giving credit thereto, we think it our duty to lay before your Lodge what we apprehend needful to be done for us . . . to wit, a Deputation or Charter granted by the R.W. Mr. Price, by virtue of his commission from Britain, confirming the brethren of Pennsylvania in the privileges they at present enjoy of holding annually their Grand Lodge, choosing their Grand Master, Wardens, and other officers, who may manage all affairs relating to the Brethren here with full power and authority . . . the said Grand Master of Pennsylvania only yielding his chair when the said Grand Master of all America shall be in place." [etc.] Franklin, in a letter, written in a friendly manner to Bro. Price [1] (probably a covering letter to the more formal one), says: "Dear Brother Price, I have no room to flatter myself with a visit from you before the Spring, when a deputation of the Brethren here will have an opportunity of showing how much they esteem you. I beg leave to recommend their request to you, and to inform you that some false and rebel Brethren, who are foreigners, being about to set up a distinct Lodge in opposition to the old and true Brethren here, pretending to make Masons for a bowl of punch, the Craft is likely to come into disesteem among us unless the true Brethren are countenanced and distinguished by some special authority as herein desired." [etc.] There is unfortunately not in existence any reply to these letters, nor is there any copy of a Deputation or Charter which may have been granted.

In 1735 there appeared in the *American Weekly Mercury* the following notice:—"Boston, Feb. 24. On Friday last was held a Grand Lodge of that Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in King Street, where Mr. Henry Price, Grand Master of His Majesty's Dominions in North America, Nominated and Appointed his Grand Officers for the year ensuing viz. Andrew Belcher, Esq., Deputy Grand Master: Mr. James Gordon and Mr. Frederick Hamilton, Grand Wardens for this Province; and Mr. Benjamin Franklin, Provincial Grand Master for the Province of Pennsylvania." It is said that this was the first exercise by any Masonic authority in America of the right to grant provincial Masonic powers.

Two of the editorials printed by Franklin in his *Gazette* are supposed to have been originally delivered by him as addresses to the Brethren of St. John's Lodge. The one was entitled "On the Usefulness of Mathematics," and the other, "Self-Denial not the Essence of Virtue." Masonic notices still continued to be published in the *Gazette*. Thus in 1735 we have "A Notice of the Grand Lodge of Ireland"; in 1736, "Freemasons' Parade in London"; in 1737, "Election of Grand Master of Scotland," also, "A Freemason's Funeral at London." But some of the notices which appeared a little later on were not of the same peacable character. Indeed, two which were published in 1737 laid open the door for attack, and Franklin, in the lamentable incident

[1] The Henry Price to whom allusion is here made was born in London about 1697. "The only information concerning his life prior to 1733 is obtained from his gravestone, except that it is recorded in the Minutes of the Grand Lodge of England that in 1730 he was a member of Lodge No. 75, meeting at the Rainbow Coffee House in York Buildings." This old gravestone, having fallen into disrepair, was moved to the Temple in Boston. The epitaph on it commences thus: "Henry Price, Esq. was born in London about the Year of our Lord 1697 he removed to Boston about the Year 1723 Rec^{d}. a Deputation appointing him Grand Master of Masons in New England." It then proceeds to expatiate on his qualities and virtues, a matter which does not immediately concern us. It is said that he presided over the Grand Lodge as late as April, 1773, in the absence of Grand Master John Rowe, although he then lived over forty miles distant and was seventy-six years of age.

now to be related, was accused of connivance therein, even although he did not happen to be present.

In the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 9 to 16, 1737, there appeared the following announcement:—"We hear that on Monday night last, some people, pretending to be Free Masons, got together with a young man, who was desirous of being made one, and in the ceremonies, they threw some burning spirits upon him, either accidentally, or to terrify him, which burnt him so that he was obliged to take his bed, and died this morning." In the next issue, June 16 to 23, there was this further announcement: "The Coroner's Inquest on the body of the young man mentioned in our last, found that his death was occasioned by the burning spirits thrown upon him, but that as far as it appeared to them, by the evidence they had, the throwing of these spirits upon him was accidental. 'Tis said, however, since the Inquest, further evidence has been given to the Magistrate that it was a voluntary action." The upshot of this was that three of the principals engaged in this degrading burlesque of Masonry were indicted for murder by the Grand Jury. The case was tried during the last week in January, 1737, in the Court of Oyer and Terminer. The trial of Dr. Evan Jones (whose apprentice was the victim) lasted fifteen hours, at the end of which time the jury brought in a verdict of manslaughter. He was at once sentenced and burnt in the hand. Remington, Attorney at Law, was also convicted, but later received a pardon. Tackerbury, who it was charged was an expelled or renegade Mason, was acquitted. This was altogether an unfortunate incident for Franklin, coming as it did so early in his Masonic career, and his enemies did not scruple to make capital out of his alleged participation. What was still more unfortunate was that the account of the tragedy and the subsequent acrimonious controversy in the local Press came to the notice of Franklin's relatives in Massachusetts, and letters were written to him, asking for an explanation and telling him of his mother's state of great anxiety. Franklin hastened to allay those domestic fears by writing to his father. In the letter he says: "As to the freemasons, I know no way of giving my mother a better account of them than she seems to have at present, since it is not allowed that women should be admitted into that secret society. She has, I must confess, on that account, some reason to be displeased with it; but for anything else I must entreat her to suspend her judgment until she is better informed, unless she will believe me when I assure her that they are in general a very harmless sort of people, and have no principles or practices that are inconsistent with religion and good manners." This letter appears to have given complete satisfaction, for Franklin, in a further letter to his father, which letter begins, "Honoured Father" (how far we have declined in filial respect in these days of juvenile emancipation), says: "It gave me great Pleasure when she [*i.e.*, his mother] declared in her next to me that she approved of my letter and was satisfy'd with me." It is said that the first letter from which I have quoted is the only one, except the Price correspondence, wherein Franklin mentions Freemasonry.

Having got rid of this unpleasant matter, let us once more turn to the ordinary course of events. Despite all the pother and excitement over this murder trial, a notice in the *Gazette*, in the issue of June 23 to 30, informs us that "Fryday last was held at the Indian King in this city [Philadelphia] a Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, when William Plumbsted was unanimously chosen Grand Master of the Province," [etc.] In one of the issues of the *Gazette* in the succeeding month, reference is made to the feast of the Grand Lodge of England on the occasion of the installation of the Grand Master. After this date Masonic notices appear at very rare intervals in the *Gazette*, possibly owing to the troublous times which had set in. Masonry in Philadelphia was now passing through a fiery ordeal, largely owing to a considerable antagonism from the German element in the population. So that from the year 1738 to the year 1740 there are only two reprints from London, one relating to the burning of a Freemason in Rome, and the other to the appointment of Lord Raymond as Grand Master. During the next fourteen

years no mention is made of the Craft either in the reading or advertising columns of the *Gazette*. There may have been two reasons for this omission of Masonic news-items. Franklin had taken on much public business, and he therefore could no longer give undivided attention to his newspaper, and was obliged to leave the management thereof to his assistants. As they were not Masons, they would necessarily not be searching about for scraps of information concerning the Craft. That is one reason, and the other is that we may well imagine that it had been generally advised that no further publicity should be given to Masonry other than what was absolutely essential. It is significant that in the account of the dedication of the Freemason Hall of Philadelphia, not a single participant, except a few of the executive officers, is mentioned by name in the public prints of the day.

In 1743 the Rt. Hon. John Ward, Grand Master of England, nominated Thomas Oxnard to the same post that Price had formerly held, and Oxnard in 1749 appointed Franklin once more to the Provincial Grand Mastership of Philadelphia. Franklin's term of office, however, was of short duration, for in 1750 he was succeeded by William Allen, who then appointed Franklin to be his Deputy. This position Franklin retained, even after his departure for England in 1757 to present a petition to Parliament as the agent of the Assembly, and to urge the rights of the Province. There was now a movement for another Lodge in Philadelphia, and the warrant for its establishment, as it came from England, bore the signature, "William Lord Byron, Baron of Rochdale, in the county of Lancaster, Grand Master." This new Lodge was known for a time as the "First Lodge," although St. John's Lodge was No. 1, but it afterwards became No. 2, St. John's retaining its rightful position as No. 1. The other Philadelphian Lodge, The Tun Tavern Lodge, became No. 3. It is interesting to note that William Franklin, Benjamin's natural son, became an active member of this new Lodge.

The meeting place of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania had hitherto been at the tavern, "The Royal Standard," but owing to increasing lack of accommodation, it was in 1752 proposed that a building should be erected to be used exclusively for Masonic purposes. This was at first opposed, and very strenuously, by the Tun Tavern Lodge, but in the end unanimity was secured, and the building was commenced. And after fourteen years of silence there once more appeared in the *Gazette* a Masonic notice. It announced "The Grand Annual Feast and General Communication of the Free and Accepted Masons to be holden in Philadelphia on Tuesday the Twenty-fourth of June." That day was a notable one in the annals of Pennsylvanian Freemasonry, for it was the day on which was to be dedicated the new Freemasons' Lodge building, the first structure of its kind in America. The title was vested in the three Lodges already enumerated. The old record gives very full particulars of the event, and I propose to quote these at some length, not only because of the sometime-quaintness of the phraseology, but because it was really an historical happening in the history of American Masonry. So I must risk being wearisome, and proceed: "Amongst those walking in the procession were the Grand Secretary, William Franklin, who bore a crimson damask cushion on which was laid an open Bible; also the Deputy Grand Master, Benjamin Franklin, Esq. . . . The whole number of Masons amounted to 127, who being all new cloathed with Aprons, white Gloves and Stockings, and the Officers in the proper Cloathing and Jewels of their respective Lodges, with their Badges of Dignity, made a handsome and Genteel Appearance. When the Procession came into Market Street, both in going to and coming from the Church, they were saluted by a Discharge of Nine Cannon from a Brother's Vessel, handsomely ornamented with Colours, which lay opposite to the said Street, for that Purpose . . . After Divine Service was over, the Procession returned in the same order to the Lodge Room for Dinner; the Musical Bells belonging to the Church, and the Band of Musick before them, at the same time playing the 'Enter'd Apprentice's Song.' The whole ceremony was conducted with the utmost Decorum and Solemnity, and, as we hear, afforded great satisfac-

tion to the Inhabitants in general. After dinner, the following toasts were drank in the Masonic Manner, under repeated discharges of Cannon, planted in the Square adjoining the Lodge Room." I do not propose to recite the whole toast list. Suffice it to say that amongst them were the following: "The King and the Craft": "The Grand Master of England"; "Our Brother Francis, Emperor of Germany"; "The Grand Master of Scotland"; "The Grand Master of Ireland"; "All charitable Masons"; "All true and faithful Masons, wheresoever dispersed or distressed, throughout the Globe": "The Arts and Sciences." These are the most important amongst the fourteen separate toasts that were given. The record goes on to say that "the greatest Order and Regularity was observed: Chearfulness, Harmony and Good Fellowship abounded during the whole time of Meeting: and at Five a Clock in the Afternoon, the Grand Master having closed the Lodge, the Brethren return'd to their respective Homes." This Masonic building passed through various vicissitudes of fortune in after years. The banqueting room came to be known as the "Assembly Room," and here dances, arranged by the *élite* of Philadelphian society, were held. In fact, so highly exclusive were these 'routs' that no one was permitted to subscribe, unless he or she was 'highly respectable.' What social gauge was employed for this delicate investigation is not stated. In 1767 a schoolmaster, named Garner, gave a charity concert. In 1770 a certain Signor Gualdo notified the public that "immediately after the races on December 27 he would give a Vocal and Instrumental Concert at the Masons's Lodge Room." In 1777 the building was put to a very curious use: it was employed as a prison for a number of Quakers who were suspected of disloyalty to the Colonies in their contest with Great Britain. Happily, these worthy people were not kept long in durance vile, as they were released after an imprisonment of twelve days. The last official meeting on the premises was a meeting of the subscribers to consider the final disposition of the Hall and of its affairs. The surviving trustees were empowered to sell the building and lot on which it stood. One-third of the proceeds of the sale belonged to the "First Lodge": the remaining two-thirds to various individual Freemasons. The building was finally demolished in 1799. Then there arose on its site the Bank of Pennsylvania, and this in turn gave place to the United States' Appraisers' Stores.

It has already been mentioned that in 1757 Franklin went to England. He returned to Philadelphia in 1762. In 1764 he was again sent to England, and this time he remained abroad till 1775. It is not known to just what extent Franklin affiliated with any of the English or Germanic bodies whilst on his travels. Bro. Sachse says that "after a long and patient search" he has been unable to find any official record or documents bearing upon this subject, except the entry in the Minute Book of the Grand Lodge of England, wherein it is written, under date November 17, 1760, "Grand Lodge, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand. Present; ——— Franklyn, Esq., P.G.M. of Philadelphia." And underneath this comes "——— Franklyn, Esq., P.G.S. of Philadelphia." I wanted to verify this statement, so I went to our Grand Lodge Library, and asked to see this Minute Book. The Library officials seemed rather to doubt my assertion as to Franklin's attendance, so I asked permission to finger the precious volume, reposing under glass in the full glory of its heraldic emblazonment and sumptuous binding. On turning to the date mentioned, there were the two entries. As a result it was decided that, when in the summer months an influx of American Masons might be expected, the book should be laid open at this particular place. Till I was led, as it were by a side wind, to take up this subject of Franklin, I had no notion of the names being there, so I was as ignorant of the fact as were others. The incident shows how little the most of us know about American Masonry. So no one is to blame, but I secretly rejoice in knowing that the question is now definitely settled. I have looked through the Grand Lodge proceedings of that date, and there is no reference to any acknowledgment of the presence of these two distinguished visitors. When well-known people visit our metropolis their doings, yea even their wearings, are to-day pictured *ad nauseam*. Indeed I sometimes wonder why we do not

have illustrations of their manner of getting into bed, whether on the right or the left side. But it was not so in Franklin's time. An element of respectability and sober judgment was then to all appearance in vogue. Therefore here I pause, though in contradiction to what I stated at my beginning, and dart from the purely Masonic side of the subject to a purely social and worldly aspect. I am afraid I may be doing this on more than one occasion, for it is as well that we should see our man's behaviour in London, and later I shall throw a few incidental side-lights on his life in Paris. So far I have kept to my text in considering Franklin as a Mason, but this occasional straying down by-paths is a habit that is not without value.

We are told in Parton's "Life of Franklin" that when he visited London in 1757 he was established in lodgings at 7, Craven Street, Strand, a fashionable little street in those days. He had with him his son, also a servant for his own personal service, and a negro attendant for his son. As he was dissatisfied with the hackney coach of that day, he set up a chariot of his own. He exhibited his electrical apparatus in the Craven Street lodgings, and instituted a series of electrical matinées, and it was at these assemblies that the instrument, known as the Armonica, was introduced. He was very fond of playing upon this, and effected many improvements in its construction. It was often used at the public concerts round about that time. It is said that Franklin's own Armonica is still preserved. On my last visit to Paris I went to see the collection of instruments at the Conservatoire de Musique, and amongst other things I found Franklin's Armonica, but whether the actual one on which he played I could not ascertain. It is a pleasing feature, this love of music in one who was essentially a scientist, because it is a combination that is rarely found. Franklin took a keen interest in the artistic side of life, and it is therefore interesting to note that, during his stay in London, he had the privilege of seeing Handel led to the organ for the last time, in order that the now blind master might conduct one of his own works. Garrick, who was then in the meridian of his power and fame, greatly attracted Franklin, and he eventually made acquaintance with him.

It was in the spring of 1759 that Franklin acquired the title by which he has been so universally known, that of Doctor, and this degree was conferred upon him by the University of St. Andrews. It was while he was in London that he had the honour of dining with Christian VII., King of Denmark, brother-in-law of George III. Franklin's company was so sought after by London residents that in the season he sometimes dined out six days in the week. He confesses that occasionally at these convivial assemblies he drank more wine than became a philosopher. The club he largely frequented, which was mainly composed of clergymen and scientists, met at a coffee house in St. Paul's Churchyard, and afterwards at the London Coffee-House in Ludgate Hill. He was also a frequent visitor at the Royal Society Club, he having been elected a member of the Society even before his arrival in England. From these few remarks you will gather that he was a man who possessed a fine spirit of *bonhomie*; that he was socially inclined; that he had an infinite fund of wit and humour, else would his presence not have been so desired; and yet that he was always eagerly ready to imbibe knowledge, and could turn from gay to grave, and grave to gay, with an enviable adroitness. In fact, it is amply shown that he possessed in full measure qualities which would find ample fulfilment in the demands that might be made upon him by Masonry.

In October, 1776, Franklin once more set out for Europe, and this time for France, as a Commissioner sent with almost ambassadorial powers in order to try and foster that union between the two nations which proved such a decisive factor in the establishment of American independence. A story is related which is supposed to illustrate the reason why a Commissioner with such plenary powers was sent to France. It is said "that an old gentleman arrived in Philadelphia shortly after Franklin's return from abroad in 1775, and offered to the Congress (then in session), in good Parisian English, the assistance of the King of France, in stores, ammunition, and money. Being asked his name, credentials, and other ambassadorial baggage, he drew his hand across his throat, and said politely but

positively, 'Gentlemen, I shall take care of my head.' He disappeared the next day from Philadelphia." I fancy we should not give too much credence to this narrative, but I have thought it worth while, because of its Masonic twang, to reproduce it.

"Franklin arrived on the coast of France on Nov. 29, 1776" (I am now quoting from Hales' book, "Franklin in France"). "He had crossed the ocean in the sloop-of-war, Reprisal, of sixteen guns, commanded by Captain Wickes, for whom Franklin conceived a great regard . . . After a diplomatic delay at Nantes, Franklin and his party rode by post to Paris. It was in this journey, if in any, that the historian Gibbon refused to spend the evening with him, while he also was travelling . . . Arriving in Paris, Franklin took up his quarters at the Hotel d'Hambourg, in the Rue de l'Université, and there he remained from the 21st of December for some weeks. The party then moved to the comfortable and even elegant hotel of M. Ray de Chaumont in Passy . . . From that time till he left France he maintained a separate establishment in a part of the hotel, M. de Chaumont with his family residing in another part. M. de Chaumont would never accept any rent until the independence of the United States was made sure . . . The establishment which Franklin maintained was so generous that Mr. John Adams [first Minister of the United States to the Court of St. James], in a well-known letter, expostulated with him regarding it. But Franklin defended very wisely the expenditure which Mr. Adams thought profuse, and the scale of it was never changed . . . Franklin soon established at his own house at Passy a little printing establishment from which occasionally a tract or handbill was issued."

Madame du Deffand, a great intimate of Voltaire, lost no time in communicating the great event—Franklin's advent to France—to Horace Walpole. She writes: "Dr. Franklin arrived in town yesterday at two o'clock in the afternoon; he slept the night before at Versailles. He was accompanied by two of his grandsons, one seven years old, the other seventeen, and by his friend, M. Penet. He has taken lodgings in the Rue de l'Université." The two young people here mentioned were William Temple Franklin, whom the Doctor intended to place at a French or German university, an idea which was, however, frustrated, as William had to act as secretary to his grandfather; the other, the younger, was Benjamin Franklin Bache, the eldest son of his married daughter. This lad he intended to send to school in Paris, but it is not clear whether this ever happened. I ought to mention that this was not Franklin's first visit to France. He had been there in 1767 and also in 1769, but not in an official capacity such as he had now assumed. On his first visit he stayed in Paris six weeks, with Sir John Pringle as his travelling companion, and during that time they were both presented at Court, the then King being Louis XV. They were not only presented, but they had the privilege of attending the *Grand Couvert*, when the Royal family supped in public. This was the beginning of Franklin's saying that in accordance with the Scriptural proverb, diligent men shall stand before kings. During his lifetime he was successively in the presence of George II., George III., Louis XV., Christian VII., and Louis XVI.

Before giving any account of Franklin's Masonic activities in France, I see opening up before me a most tempting by-path, along which I am going to drag you willy-nilly, and this will constitute our second diversion. And who is to be conductor in this foreign clime? No less a person than M. de Bachaumont. Have you previously made his acquaintance? If not, it is time that you did so, for he is a very informing 'Mounseer.' The Correspondence of Bachaumont, which was published in 36 volumes, contains on the title-page of its first volume the following high-sounding synopsis of its contents. I will give it in full: "Secret Memoirs to serve for the history of the Republic of Letters in France from 1762 up to the present time, or the Journal of an Observer, containing Analyses of the Theatre Pieces which have appeared during that time: relations of Literary Assemblies; notices of books both new, clandestine, and prohibited; fugitive pieces, rare or in manuscript, in prose and in verse: Vaudevilles on the

Court. Anecdotes and Bons Mots: the praises of Savants. Artists and Men of Letters who are dead. etc., etc." (Printed) "at London, at John Adamson's. 1780."

This Correspondence, begun in 1762, and addressed to subscribers, did not stop at the death of its first author: it was continued to the end of 1787 by literary men who were well known in Parisian society. M. de Bachaumont was renowned amongst his countrymen for his varied knowledge and his exquisite taste. He presided at the "Conferences Academiques" that were established by a woman of a ready wit, well-known in France, and abroad, Mdme. Doublet. It is said that Bachaumont regarded neither filthy lucre nor fame: he spoke according to his inner thoughts; he did not belong to any party, or any clique, and nothing could prevent him recording his judgment in all its integrity. Now what has this worthy man to tell us about "M. Franklin?" A good deal that is interesting, far more than I could use wherewith to weary you, so I am forced to a judicious selection of a few anecdotes of a purely general character, presenting to us Franklin in his French dress. When we come to the Masonic part of Franklin's French career, we shall likely once more summon Bachaumont to our aid. For the present let us pick out a few choice passages: "On Twelfth Night M. Franklin made up his mind to distribute the 'pain-beni'[1] on the morrow, although a Protestant, and not a householder. He was quite pleased about this ceremony, and had therefore got in readiness 13 brioches,[2] the number of the thirteen colonies of united America. He wished to put a little flag on each, and that there should be inscribed on the first of these flags the word 'Liberty.' The curé, who afterwards sat down to dinner with this insurgent, manifested some repugnance at this extraordinary behaviour. The word 'Liberty' especially angered him: the bishop of Xaintes, also present, pressed the point of indignation, and said that it would not be possible for the curé to tolerate such an innovation. Mdlle d'Eon" (of whom I expect you have all heard), "who was present, was consulted. She replied that she had nothing to add to what the members of the Church had decided; but in her opinion she would add a political reason, not less weighty, and that was that as they were barely three leagues from Versailles it would not be becoming to use a word that was not liked and that no one would wish to make public in that august abode." As to the *suite* of this event we have no information—its end must be left to playful imagination.

I now pass to another passage: "It is only six months since the Government would not sanction an allegorical coiffure for the insurgents: to-day it finds itself in a worse fix by the proposed issue of a political engraving, which exhibits the triumph of these same insurgents: it is entitled 'The Independent America.' It has been executed by M. Borel: and M. Vasseur, Engraver to the King, will do the engraving. This is its composition. One sees M. Franklin freeing America, who embraces the statue of Liberty. Minerva shelters the wise legislator with her shield; Prudence and Courage overthrow their enemy, that is to say, England, who in her fall drags down a Neptune whose trident is broken. On the right of Liberty are Agriculture and Commerce, and the Arts applaud this happy revolution. The proofs will not appear till the end of the year."

I will add yet another passage: "M. de la Fayette is so enthusiastic about this new republic, to the creation of which he has in no small measure contributed, that he has named his newly-born daughter, Virginia; his boy is called George, because that is the name of Washington. When M. de la Fayette told Franklin about the new arrival, and of the name he had given her, the Doctor jocularly remarked that he hoped the Marquis would have enough children to represent each province of America, but it might happen that some names would not be quite euphonious, and that one might suppose that Master Connecticut or Miss Massachusetts would not be too satisfied with their naming."

[1] The "pain-beni" is bread that is carried round in baskets in many Paris churches, and distributed to the congregation at the end of the Mass.

[2] The "brioche" is a small fancy loaf, which could be divided into a number of pieces.

This will sufficiently show you the nature of the work, and serve to establish in your minds the extraordinary prestige with which Franklin was invested in a foreign country. He was now over seventy years of age, and yet he was not too old to be insensible to the attractions of female society. In fact, we may say, in the language of a Parisian trying to speak English, "'E give what you call—a—ze glad eye." He is reported, according to Seward's Anecdotes, to have said that the purest and most useful friend a man could have was a French woman of a certain age, who had no designs upon his person. "They are so ready," he would add, "to do you service, and, from their knowledge, know so well how to serve you wisely." "No one undertakes to say how many likenesses of Franklin were made whilst he was in Paris. But they are to be numbered by hundreds . . . The first of these pictures to gain celebrity is one which has always been well known. It is by C. N. Cochin . . . Beneath this picture the publishers intended to place the following inscription, 'He is the honour and the bulwark of the new hemisphere; the waves of Ocean become calm at his voice; he represses or directs, according to his liking, the thunder. He who disarms the gods, can he fear king?' The French censorship suppressed these lines as blasphemous." Yes, the scorpion may have been a comparatively harmless one, but all the same the sting was in the tail, and the form of the sting resembled the word 'King.'

I daresay you will think that all this is very irrelevant, but I hope you will see later on that a good deal of it fits into the picture we are endeavouring to paint.

To be once more Masonic, Bro. Sachse, in his admirable address at the Franklin Bicentenary Celebration, gives us details concerning Franklin's Masonic career in France. And first as to the Craft. He says: "Franklin arrived in Paris in November, 1776, and before many months we find him affiliated with one of the most important Masonic Lodges under the Grand Orient of France. He was elected a member of the Lodge of the Nine Sisters or Muses in 1777 or 1778 . . . In November, 1778, Franklin officiated at a Lodge of Sorrow held in memory of Brother Voltaire . . . In the year 1782 Franklin served as Venerable of the Lodge." This will serve as outline, but there is a great deal to be filled in. And, first of all, let me say a few words about this very remarkable Lodge, *Les Neuf Soeurs*. A whole paper might be written about the Lodge and its members, its varying fortunes, its standing as one of the premier Lodges in France, its work in fostering and preserving all the arts, its admirable rules and regulations, but this must all be put aside. It is not to our purpose, which is to show Franklin's connection with the Lodge. But I must in the first instance inform you as to the reason for the founding of the Lodge. Lalande, the celebrated French astronomer, had established a *Loge des Sciences* in order to group together Freemasons who made scientific pursuits and investigations their life-work. His friend, Helvetius, has an idea to enlarge this framework, and to found a Lodge in which one might unite *savants*, philosophers, men of letters, and artists, and meet under the patronage of the Muses. But those were troublous times for Masonry in France, and the situation did not allow of the establishment of new Lodges, so poor Helvetius died before he could see the realisation of his project. Lalande took up the work on behalf of his departed friend, and, when he saw the opportunity, eventually established the Lodge, becoming the first Master. He resigned his official position in the Grand Orient, and was made an Honorary Grand Officer.

We first meet with Franklin's name, as a visitor to the Lodge, in connection with that memorable event, the initiation of Voltaire at eighty-four years of age. Before the initiation, and soon after Voltaire had received a deputation, headed by Lalande, from the Lodge, and had promised to become an initiate, Franklin had had an interview with Voltaire. Voltaire, in a letter to the Marquis de Florian, says, "M. Franklin has been to see me at my hotel, as I was very ill. He desired me to give my blessing to his godson. I gave it to him, saying, 'God and Liberty.' This was in the presence of twenty people who were in the room." Bachaumont, alluding to this scene, says that Voltaire

pronounced with emphasis the three words, "God, Liberty, Tolerance," whilst Ballantyne, writing of the same occurrence, says, "Voltaire, speaking in English, said, 'God and Liberty is the only blessing fitting for Franklin's children.'"

Voltaire was initiated on the 7th of April, 1778. The hour is not given: it simply says, "dans la matinée." There was an extraordinary assemblage, comprising, in addition to the dignitaries of the Grand Orient, noted members of the French aristocracy, and other visitors of high distinction. Lalande presided, and the Comte Stroganoff (Chamberlain to the Empress Catherine of Russia) and Colonel Laroche were the Wardens. Voltaire was conducted into the Lodge by a deputation of nine members, and he entered leaning on the arms of Franklin and Court de Gebelin. He was invested with the apron that Helvetius had worn, and he raised it to his lips in homage to so good a man and so eminent a Mason. At the succeeding banquet, Voltaire, after the first few toasts had been given, asked permission to withdraw, owing to the delicate state of his health. On the 30th of May the new initiate had breathed his last. If I were writing about Voltaire, I should have launched forth into a long description of this memorable ceremony, but as it is I must not, and will not, linger, prone as one may be to do so over such an historical event in Masonry.

The next occasion on which we find Franklin at the Lodge is at the Masonic Apotheosis of Voltaire. This was a really wonderful rite, and at this meeting Franklin and Stroganoff acted as Wardens, Lalande again presiding. Towards the end of this amazing and impressive spectacle, Lalande, together with the newest initiate (who was no other than Greuze, the famous French painter), and Mdme. de Villette (Voltaire's adopted daughter) crowned Franklin, as also the writer of the *Eloge* that was recited, and the painter of the picture representing the Apotheosis of Voltaire, with wreaths of flowers. The crowned ones deposited their crowns at the foot of the bust of Voltaire.

In 1778, the Lodge celebrated at Passy their summer feast of St. John, and made it a very special occasion in honour of Franklin, who lived, as we have already heard, at Passy, and who had joined the Lodge after the initiation of Voltaire had taken place. During the fête Franklin was presented with the apron that had belonged to Helvetius, and that had been worn by Voltaire.

We are told by the biographer of the Lodge, Frère Amiable, that Lalande, at the end of his third year of office, declined re-election, and desired to be replaced by a man more eminent than himself. So Franklin was elected Master on the 21st of May, 1779. In the history of the Lodge we have at this juncture a short account of Franklin's Masonic career in America, and in glancing at it I see that I have made an important omission in not mentioning his reprint of our Book of Constitutions. This was done because the original English edition was exhausted, and the American demand could not be supplied from home sources. This was the first Masonic book published in America. Though it was advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in May, 1734, it was not ready for delivery till August of that year, when seventy copies were sent to Boston. It is said that only a few copies of the book are now in existence.

Franklin was Master or *Vénérable* of the Lodge *Les Neuf Soeurs* for two years, as he was re-elected in 1780. In August, 1779, a fête was held to mark Franklin's election to the chair of the Lodge. It took the form of a literary and artistic assembly, and it was presided over by the Comte de Milly, the Senior Warden, in Franklin's absence. In regard to this absence, Bachaumont tells us that, although Franklin accepted the position of Master, yet he laid down as a condition of such acceptance that he must be excused from fulfilling with scrupulous exactitude the duties of his office. As the Lodge desired that his name should appear on the list of Masters, he was left free to absent himself when other duties demanded his presence elsewhere. The first part of this entertainment consisted of musical items and readings. Then all the company went into an upstairs room to view an exhibition of artistic and scientific productions. We are told that "this long meeting, which was found to be short by the brethren, as also by the ladies, finished, according to usage, with a banquet which was simple and 'spirituel,' the pleasures of which were prolonged till far into the night."

In the second year of Franklin's mastership an event of some importance took place. This was the foundation, through the agency of the Lodge, of an artistic Society known as the *Société Apollonienne*. This was really a sort of off shoot of the Lodge, and it eventually led to the foundation of the *Musée de Paris*.

There was also another important event in this same year, and that was the affiliation of, or the introduction as a joining member of the Lodge, of the celebrated Paul Jones. I believe there are even to-day some people who regard the name of Paul Jones with horror, and conjure up for themselves some terrific picture of a ferocious pirate, a sort of Gilbert-and-Sullivan creature, coming on the stage, staggering under the weight of fire-arms, and roaring at the top of his voice, "I am the Pirate King." My youthful fancies of such a commonly acknowledged desperado were of a fierce bully with a pistol behind each ear and a dagger between his teeth. But this is all wrong. Paul Jones was a most accomplished man: the darling of the ladies, and the one-time favourite of the great Empress Catherine, who made him a Rear-Admiral. So much was he thought of in France that the King presented him with a sword of honour, and created him Chevalier. Franklin, ever since he had known him, had always been his guiding genius, and the relation between the two was really more like father and son, than friend to friend. It must have been a great joy to Franklin to be able to welcome so dear a friend as a member of this illustrious Lodge.

Jones became a joining member of the Lodge, because when a young man he had been initiated in a Lodge in Scotland, that country being the land of his birth. Like his friend and philosopher, he did not as a rule talk or write about Masonry. The arduous nature of his career would doubtless militate against any idea of Masonic progress, and he must have been largely influenced in his determination to apply for membership of the *Neuf Soeurs* by the knowledge that Franklin was the Master. On the 1st of May of that year a fête was held to celebrate this new accession of strength to the Lodge. La Dixmerie, who was ever at hand on such occasions, composed a discourse in honour of Jones. This was afterwards printed, and we find an allusion to it in the pages of Bachaumont, where it is said that "in this discourse La Dixmerie moralises on the origin of Masonry, tracing it back to the ancient orders of chivalry, which orders derived it from the ancient mysteries." The discourse ended with a quatrain, but, as I am no poet, I am afraid I cannot translate it into suitable verse. I can only therefore give you the spirit of the thing, which was this: "Jones, fertile in resource in his naval engagements, acts towards his enemies as a skilful coquette would act towards us. You think to capture her, and you are yourself captured."

It must have been during his mastership that Franklin attended a Lodge of Adoption, but I cannot fix any date to this event. I find allusion to it in a paper written by the late Bro. Harry Guy, and in these words: "The Lodge of the Nine Sister Muses received Franklin in a Lodge of Adoption at Auteuil, in the house of Sister Helvetius, which was made the occasion of a brilliant fête." I venture to think that Franklin must have had a great fancy for these junketings, for the celebrated Mdme. Campan, in her Memoirs, tells us that "elegant fêtes were given to Dr. Franklin, who united the renown of one of the most skilful naturalists with the patriotic virtues which had made him embrace the noble role of Apostle of Liberty. I was present at one of those fêtes" (Mdme. Campan was herself, if I am not greatly mistaken, a Sister Mason) "where the most beautiful of three hundred women was designated to go and place on the philosopher's white locks a crown of laurel, and to give the old man two kisses on his cheeks." A print that was widely circulated in America, represented a beautiful lady crowning the Doctor with laurel, as he sits in the midst of an elegant assembly of ladies and gentlemen, prominent among whom are Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette. This must be a picture of the event to which I have just alluded, but I think, as a matter of historical accuracy, we

had better delete the Royal personages. Marie Antoinette had more than a leaning towards Masonry, a leaning which was engendered by the prattle of the Court ladies, but I should hardly look upon the sixteenth Louis as being friendly to the Craft.

I have already mentioned Helvetius as being the originator in idea of the Lodge *Les Neuf Soeurs*, and here, in connection with this fête, we have a mention of Mdme. Helvetius, so it may not be amiss to give some brief details concerning both husband and wife. Helvetius himself was a man of fortune, holding an important Government post. He spent the income from this in supporting and encouraging literary aspirants. After thirteen years of work as *Fermier General*, he retired, married a charming and intelligent woman (who was related to Marie Antoinette) and betook himself to literature. His book, *De l'Esprit*, as it contained teaching directly contrary to ecclesiastical dogma, though it had been printed with the King's approval, was condemned both at Paris and Rome and was publicly burnt. The author thought it well in these circumstances to pay visits to Berlin and London, and in both places he was received with open arms. During twenty years the *salon* of Mdme. Helvetius was the rendezvous of all that was intellectual. After the death of her husband she bought a property at Auteuil. She still continued her receptions, but on a less brilliant scale. Among those who paid court to her and indeed aspired to her hand was our friend Benjamin, now a widower. But Madame remained faithful to her first partner, and died when eighty years old. Beside extending an especial welcome at all times to Masons, she showed her interest in the *Neuf Soeurs* by presenting to that Lodge her husband's Masonic clothing and decorations. The picture one forms of this estimable lady is rather of a female of the blue-stocking type, somewhat hard and aggressive, with a piercing eye ever observant of decorum, and a somewhat manly voice suggesting absolute mastery. But this is a deceiving portrait, and nothing like the original, for Mrs. Adams, who joined her husband in Paris before Franklin left that city, gives us a rather startling account of a visit to Mdme. Helvetius' house to partake of dinner. There may be in her remarks a spice of feminine jealousy, and a want of acquaintance with the Parisian manners of that day, but we must take her account as being substantially true. And this is what she says: "Madame entered the room with a careless jaunty air: upon seeing ladies who were strangers to her, she bawled out, 'Ah, mon Dieu, where is Franklin? Why did you not tell me there were ladies here?' You must suppose her speaking all this in French. 'How I look?' said she, taking hold of a chemise made of tiffany, which she had on over a blue lute-string, and which looked as much on the decay as her beauty, for she was once a handsome woman. Her hair was frizzled: over it she had a small straw hat, with a dirty gauze half-handkerchief round it, and a bit of dirtier gauze than ever my maids wore, was bowed on behind. She had a black gauze scarf thrown over her shoulders . . . When we went into the room to dine, she was placed between the Doctor and Mr. Adams. She carried on the chief of the conversation at dinner, frequently locking her hand into the Doctor's, and sometimes spreading her arms upon the backs of both the gentlemen's chairs, then throwing her arm carelessly upon the Doctor's neck . . . After dinner she threw herself upon a settee, where she shewed more than her feet . . . This is one of the Doctor's most intimate friends, with whom he dines once a week, and she with him. She is rich and is my near neighbour." I suppose this is what one would call a very 'catty' account of one's hostess, but the fact that Mdme. Helvetius was seated between the Doctor and Mr. Adams may explain the somewhat vitriolic nature of the comments.

A certain Mdme. Brillon was another of Franklin's French friends. He describes her as "a lady of most respectable character and pleasing conversation: mistress of an amiable family in this neighbourhood, with which I spend an evening twice in every week. She has, among other elegant accomplishments, that of an excellent musician; and with her daughters, who sing prettily, and some friends who play, she kindly entertains me and my grandson with little

concerts, a cup of tea, and a game of chess. I call this my Opera, for I rarely go to the Opera in Paris." Some of Franklin's witty effusions, such as "The Petition of the Left Hand," "The Handsome and Deformed Leg," "Morals of Chess," and "The Dialogue between Franklin and the Gout," were written for the amusement of Mdme. Brillon's circle. These pieces were probably composed by Franklin in English, and translated into French by some member of the company.

It is not quite certain that Franklin did write the Gout Dialogue, but as it appeared (with his name attached) in a small collection of his works printed at Paris, it has been generally taken to be genuine. Madam Gout gives Franklin a good rating for his course of life, and the quoting of a short passage will show us how many of his days were passed at this comparatively pleasant period of his existence. So listen for a moment to Madam Gout: "If your situation in life is a sedentary one, your amusements, your recreations, at least, should be active. You ought to walk or ride; or, if the weather prevents that, play at billiards. But let us examine your course of life. While the mornings are long, and you have leisure to go abroad, what do you do? Why, instead of gaining an appetite for breakfast by salutary exercise, you amuse yourself with books, pamphlets, or newspapers, which are commonly not worth the reading. You eat an inordinate breakfast, four dishes of tea, with cream, and one or two buttered toasts, with slices of hung beef, which I fancy are not the things most easily digested. Immediately afterwards you sit down at your desk, or converse with persons who apply to you on business. Thus the time passes till one, without any kind of bodily exercise . . . What is your practice after dinner? Walking in the beautiful gardens of those friends with whom you have dined would be the choice of men of sense; yours is to be fixed down to chess, where you are found engaged for two or three hours. Wrapt in the speculations of this wretched game, you destroy your constitution." This is only part of a long harangue. I fancy there are some of us who may feel just as guilty as Franklin did under these accusing words, and I sometimes think that Madam Gout must grin sardonically at our Masonic banquets and City dinners. We shall do well to bear her precepts in mind.

We have again strayed a long way from Franklin's Masonic career, but I am anxious that you should have a glimpse of him in his social doings whilst in France, as they exhibit in him that spirit of geniality which is a pleasing attribute of brethren united in a common fraternity. We will now resume our proper investigation.

In the year 1782 we find Franklin mentioned as a member of the *Royale Loge des Commandeurs du Temple, a l'Ouest de Carcassonne*, and on April 24, 1785, he succeeds Prince Galitzine as *Vénérable d'honneur*. When the Grand Orient constituted this Lodge on the 17th of July, 1785, and allowed it to date as from the 6th of February, 1774, it recalled the fact that the Lodge really commenced its labours on the 16th of June, 1758, but there remains no record of its early years. It stopped working during the period of the Revolution, and appears afterwards to have been united with the Lodge *Parfaite Amitié*, also of Carcassonne, which is said to have been constituted by some unknown authority in 1774. In the Lodge List Franklin is described as *Frère le Docteur Franklin, Ambassadeur des Etats-Unis de l'Amerique*, but someone has put a stroke through the word "Ambassadeur" and written over it *Ministre Plenip^{re}*. I doubt much whether Franklin, during his stay in France, went so far south as Carcassonne, though it is just possible that he may have visited that famous city, with its coronet of towers and walls, during some period of relaxation, without any record being left of such visit. In either case there can be no doubt about his being a member of the above-mentioned Lodge.

We are told that in 1785 Franklin was elected an honorary member of the *Loge des Bons Amis* at Rouen. A letter was sent to Franklin, signed by the officers of the Lodge, and with the Lodge seal attached, expressing gratification at so distinguished a personage consenting to become a member. So far

as I can discover, there is no trace of a Lodge of that name meeting at Rouen: I fancy that some mistake must have been made in the name of the Lodge.[1]

Bro. Sachse informs us that several medals were struck abroad in honour of Franklin's Masonic career, and notably two in connection with the Lodge of the *Neuf Soeurs*. "One, engraved by Bernier, is in the Grand Lodge Library at Philadelphia: it has upon the obverse the bust of Franklin, and the inscription, 'Benj. Franklin Minis[t]. Plen[t]. Des Etats Unis de l'Ameri[q]. Sept. MDCCLXXIII.' On the reverse is a temple of the Muses, with nine female figures, and the inscription, 'De Leurs Travaux naitra Leur Gloire des Neuf Soeurs.' The other specimen is at Rostock, Germany, belonging to the Grand Lodge of Mecklenburg, and bears the inscription, 'Les Mac∴ Franc∴ à Franklin M∴ De La L∴ Des 9 Soeurs O∴ de Paris 5779.'"

Franklin left France to return to Philadelphia in 1785, and soon after his arrival in America, he was, at the age of seventy-nine, elected President of Pennsylvania. Under the date 20th of October, 1785, Bachaumont gives us this item of news: "Extract from a letter from Philadelphia of Sept. 17—— Mr. Franklin arrived here on the day before yesterday, the 15th, looking in better health than when he left Paris. He has been received as if he were a tutelary deity: it has been a day of general rejoicing: the ships were beflagged, even the English vessels. He took 45 days crossing from France. M. Houdon has arrived with him. He has returned to his daughter her son, now a fine-grown lad, who has lost that childish aspect which he had when he was taken to Paris in 1776."

Further on we learn that Houdon's mission to America was to draw and model George Washington, as Congress had given him a commission to execute a statue of that worthy. Jean-Antoine Houdon, a member of *Les Neuf Soeurs*, is named successively in the Lodge Lists as "Sculptor to the King," "Member of the Royal Academy of Painting, and Sculptor to the Emperor, member of the Institute, and professor." He was born at Versailles in 1741, and died at Paris in 1828. He gained the 'Prix de Rome' when he was twenty, and then lived for ten years in Italy. The members of the *Neuf Soeurs* whom he portrayed in sculpture were Lalande, Franklin, Paul Jones, Condorcet, Le Peletier de Morfontaine, Dupaty, Pastoret, and Voltaire. The statue of Voltaire, which is an object of admiration to those who visit the Comedie Française, has been declared to be his *chef-d'oeuvre*. One of the 'Salles de Sculpture' in the 'Musée du Louvre' still bears his name. Another notice in Bachaumont, under date 31st of March, 1786, in an extract from a letter from

[1] Since writing this paper, some documents have come into my possession, which prove conclusively that there really was a "Loge des Bons Amis" at Rouen. These documents consist of four letters, one of which is addressed to the Lodge by the "Loge L'Ardente Amitié" at Rouen, the other three coming respectively from the "Loge de la Celeste Amitié" of Rouen, and the "Loge de la Parfaite Union" of the same city. There is no mention of Franklin, and I only add this postcript to correct my suggestion as to the wrong name being given to the Rouen Lodge of which Franklin was made a member. These letters belong to the years 1782, 1785, and 1786. In one of them it is interesting to note that in place of the usual fraternal amiabilities, such phrases are used as "a spirit of hostility of evil intent," "a decision consigned to your archives of an outrageous character," "an assumed silence with regard to certain summonses sent to you by us." The letter goes on to say that "everything has combined to impose upon us the duty of sorrowing in silence, and abstaining from visiting a Lodge that had adopted a plan of action as hostile as it was unjust." There was evidently an aggrieved feeling amongst the members of this Lodge of "L'Ardente Amitié" against the "Bons Amis," but happily the letter concludes with an appeal virtually to pack troubles away, and a proposal to mark the restored good understanding by a friendly visit to the Lodge. Amongst the signatures appended to this letter we have the name of Jean Mathews, "ex-venerable et Rose Croix." This was the Mason who (according to Bord) petitioned the Grand Lodge of Edinburgh for power to establish a metropolitan Chapter and a Provincial Grand Lodge in connection with the Lodge "Ardente Amitié." We are told that his petition was granted, and that the Lodge resolved to become known as the sole centre of the higher grades, abandoning to the Grand Orient the supremacy over the symbolic grades. As the letter to the "Bons Amis" is dated 1786, the very time when Mathews was engaged in this business, it may be that this explains the cause of the dispute, especially if the "Loge des Bons Amis" adopted a "non-placet" attitude.

Philadelphia, runs thus: "The 17th of this month [January] our worthy Governor, Benjamin Franklin, on entering his eighty-first year, was honoured by the printers of this town, who wished to celebrate on his natal day the virtues of one who may be described as the disciple, the friend, and the patron of printing. With this end in view, they invited him to a special dinner, not as President of the Executive Council of the Republic of Pennsylvania, but in his capacity as a printer. The following toasts were drunk: 'To the worthy Doctor Franklin, printer, philosopher, and diplomat': 'To the inventor of printing, that art which excels in excellence': 'To all the printers spread over the surface of the earth': 'To all those who have made printing a useful agency.'"

Franklin was succeded in his French post by Thomas Jefferson, and Jefferson, in a letter written to a Dr. William Smith, of Philadelphia, makes charming reference to his predecessor. He writes: "The succession to Dr. Franklin at the Court of France was an excellent school of humility to me. On being presented to anyone as the minister of America, the common-place question was, 'C'est vous, Monsieur, qui remplacez le docteur Franklin?' I generally answered, 'No one can replace him, sir, I am only his successor.'" Jefferson goes on, in a later part of his letter, to speak of an item of news of some considerable interest, when he says that the King of France gave Franklin "a signal testimony of respect by joining him with some of the most illustrious men of the nation to examine that ignis-fatuus of philosophy, the animal magnetism of the maniac, Mesmer: the pretended effects of which had astonished all Paris. From Dr. Franklin's hand, in conjunction with his brethren of the learned committee, that compound of fraud and folly was unveiled, and received its death-wound." Mesmer has, as we know, been many times accused of being a charlatan, but it appears to me that to describe him as a maniac is rather rushing to an extremity of absurdity. There is no doubt that Mesmer, like others of his time, traded to some extent on the gullibility of his patients; he saw his opportunity: he gauged the neurotic tendencies which he saw about him, and he did not miss a chance of making acquaintance with Miss Filthy Lucre. But I think all will acknowledge that at the bottom of his system there was a vital element that the medical profession has not lost sight of in its further search for knowledge.

During Franklin's sojourn in France great changes had taken place in American Masonry, for a new Grand Lodge "of the Province of Pennsylvania and the Territories Thereunto Belonging" had taken the place of the old one. A new generation had arisen with attendant new ideas and new formulæ, and Franklin must have found himself somewhat out of joint with the times, so far as Masonry was concerned. At the moment of Franklin's return the Masons of his Province were taking steps to declare themselves a Sovereign Grand Lodge, severing all bonds that connected them with the Grand Lodge of England. So Franklin in his old age became, so far as one can tell for lack of documentary evidence, an unaffiliated Mason in his own jurisdiction, and he seems from this moment to be practically unconnected to a large degree with the Craft.

Bro. Sachse gives some interesting details of the happenings concerning subsequent Masonic events which are certainly worth quoting, especially as Franklin's name is once more brought into prominence. We are told that "for the purpose of bringing all Freemasons together and uniting them under one jurisdiction whether they were Ancients or Moderns, a procession and feast was projected by the R.W. Grand Lodge for St. John the Evangelist's Day, December 27, 1786." The following advertisement was inserted in the local newspapers: "All Free and Accepted Masons are particularly requested to meet on Wednesday, the 27th instant (being the anniversary of St. John the Evangelist) at Mr. Duplissi's Long-Room, in Church Alley, precisely at 9 o'clock in the Forenoon, to proceed from thence in Masonic form to St. Paul's Church, where a Charity Sermon will be delivered for the Relief of the Poor of the Craft, the Poor of the Congregation and the distressed Prisoners in gaol. After the

Sermon an Anthem will be sung by the gentlemen of the Uranian Society. By order of the Grand Master, Asshetom Humphreys, Grand Secretary." [1]

An article concerning this event was published in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, written in such grandiloquent style that it would be a pity to miss the opportunity of reproducing some of its quaint and thoroughly fulsome phraseology. The first passage I shall give you is, as you will see, in a somewhat subdued and formal vein: "This being the first procession of the Grand Lodge since the declaration of its independency and separation from the masonic government and the authority of foreign jurisdiction, the public attention (observes a correspondent) will very probably be much fascinated and engaged, and, of course, every pains exercised by the managers of ceremonies, to make the procession as respectable as the nature of the circumstances will admit, consistent with the land marks and boundaries, laid down and prescribed by the immemorial rules and customs of the ancient craft." The second passage bursts these somewhat confining bounds, and launches forth into a riot of simulated Masonic ecstasy, as you will perceive: "The Grand Lodge and its respective officers . . . the members of the royal arch . . . and the knights, princes, sovereigns, and grand inspectors of the sublime lodge of perfection, where GREAT LIGHT from the GRAND EAST, at Berlin, has diffused its extensive RAYS . . . with their respective jewels and ornamental badges and habits, must unquestionably afford a most lively variety, and present such a noble sense of order, as we are taught alone to expect from a venerable institution which avows no object but brotherly love, and has no other tendency than to soften the disposition and harmonise the heart, and to maintain the welfare and dignity of associated man."

At last, after all this rhodomontade, we come to a connecting link with our subject, in a mention of the dear old Doctor's name: "The sermon was preached by the Rev. Joseph Pilmore, Rector of the United Churches of Trinity, St. Thomas, and All Saints. The dedication reads, 'To His Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq., President of the Supreme Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania; a most sublime philosopher; the friend of his Country; a great and successful Asserter of Liberty, with all the rights essential to the happiness of human nature; an illustrious Brother, whose distinguished merit among Masons entitles him to their highest veneration; whose eminent and long established virtues endear him to his fellow Citizens, as a small testimony of the most sincere and cordial affection the following Sermon is very respectfully inscribed by the AUTHOR.'"

With regard to the reference that has been made so pointedly to a "sublime lodge of perfection" in the antecedent paragraph, we read in the second volume of "Freemasonry in Pennsylvania" an explanation, which states that "after the establishment of a 'Lodge of Grand Elect, Perfect and Sublime Masons' in Philadelphia, June 25, 1781, the meetings were held with more or less regularity in the Lodge room, in Videll's Alley, in the old Freemason's Lodge, and, finally, after the sale of the latter house, in Joseph Morris' building in Black Horse Alley." The dedication of this room in Black Horse Alley was noticed as "an occasion of much ceremony" in the issue of the *Pennsylvania Journal* for September 24, 1785. It is stated that "there has been no instance of a masonic procession which exhibited a more respectable appearance, and the solemnities used in consecrating the lodge were very striking." Amongst the toasts given at the ensuing "pretty collation" were these: "Our beloved Brother George Washington, the intended Grand Master of America"; "That dignified Philosopher and Friend to Mankind, Brother Benjamin Franklin"; and later on, these three toasts which are rather unaccustomed on a Masonic programme, though their sentiment is undoubtedly quite in keeping with our traditions. These three are labelled thus: "May the rust of discord never corrode the present polished chain of Masonic Fellowship"; "May health,

[1] "This Mr. Duplissi was Brother Peter Le Barbier Duplessis, who for a number of years served as Grand Secretary, and D.G.M. of the R.W. Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, and who was one of the chief factors in establishing a Sublime Lodge of Perfection in Philadelphia in the later decades of the eighteenth century."

stability and power be ever the supporters of our Lodge": "May Beauty and Merit be the reward of Virtue and Secrecy." In the very beginning of this newspaper notice we are told that this "Sublime Lodge" was "for conferring the superior degrees of Masonry."

I have wondered whether Franklin ever got further than the 'blue' (*i.e.*, Craft) Masonry: there are sundry indications which might lead one to think that he had possibly become associated with other degrees whilst in France. The fact that his toast was given at the above-mentioned consecration does not necessarily lend weight to such a supposition, but at the same time it does not weaken the idea. It has been suggested that the Masonic body at Carcassonne to which he became attached might have represented some Masonic order of chivalry, though from the evidence I am obliged to retain my own opinion that it was a Lodge, belonging to the same category as the *Neuf Soeurs*, what we know to-day as a Craft Lodge. It is a point of some interest, but I cannot for the moment discover where in the enveloping darkness we can look for the cranny of light which shall give us an inkling of the true situation.

I have alluded to the fact that on Franklin's return to Philadelphia there was evidence of a desire in the Masonic circle to break away from the allegiance to our Grand Lodge, and as has been hinted, on Sept. 25, 1786, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania declared its independence. As this constitutes an historical landmark in the history of American Masonry, I will further allude to an account of this important action which appeared three days later in the *Pennsylvania Packet*. It is said that this was written by Bro. Duplessis, who has already been mentioned. It will be quite sufficient to give a short extract from this unconscionably long article, and what I shall quote will show the root-cause of the severance, and the gracefully-expressed terms in which the continuance of friendly relations was desired. We read that "although Masonry disavows any manner of connection with politics or faction, and it is right it should be so, yet considering a separation has taken place between Britain and America, it would be as improper and absurd that we should again yield obedience to her wild, extravagant claims of power, as that the Lodges of this independent country should be subordinate to foreign jurisdiction in any part of the world. Notwithstanding our masonic dependence is now no more, yet those fine spun chords of love and sympathy, by which the fraternity are drawn together, as a band of brothers, cemented by the most indissoluble of ties, will ever induce us to cultivate the most sociable and friendly intercourse . . . We shall endeavour to hold forth every engaging allurement that the members of the British Grand Lodges may approach, and apply their elegant and wonder-working fingers to finish the beauties of so well-ordered a Dome in this new Empire, and make this favorite land, what we really wish, the distinguished residence, the last best retreat of heaven-born Masonry."

Meanwhile, whilst all this quiet upheaval is progressing, Franklin is carrying on his Presidential duties, and enjoying in a peaceful old age the sweets and joys of a happy domesticity. He writes to a friend in London, "The companions of my youth are indeed almost all departed, but I find an agreeable society among their children and grandchildren. I have public business enough to preserve me from 'ennui,' and private amusement besides in conversation, books, my garden, and cribbage . . . I have indeed now and then a little compunction in reflecting that I spend time so idly: but another reflection comes to relieve me, whispering, 'You know that the soul is immortal: why then should you be such a niggard of a little time, when you have a whole eternity before you?' . . . As to public amusements, we have neither plays nor operas, but we had yesterday a kind of oratorio, and we have assemblies, balls, and concerts, besides little parties at one anothers' houses, in which there is sometimes dancing, and frequently good music."

We have a delightful picture of the old man in his comparative retirement, taken from the diary of Dr. Manasseh Cutler, a noted clergyman and botanist of Massachusetts (and afterwards a member of Congress) who visited Franklin in July, 1787. The diarist writes: "We found him in his garden,

sitting upon a grass plot, under a very large mulberry tree, with several other gentlemen and two or three ladies. When Mr. Gerry introduced me, he rose from his chair, took me by the hand, and expressed his joy at seeing me, welcomed me to the city, and begged me to seat myself close to him. His voice was low, but his countenence open, frank, and pleasing . . . The tea table was spread under the tree, and Mrs. Bache, who is the only daughter of the Doctor, and lives with him, served it out to the company. She had three of her children about her. They seemed to be excessively fond of their grand-papa . . . After it was dark we went into the house, and he invited me into his library, which is likewise his study . . . I presume this is the largest and by far the best private library in America . . . He showed us his long artificial arm and hand for taking down and putting up books on high shelves, which are out of reach, and his great armchair, with rockers, and a large fan placed over it, with which he fans himself, keeps off the flies, etc., while he sits reading, with only a small motion of the foot . . . Over his mantel he has a prodigious number of medals, busts, and casts in wax, or plaster of Paris, which are the effigies of the most noted characters in Europe."

This reference to "busts and casts" reminds me that there was amongst Franklin's old acquaintances a Mrs. Patience Wright (the Mdme. Tussaud of her day). She was a niece of John Wesley, and was early distinguished in Philadelphia (where she was born) as a modeller in wax. A few years before the Revolution she brought her famous collection of figures to London. I should surmise that several of the objects that Dr. Cutler saw on the mantel were works from the facile fingers of Mrs. Wright.

Franklin's circle of friends in France did not leave him unforgotten. The Abbé Morellet, whom he had met at the house of Mdme. Helvetius, was his most frequent and most affectionate correspondent. In one of his letters the Abbé says: "Our lady of Auteuil is very well, although she takes coffee too often, contrary to the decrees of Dr. Cabanis, and always robs me of my share of cream, contrary to all justice. The bull-dog that your grandson brought us from England is become insupportable, and even vicious; he has again bitten the Abbé de la Roche, and affords us a glimpse of a ferocity truly disquieting." In another letter he says: "I shall never forget the happiness I have enjoyed in knowing you, and seeing you intimately. I write to you from Auteuil, seated in your armchair, on which I have engraved 'Benjamin hic sedebat,' and having by my side the little bureau, which you bequeathed to me at parting, with a drawer full of nails to gratify the love of nailing and hammering, which I possess in common with you."

This quietly serene life that Franklin now led was rather rudely disturbed by an accident. At the end of 1787 he fell down some steps leading to the garden, and this gave a shock to the system which resulted in an attack of the stone. From this he eventually rallied, but, although he lived more than two years after the accident, he did not fully recover from its effects.

Franklin served out his three years as President, and on retirement the only thing he consented to receive from the State by way of compensation was the reimbursement of the postage he had paid on official letters. It is true that he presented his monetary claims to Congress, in respect of his services both at home and in France, but, strange to say, there appears to be no allusion to this in the journals of Congress. A course of untoward and unexpected events put these things in the background, and it is asserted that to this day the United States owes money to Benjamin Franklin for work and labour done.

During the year prior to his death, Franklin suffered a great deal from the disease which was soon to strike a fatal blow, and yet he was "the same joyous, witty, story-telling, benevolent Franklin his friends had ever known him; happy still in the society of his philosophical brethren, happiest when surrounded by his many grandchildren." He passed away quietly in the midst of his family and friends on the night of April 17, 1790. He had just turned his eighty-fourth year. "Towards the end, some one advising him to change his position so that he might breathe easier, he said, 'A dying man can do nothing easy.'" These were the last of his words that have been recorded.

Franklin's death, it would naturally be supposed, would have elicited from American Masons resolutions of sorrow, and "it might have been expected that they would participate in public testimonials of respect for the character of the deceased; but in these solemnities the Masons as an active organization took no part. They did not attend the funeral in a Masonic character, nor did they pass resolutions of respect, such as were passed by other societies. The fact was that Dr. Franklin was not an 'Ancient' Mason. Although he was a Past Grand Master of the 'Moderns,' those distinctions won for him no official consideration with the 'Ancients' . . . hence their non-participation in the ceremonies of sepulture and regret."

It might similarly have been expected that there would have been an overwhelming demonstration of sorrow from the members of the Lodge *Les Neuf Soeurs*, but there had been gathering clouds of disaster and menace since Franklin had quitted France, and all organizations, Masonic or otherwise, were now in the melting-pot. As the historian of the Lodge tells us: "After 1789 the Lodge of the Nine Sisters followed the common lot of nearly all the Masonic Lodges, whose members were then too occupied in the accomplishment of their civic duties and public functions, and too absorbed by the course of events to continue any peaceful work within their Masonic temples. Clubs and popular societies replaced ritual reunions. The 'Nine Sisters' lowered its columns, but a transformation preceded its complete disappearance. In the early months of 1790 the Lodge was replaced by a body called 'The National Society of the Nine Sisters.' Meetings were held on Sundays, but these were of a general character, and guests were invited, including ladies, amongst whom figured the Comtesse de Beauharnais, who was the aunt (by marriage) of Josephine, the future wife of the first Napoleon. But even this National Society could not make headway in the face of the tragic happenings that marked the second half of the year 1792. During the subsequent years the once-so-famous Lodge, even under its transformed aspect, was overcome by a lethargic sleep, which lasted till 1808." Hence we need not be surprised that no expressions of sympathy came from the Lodge as an organised body, though it may well be that some of its members joined in other ways in mourning the loss of their famous Past Master. For France, as a nation, was not slow to render homage. Indeed it may be said that she paid a touching and unusual tribute to the memory of a great American. We are told that after Mirabeau had in the National Assembly delivered his funeral oration, Rochefoucauld and Lafayette both sprang to their feet to second the proposal that was made, but there was no need for seconding it: it was carried by acclamation. The Assembly decreed that the oration should be printed, and that the President, M. Siéyes, should communicate to the Congress of the United States the resolution that had been carried in such a startling and impressive manner.

The oration is so remarkable that I think it fitting to give it in its entirety as a worthy tribute to the memory of the man whose activities we have been briefly considering. I quote it as it is given by Parton in a quite adequate translation of the original: "Franklin is dead. The genius that freed America and poured a flood of light over Europe has returned to the bosom of the Divinity. The sage whom two worlds claim as their own, the man for whom the history of science and the history of empires contend with each other, held, without doubt, a high rank in the human race Too long have political cabinets taken formal note of the death of those who were great only in their funeral panegyrics. Too long has the etiquette of courts prescribed hypocritical mourning. Nations should wear mourning only for their benefactors. The representatives of nations should recommend to their homage none but the heroes of humanity. The Congress has ordained throughout the United States a mourning of one month for the death of Franklin, and, at this moment, America is paying this tribute of veneration and gratitude to one of the fathers of her Constitution. Would it not become us, gentlemen, to bear a part in this homage, rendered, in the face of the world, both to the rights of man, and to the philosopher who has most contributed to extend their sway over the whole earth? Antiquity

would have raised altars to this mighty genius, who, to the advantage of mankind, compassing in his mind the heavens and the earth, was able to restrain alike thunderbolts and tyrants. Europe, enlightened and free, owes at least a token of remembrance and regret to one of the greatest men who have ever been engaged in the service of philosophy and of liberty. I propose that it be decreed that the National Assembly during three days shall wear mourning for Benjamin Franklin." This oration was issued as a four-page pamphlet, and printed by Badouin, Printer to the National Assembly, under the title: "Discourse of the Comte de Mirabeau, at the session of this morning 11th of June, on the death of Benjamin Franklin. Printed by order of the National Assembly."

With regard to other memorial celebrations held in Paris at the time of Franklin's death, we are indebted to Parton for the following particulars: "The city of Paris, the revolutionary clubs, and the Academy of Sciences, each held a ceremonial in honour of the departed patriot. On the day of the municipal celebration, almost every one who appeared in the streets wore some badge of mourning, and the great rotunda of the Grain Market, when the orator of the day delivered his address, was hung with black, and the whole audience were clad in mourning. The Society of Printers of Paris, on the same day, paid peculiar honors to the memory of their illustrious craftsman. A bust of Franklin, crowned with a wreath, was placed upon a column in a spacious hall. Around the base of the column were arranged cases of type and a printing press. While one of their number was pronouncing an oration in honor of Franklin, others were employed in setting it in type: and when it was done, impressions were struck off, and distributed among the crowd."

We are further told that one of the club celebrations "attracted much attention." And it might well be so, for its peculiar significance will at once be appreciated by those who are members of our Fraternity. Let us hear then about this: "The Friends of the Revolution and Humanity assembled at the Café Procope, and wishing to render all the honors to the memory of the celebrated Franklin, ordered all the glasses to be covered with crape, and the inner apartment to be hung with black. On the door towards the street was the following inscription, 'Franklin Est Mort.' At one end of the apartment was placed his bust, crowned with oak-leaves: and at the foot of the pedestal was engraven the word 'VIR.' Two cypresses elevated their melancholy branches above it; on the two sides of it were the celestial and terrestrial globes, charts, etc.: and under it a serpent biting his tail, as an emblem of immortality. An orator read a simple but pathetic discourse, in which he recounted the benefits this illustrious philosopher had conferred upon mankind: and in order to honour his *manes* in a manner still more worthy of him, on the following day a quantity of bread, bought by subscription, in which everyone was eager to concur, was distributed among the people." From this account I glean the idea that some of the more ardent members of the *Neuf Soeurs* must have been behind the scenes in the organization of this tribute. Though there is no mention, as I have said, of any concrete manifestation from the celebrated Lodge, it may well have been that several of its members would as private individuals join in this manifestation with those who were evidently brother-Masons.

As to the place of meeting, there is a reference in that interesting book, "The Stones of Paris," which was published in New York in 1899. The reference is as follows: "'Café à la Voltaire' is the legend you may read today on a pillar of the Café Procope, in the Rue de l'Ancienne Comedie, directly opposite the old Comedie Française . . . In the little room on the left, as you walk in on the ground floor, they treasure still, while these lines are written, Voltaire's table. He sat near the stage that produced his plays, sipping his own special and abominable blend of coffee and chocolate. With him sat, among the not so notable, Diderot, d'Alembert, Marmontel, Rousseau with his young friend Grimm, and Piron, Voltaire's pet enemy . . . During the Revolution, while the Café de la Regence, which faces the present Comedie Française, was the pet resort of the Royalist writers, this Café Procope was the gathering place of the Republican penmen, and they draped its walls in black

and wore mourning for three days, when word came across the water in 1790 of the death of Benjamin Franklin, the complete incarnation to them of true Republicanism." This Café, which had so great a reputation, was established by one Francesco dei Coltelli, who afterwards became known as François Procope. One of his sons, Michel, took up the profession of medicine but it is said that he was more often found at Masonic assemblies or at the theatre than at the bedsides of his patients. He had a literary turn of mind and wrote a five-act comedy, *Arlequin balourd* [the word *balourd* means *simpleton*] which was produced at a London theatre in 1719. He is said to have been the only Mason of his time whose name lived on in popular favour. He was a member of the Lodge *Saint Jean de la Discretion*." Evidently the virtue inculcated by the name of the Lodge did not always possess him.

I have said that the tribute to Franklin that one might have expected from the *Neuf Soeurs* was not, through force of circumstance, forthcoming. We have, however, evidence that Franklin was still kept in remembrance by the Lodge after he had left Paris, for in 1786 (the year after his return to America) we have this notice in the pages of *Bachaumont*: "For some time the Lodge of the Nine Sisters has not been in active evidence: today she once more awakens attention by an academic programme, which is announced thus: 'The Society, known under the name of the Nine Sisters, composed of savants, artists, and litterateurs, and presided over by Benjamin Franklin during the year which followed that in which it had the misfortune to lose Voltaire; wishing today to pay public homage of admiration to the celebrated American, whose foresighted guidance of our Lodge one dare not hope to have any more, proposes to Art and Eloquence two prizes, which will be two gold medals, each of the value of 600 'livres.' The prize for Eloquence will be given for a prose elegy on Benjamin Franklin, occupying at least half-an-hour for delivery. The prize for Art will be given for an allegorical design, 2 feet high and 1½ feet wide, representing the services rendered by Benjamin Franklin to Science and American Liberty. All persons, except members of the Society of the Nine Sisters, can enter their names. The Competition is only open till the last day of February, 1787, and the prizes will be distributed at a solemn assembly to be held on the first Monday in May, 1787." There is no record as to whether these prizes were ever awarded, but it seems probable that the "solemn assembly" was never held.

In his will Franklin bequeathed to his daughter, Mrs. Bache, the miniature on ivory that was presented to him by Louis XVI. upon his retirement as Minister to France. It was originally set with three circles of 408 diamonds. There was a proviso attached to this bequest to the effect that he requested that his daughter "would not form any of those diamonds into ornaments either for herself or daughters, and thereby introduce or countenance the expensive, vain, and useless fashion of wearing jewels in this country, and that those immediately connected with the picture may be preserved with the same." Another bequest that Franklin made was expressed as follows: "My fine crab-tree walking stick with a gold head, curiously wrought in the form of the cap of liberty, I give to my friend, and the friend of mankind, General Washington. If it were a sceptre, he has merited it, and would become it. It was a present to me from that excellent woman, Madame de Forbach, the Dowager Duchess of Deuxponts, connected with some verses, which should go with it." The verses appear to have been lost.

Parton gives an interesting account of a great celebration that was held in Boston in 1856 in memory of Franklin. He tells us that "of all the honors paid to the memory of a man by his native city nothing has ever equalled the homage rendered to the character of Franklin by the citizens of Boston, when the statue by Horatio Greenough, which stands in front of the City Hall, was inaugurated . . . the procession was marvellous. It was five miles in length . . . the printers, as was inevitable, came out in great force. One of their cars presented a printing office of the time of Franklin's apprenticeship, with ancient printing-press, type-case and black balls, with printers in the dress

of that period, striking off and throwing among the crowd fac-simile copies of that number of the 'Boston Courant' which first contained the name of Benjamin Franklin as publisher . . . The car of the copper-plate printers threw showers of miniature portraits of Franklin among the people. Electricity was represented by cars containing some of the apparatus employed by Franklin and Priestley, telegraphic apparatus in operation, lightning rods, an electrotyping machine, and a modern electrical machine which gave a shock to as many as chose to touch the dangling knobs . . . The trades were followed by the Masonic orders and the Odd Fellows, with their glittering insignia: and these by the literary, philosophic, and charitable societies. At the end of the long line were the children of the public schools, thousands in number, the boys all in their Sunday best, the girls in white adorned with blue ribbons and badges, bouquets, and wreaths of flowers . . . the record of the proceedings, printed by the authority of the city council, is an octavo volume of 412 pages." This would appear to have been a wonderful tribute, and in the brief extracts I have given from the long account of the proceedings, we have, passing before us, glimpses of the various activities and inventions which have made the name of Franklin so famous. It is difficult adequately to estimate the worth of such a man. The question may rise to our lips, "How did Franklin succeed, where others failed?" It may be, as has been well said, that "the secret lies in his practical philosophy of life." It may be, also, that the foundation of that philosophy lies in the observance of those maxims which he composed for his own guidance during his voyage back to America from England, when he was twenty-two years of age. There is a great deal of moral staying power to be derived from the carrying into practice of such maxims as the following: "They that won't be counselled can't be helped," "One today is worth two tomorrow," and the famous saying, "Early to bed, early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise." These and a host of like mottoes were incorporated in "Poor Richard's Almanack." It was in December, 1732, that Franklin gave the Pennsylvanians the first number of that most renowned of all almanacks, "Poor Richard." It achieved success from its very beginning. The average sale for twenty-five years was, we are told, 10,000 copies a year, a large circulation in those days.

Whilst considering matters literary, I ought to mention that after Franklin's death, an epitaph, written by him at the age of twenty-three, was found amongst his papers. It ran thus: "The body of Benjamin Franklin, Printer, like the cover of an old book, its contents torn out, and stripped of its lettering and gilding, lies here, food for worms, but the work shall not be wholly lost; for it will as he believed, appear once more, in a new and more perfect edition, corrected and amended by the AUTHOR."

As we must now draw to a close, I will only add that I can fancy I hear someone saying, "You have told us certain things about Franklin; you have endeavoured, perhaps unsuccessfully, to make him for a moment a living personality amongst us, but you have given us no portrait of the actual man." I can only answer that Franklin changed considerably both facially and in figure during the various stages of his long career. We may gather, from a contemplation of engravings and portraits, the mind-pictures of a bright open-faced child, full of animation, and with a pretty show of curls falling to his shoulders: later, at the age of twenty, of a fine, well-looking, well-set-up young man, his features set off to advantage by a carefully-curled wig: later, in his French days, of a somewhat wrinkled show of countenance, wearing glasses, adorned as to his head with an ample-sized fur cap; in his old age, a man of benevolent and chastened features, the ideal grand-papa, with stooping shoulders, and flowing white hair. But at every stage I think one may remark the purposeful gaze, the keen vitality, the indomitable will, the inward illumination of genius which marks him out as a leader, intent on victory. In 1767 he wrote from Paris to the daughter of his landlady in Craven Street. The letter was full of fun, and in it he says, "I had not been here six days before my tailor and perruquier had transformed me into a Frenchman. Only think what a figure

I made in a little bag-wig, and with naked ears. They told me I was become twenty years younger, and looked very gallant." He is described at about the age of sixty-nine as having grown portly, and he frequently alludes, in jocular exaggeration, to his great bulk. His head being remarkably large and massive, the increased size of his body was thought to have given proportion as well as dignity to his frame. His face was ruddy, and indicated vigorous health. There is in Paris, close to the Palais du Trocadero, a fine statue of Franklin, seated in his armchair, the statue being the gift of an American. This gives an excellent idea of what he must have been when entering on that span of life which is supposed to exceed the ordinary life of man.

We must now leave our dear friend, the Doctor. *Ave atque Vale.* The world is the better for his advent; he leaves behind him the memory of a life spent for the good of his fellows: I trust the introduction of this subject may be of some interest. I hope it may pave the way for a fuller knowledge of American Masonry, and all it should mean to us, as it must not be forgotten that the earliest settlers sprang from our own stock, and they carried with them such Masonic traditions as we possessed at that time. It pains me sometimes to hear, when ritual points are being discussed, the somewhat scornful remark, "Oh, that only comes from America." It carries the mind back to that kindred gibe, "Can any good come out of Nazareth?" We shall all be better for a greater knowledge of American Masons and their work, and a great deal better if we cultivate that friendly and fraternal feeling which should link together brethren under the Union Jack and under the Stars and Stripes. "Hands across the sea": that should be the motto. Never mind about political and economic differences: the accentuation by means of Masonry of our belief in our fellow-man may help to soften and remove difficulties in the outside world, and will certainly sweeten brotherly intercourse.

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A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. de Lafontaine on the proposition of Bro. G. Norman, seconded by Bro. H. Poole: comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. J. Heron Lepper, G. W. Daynes, J. W. Hobbs, and C. F. Sykes.

Bro. H. Poole said:—

It would not be fair to criticise the writer of such a paper as this for any small omissions which he may have made: volumes would be required to do justice to such a man as Benjamin Franklin; and we must congratulate Bro. Lafontaine on the skill with which he has contrived to combine a pleasing and adequate portrait of the man with what is probably a very complete account of the Mason.

There are, however, two points on which I venture to supplement the material which Bro. Lafontaine has put before us. The first has no obviously direct bearing on Masonry, though Bro. Lafontaine has thought it of sufficient interest to include—I refer to the Junto. Brethren who have heard this paper read will get, I think, the impression that this 'secret society' was just a boyish club, which persisted for perhaps a year or two, but had no lasting effect. This was far from being the case. Somewhere near ten years after its foundation, it was so popular among its members, who were limited to twelve, that some wished to enlarge the circle by the introduction of friends. The project was finally adopted that each member should form a fresh circle of his own: the subjects for discussion being more or less controlled by the Junto through its member; and each new circle, like the original, to be secret, and to be unaware of the existence of the central body. They were not all successful: but five or six, Benjamin Franklin tells us, were completed, "which were called by different names, as the Vine, the Union, the Band, etc. They were useful to themselves," he goes on, "and afforded us a good deal of amusement, information, and instruction, besides answering, in some considerable degree, our views of influencing the public opinion on particular occasions." It was, in fact, a powerful instrument for sounding, as well as educating, public opinion: and nearly thirty years after the formation of the original society, we still find Benjamin Franklin using it to air proposals for the public good, before coming out into the open to enlist public support for them.

The other matter on which fuller detail seems to be called for concerns the Lodge in which Benjamin Franklin was initiated. Little is known of this Lodge or its status; but what is known or can be conjectured is by no means without its interest. In 1730 there seem to have been several Lodges working in Philadelphia, though not one seems to have had any sort of a warrant from any authority. In that year, Bro. Daniel Coxe, a wealthy man of New York, while visiting England, was authorized as Prov.G.M. of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. There is some rather doubtful evidence that he was approached by a Pennsylvania Lodge with the object of obtaining sanction for its proceedings; but, on the whole, the evidence seems to show that Daniel Coxe did not visit America during his two years' tenure of the office, and that no Lodges were constituted by him. The appointment of Bro. Price as Prov.G.M. of Massachusetts, and G.M. of all America, seems to have been two years later, though no record of the Patent is to be found in our G.L. Minutes—there being, in fact, a complete blank between March, 1734, and February, 1735. But in the meantime we find Bro. William Allen, and later Benjamin Franklin himself, functioning as G.M. of Pennsylvania—a creation of those Lodges, which Bro. J. F. Sachse tells us took place in 1732. The Thos. Carmick MS. of the Old Charges, of 1727, rather helps to strengthen the probability that the Philadelphia Lodges worked on no constituted authority (though the mention of 'St. John's Lodge' in that MS. cannot be taken as proving any special association with the Lodge in which Benjamin Franklin was initiated); and there seems to have been the same want of higher authority for the creation of a G.L. This jurisdiction, which is now, of course, an independent G.L., claims, in fact, to have been the third G.L. in the world to form itself by the union of private Lodges acting on a 'time-immemorial' footing. The fact that Benjamin Franklin was the first J.G.W. and the second G.M., seems to suggest that here, as in everything else with which he had to do, he was well to the front.

I most heartily endorse Bro. Lafontaine's tribute to Benjamin Franklin the man, and to his Autobiography—a most fascinating book to read,—and have great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to him for the very entertaining paper he has read us.

Bro. J. Heron Lepper said:—

Brother Lafontaine's scholarly and fascinating paper has covered a period, comprised within the lifetime of one man, which is one of the most important

in the history of Freemasonry in the United States—beginning with the establishment there of the earliest regular Lodges and ending with the establishment of the first independent Grand Lodges of the young Republic.

As I, for one, certainly cannot pick any holes in the facts that have been offered to us to-night, the only way I can express the interest I have taken in the paper is by tagging on a few additional notes, not strictly correlative perhaps to our venerated Brother Benjamin Franklin, but at any rate germane to the Masonic history of the country which had the happy fortune to give him birth.

Brother Franklin's newspaper was not the only one that published items of Masonic interest in the early days. May I quote you one that appeared on 28th November, 1737, in the *New York Gazette*, in the form of a letter addressed to the printer:—

"Mr. Bradford: There being a new and unusual sect or Society of persons of late appeared in our native Country, and from thence spread into some other Kingdoms and Common Wealths, and at last has extended to these parts of *America*, their Principles, Practices and Designs not being known, nor by them published to the World, has been the reason that in Holland, France, Italy, and other Places they have been suppresst. All other Societies that have appeared in the World have published their Principles and Practices, and when they meet set open their Meeting-house Doors, for all that will come in and see and hear them, but this Society called FREE MASONS, meet with their Doors shut, and a Guard at the outside, to prevent any to approach near to hear or see what they are doing. And as they do not publish their Principles or Practices, so they oblige all their Proselytes to keep them secret, as may appear by the severe Oath they are obliged to take at their first admittance."

(Quoted in McClenachan's "History of F.M. in New York," vol. i., pp. 123-4.)

I would like also to make a passing reference to a matter touched on by Brother Lafontaine at no great length, the establishment of the Provincial Grand Lodge of the Antients in Philadelphia, which in, comparatively, a very short time completely ousted its older Modern rival, and became the direct ancestor of the existing Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. The correspondence on the subject has been preserved, presenting the Antient side of the case, and if it is worthy of credence (and it rings true) the Provincial Grand Master of the Moderns had only himself to thank for the split in Philadelphia. What happened was: certain Masons, resident in Philadelphia, who had been made in English, Irish and Scottish Lodges, obtained a charter to work as a Masonic Body under the Premier Grand Lodge, and continued so to work for some time. But they followed the Antient ritual; and their Worshipful Master hailed originally from a Lodge in Belfast. These two facts, I have no doubt, dovetailed into one another to form a stumbling-block, because a Belfast Mason then as now would not have had the slightest scruple in telling any Provincial Grand Master in any part of the known world that any Ritual which did not conform to the Belfast standard must *ipso facto* be wrong. Whether Brother Brooks, which was the name of the Irish Brother, was so tactless as to say this in so many words I cannot vouch, though I have my suspicions; but there is no doubt at all that Brother Allen, the Provincial Grand Master, told Brother Brooks and his fellows that they would have to alter their ritual to suit the Modern cut. They refused to obey; obtained a Warrant from the Antients in London; then a Provincial Warrant; and eventually choked out every Modern Lodge in Pennsylvania. Yet if they had only been left in peace to carry on their accustomed Antient working, as indeed was being practised by so many Lodges under the Premier Grand Lodge, then there would have been no schism in Pennsylvania, and that State might have numbered among the first of its Grand Masters the revered name of Benjamin Franklin.

The War of the American Revolution is, of course, full of Masonic incidents. In the very first battle, that of Bunker's Hill, the Grand Master of

Massachusetts, General Joseph Warren, fell on the side of the Continentals. In the published letters of Mrs. John Adams to her husband (New York, 1876) we get some Masonic references. I will only premise that these letters being written at a time of great excitement and bitter feeling, we should act wisely in not giving complete credence to anything which the letter-writer did not witness in person.

Writing on 31st July, 1775, six weeks after the battle, she says:—

"We learn . . . that our ever valued friend Warren, dear to us even in death, was not treated with any more respect than a common soldier; but the savage wretches, called officers, consulted together, and agreed to sever his head from his body and carry it in triumph to (General) Gage . . . What humanity could not obtain, the rites and ceremonies of a Mason demanded. An officer, who it seems was one of the Brotherhood, requested that as a Mason he might have the body unmangled, and find a decent interment for it. He obtained his request, but upon returning to secure it, he found it already thrown into the earth . . ."

Warren's body was disinterred from the battlefield in 1776, and on the 7th April Mrs. Adams writes:—

"Yesterday the remains of our worthy General Warren were dug up upon Bunker's Hill, and carried into town, and on Monday are to be interred with all the honors of war."

And on the 10th April:—

"The Doctor was buried on Monday; the Masons walking in procession from the State House, with the military in uniforms, and a large concourse of people attending."

I have here two more extracts taken from the American Press in those Revolutionary days. I am not going to read them to you now, for I have taken up more than my fair share of the time allotted for discussion of the paper; I may say, however, that the first describes St. John's Day in Winter, 1778, at Philadelphia, with our Brother George Washington joining in the Masonic procession to church; and the second, St. John's Day in Summer, 1781, at New York, with an English Antient Lodge also attending church, and later drinking healths five fathoms deep to Lords Cornwallis and Rawdon, later to be known as the Earl of Moira, a name not likely soon to be forgotten in English Masonry.

Surely from the very circumstance of being able to point out two such names of estimable men and Masons on opposing sides in the great Revolutionary struggle, we may venture the prophecy that the ties that bind us, of blood, of sympathy, of idealism, are far, far stronger than any petty subject of disagreement that can ever arise between two great nations; and because Brother Lafontaine has reminded us to-night of what should be our duty, our hope and our pride, to foster a better understanding between the Masonic Brotherhoods of the leaders of civilization in the Old World and the New, my thanks are even more heartfelt to him than they would have been for mere erudition and grace of language, ample as these have been, and just what he has always given us every reason to expect from him.

ADDENDA.

(Taken from Moore's "Diary of the American Revolution.")

"December 28 (1778).—This day agreeable to the constitution of the Most Ancient and Worshipful Society of Free and Accepted Masons, was celebrated at Philadelphia, the anniversary of St. John the Evangelist. At nine o'clock in the morning near three hundred of the brethren assembled at the College, and at eleven o'clock went in regular procession from thence to Christ Church to

attend divine service. The order of procession was as follows, viz.: 1. The Sword Bearer. 2. Two Deacons, with blue wands tipped with gold. 3. The three orders, Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian, borne by three brethren. 4. The Holy Bible and Book of Constitutions, on two crimson velvet cushions, borne by the Grand Treasurer and Grand Secretary. 5. A Reverend Brother. 6. Four Deacons bearing wands. 7. His Excellency our illustrious brother George Washington, Esquire, supported by the Grand Master and his Deputy. 8. The two Grand Wardens, bearing the proper Pillars. 9. The past Masters of the different Lodges. 10. The present Masters of Lodges. 11. The Senior Wardens. 12. The Junior Wardens. 13. The Secretaries. 14. The Treasurers (of the different private Lodges). 15. Brother Proctor's Band of Music. 16. Visiting Brethren. 17. The Members of different Lodges, walking two and two, according to seniority.

"The procession entered the church in the order of their march, and the brethren took their seats in the pews of the middle aisle, which were kept empty for their reception. Prayers were then read by the Reverend Mr. White, and the following anthem was sung in its proper place by sundry of the Brethren, accompanied by the organ and other instrumental music, viz.:

"Behold how good and joyful a thing it is," etc. (words given in full).

"After which a most excellent and well-adapted sermon was preached by our reverend and worthy brother, William Smith, D.D. The text was taken from 1st Peter, 2nd Chapter and 16th verse. The brethren have since requested the sermon to be published, and the profits to be applied to the use of the poor.

"After divine service the procession returned in the same order to the college: the musical bells belonging to the church and the band of music playing proper Masonic tunes. The brethren being all new cloathed, and officers in the proper *jewels* of their respective Lodges, and their other badges of dignity, made a genteel appearance.

"The brethren afterwards departed to their respective Lodges, where they dined together with their usual harmony and sociability, the sum of four hundred pounds having been collected in church among the brethren and other charitable fellow-citizens who honored them with their company, for the relief of the poor."

(*Pennsylvania Packet*, January 2, 1779.)

"June 26 (1781). Yesterday being the anniversary festival of St. John the Baptist was celebrated by the worshipful master and brethren of Lodge No. 210, Antient York Masons,[1] in the city of New York in the following order, viz.:

"They repaired from their Lodge-room, in due form, to the St. Paul's Church, where an excellent sermon was delivered by our brother Walter: afterwards they crossed the East River, and had a truly elegant dinner, provided by brothers Hay and Kirk, at Brooklyn Hall, where the following loyal and Masonic toasts were given, viz.:

"1. The King and the craft: 2. The Queen, royal family, with Masons' wives and bairns: 3. Sir Henry Clinton, and all loyal Masons: 4. Admiral Arbuthnot, with the other officers of the navy, and all distressed Masons: 5. Generals Knyphausen and Reidesel, with the troops under their command, with our visiting brethren: 6. The army and navy of Great Britain, and the grand-masters of England, Ireland, and Scotland: 7. Lords Cornwallis and Rawdon, and the army to the southward, with the Ancient Fraternity: 8. All loyal subjects, and each faithful fair that loves the Craft of Masonry: 9. Success to the loyal embodied refugees, and our ancient fellow lodges in this city; 10. Victory to our fleets and armies in the West Indies, and all regular ancient lodges: 11. May the Congress at Vienna consult the honour of Great Britain in their councils, and may every good man be a Mason, and every Mason a good

[1] No. 210 Antients, New York, 1779-89.

man: 12. A speedy conviction to our enemies of the error of their ways, and the day.

"After which the following song was sung":

(A topical version of "God save the King" follows.)

"After which they re-crossed the East River, repaired to their lodge-room and closed the day."

(*Gaine's Mercury*, July 2, 1781.)

Bro. C. F. Sykes said:—

Bro. de Lafontaine has indeed given us an interesting and illuminating picture of Benjamin Franklin as a Mason, and though I am unable to add anything concerning his connection with the Craft, I am tempted to allude to two points in his career, one with reference to his work as a printer and the other to his discoveries as a scientist.

In the years 1723-6 Franklin worked as a journeyman printer at Mr. Watts's, on the South side of Wild Court, a turning out of Great Wild Street, quite close to the rear of Freemasons' Hall in which we are now meeting. During this period he lived near by in Duke Street, where he paid 3/6 a week for his lodging. Rather than lose a good lodger, his landlady afterwards reduced his rent to 2/- a week.

The press at which Franklin worked was preserved and was for many years in the office of Messrs. Wyman. It was subsequently purchased and sent to America.

Mr. Edward Walford, in "Old & New London," says:—

> "The following inscription is engraved upon the plate affixed to the front of the press:—
>
> 'Dr. Franklin's remarks relative to this Press, made when he came to England as agent of the Massachusetts, in the year 1768. The Doctor at this time visited the Printing office of Mr. Watts of Wild St., Lincoln's Inn Fields, and, going up to this particular Press (afterwards in the possession of Messrs. Cox & Son, of Great Queen Street, of whom it was purchased), thus addressed the men who were working at it:—"Come my friends, we will drink together. It is now forty years since I worked like you, at this Press, as a journeyman Printer." The Doctor then sent out for a gallon of Porter, and he drank with them—
>
> 'Success to Printing.'
>
> From the above it will appear that it is 108 years since Dr. Franklin worked at this identical Press.
>
> June 1833.

It is of interest, I think, to note that our immediate neighbourhood was intimately connected with the subject of to-night's paper.

After the discovery of the Leyden jar in 1745, Franklin experimented as to the nature of electricity, and as a result invented the pointed lightning conductor.

In June, 1764, there was a severe thunderstorm in London, the steeple of St. Bride's, Fleet Street, then unprotected by a conductor, was struck by lightning and the upper part badly damaged. This experience awakened the authorities of St. Paul's as to the danger in which the Cathedral stood. The Government, too, was very concerned relative to the safety of its gunpowder magazine at Purfleet. The Royal Society, then meeting at Crane Court, Fleet Street, was requested to conduct an enquiry as to the value of lightning con-

ductors and the best means of fixing them. A Committee decided in favour of Franklin's pointed conductor, one member only favouring a conductor terminating in a blunt knob. A controversy arose as to "knobs" or "points," and when the dispute came between the Mother Country and the American Colonies it took on a political significance. Because the pointed conductor had been invented in America, the supporters of 'points' were looked upon as the Colonial party; while the 'knobs' were considered to be Royalists. George III. had blunt conductors fixed upon his palace and endeavoured to secure the assistance of the President of the Royal Society in their favour. When the President replied to the King, "Sire, I cannot reverse the laws and operations of Nature," the King exclaimed, "Then you are not fit to be President of the Royal Society."

One of Franklin's supporters wrote the following epigram:—

"While you, great George for knowledge hunt,
And sharp conductors change for blunt,
The nation's out of joint;
Franklin a wiser course pursues,
And all your thunder useless views,
By keeping to the point."

It may be also of interest to note that Voltaire as a young man visited London and lodged at a wigmaker's whose house had the sign of the White Peruke in Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, which is near to our present meeting place.

Bro. G. W. Daynes *writes*:—

I, too, should like to express my appreciation of the Paper that Bro. Lafontaine has just read to us, chiefly because the receipt of an advance proof of it prompted me to take down from my library shelves and re-read "The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin." In this materialistic and self-seeking age it is good to turn back to one whose life was for many years devoted to his fellow-creatures, and who from an early age was "convinced that *truth*, *sincerity*, and *integrity*, in dealings between man and man, were of the utmost importance to the felicity of life."

We have had this evening a delightful glimpse of one who has been acknowledged to have had but few equals. Whilst piecing together such scraps of Masonic information as he has been able to find concerning the subject of this sketch, Bro. Lafontaine has cemented them with other items of information, and has thus given us a brief but coherent narrative of an interesting side of Franklin's life.

In perusing the Autobiography I was attracted by the name of Sir William Keith, who was a member of Lodges meeting at the Queen's Arms in Newgate Street, and the Hoop and Griffin in Leadenhall Street, respectively, in 1731, and who acted as Junior Grand Warden at the Quarterly Communication held on the 13th December, 1733. In 1723 Sir William Keith, then Governor of Pennsylvania, appears to have introduced himself to Franklin, proposed his setting up as a printer in Philadelphia, and offered to use his influence to secure him the public business of the colony. The Governor had him to dinner occasionally, and he tells us "he conversed with me in a most affable, familiar and friendly manner." In 1724, when Franklin was back in Philadelphia, Sir William offered to set him up in business, as his Father would not do it, and arranged for him to go to England to purchase the necessary outfit. On arrival he found that there was no letter of credit, nor were there any letters of introduction, as promised by Sir William, who had, in fact, deceived him throughout. He then learnt that Sir William was very often liberal of promises which he never meant to keep, and that "no one who knew him had the smallest dependence on him." This is what Franklin says of the incident:—

"But what shall we think of a Governor playing such pitiful tricks, and imposing so grossly on a poor ignorant boy! It was a habit he had acquired. He wished to please everybody; and, having little to give, he gave expectations. He was otherwise an ingenious, sensible man, a pretty good writer, and a good Governor for the people; though not for his constituents, the Proprietaries, whose instructions he sometimes disregarded. Several of our best laws were of his planning, and passed during his administration."

Incidentally, Franklin states that Sir William Keith was a free thinker. Franklin's exposure of this unmasonic trait in Sir William Keith's character is certainly worthy of note. As his name does not appear in any of the lists of Members of Lodges in the Grand Lodge List of 1725 we can only hope that he was not then a Freemason. In the Minutes of the Old King's Arms Lodge No. 28 we are given a glimpse of Sir William Keith. On the 7th January, 1734, Sir William Keith, who was "a member of the Masters Lodge," was put forward for membership and it was resolved to ballot for him on the next Lodge Night. Upon the Ballot taking place, on the 4th February, 1734, there was one negative vote in twelve, and Sir William was not elected. Subsequently the Lodge By-Laws were altered so that it took three negatives to exclude. I wonder if perchance a member of the Lodge had suffered from deception at the hands of Sir William and this was the reason why he failed to secure election as a joining member.

We are told that Franklin was initiated in February, 1731. In his Autobiography he tells us of a great and extensive project which he had conceived, no less than raising a United Party for Virtue, by forming the virtuous and good men of all nations into a regular body. On 9th May, 1731, he records in writing his observations on "reading history in the Library," and subsequently jotted down his thoughts on scraps of paper, one of which was preserved purporting to be the substance of an intended creed for this Society. It is expressed thus:—

"That there is one God who made all things.
That He governs the world by His providence.
That He ought to be worshipped by adoration, prayer, and thanksgiving.
But that the most acceptable service to God is doing good to man.
That the soul is immortal.
And that God will certainly reward virtue and punish vice, either here or hereafter."

Franklin then goes on to explain his project as follows:—

"My ideas at that time were that the sect should be begun and spread at first among young and single men only; that each person to be initiated should not only declare his assent to such creed, but should have exercised himself with the thirteen week's examination and practice of the virtues, as in the before-mentioned model; that the existence of such a society should be kept a secret, till it was become considerable, to prevent solicitations for the admission of improper persons; but that the members should each of them, search among his acquaintance for ingenious, well-disposed youths, to whom, with prudent caution, the scheme should be gradually communicated. That the members should engage to afford their advice, assistance, and support to each other in supporting one another's interest, business, and advancement in life. That, for distinction, we should be called THE SOCIETY OF THE FREE AND EASY. Free, as being, by the general practice and habits of the virtues, free from the domination of vice; and particularly, by the practice of industry and frugality, free from debt, which exposes a man to constraint, and a species of slavery to his creditors."

This project was never prosecuted to fruition, but may we not be permitted to conjecture whether the broad and liberal tenets of the Craft, coupled with its moral precepts, did not in some way give the lead to this scheme?

From the rapid progress made by Franklin in St. John's Lodge, Philadelphia, we may assume that he was an active Mason. In the records of this Lodge there is an interesting report by a Committee of the Members, drawn up on the 5th June, 1732, which according to Bro. R. F. Gould "is pronounced on good authority" to be in the handwriting of Franklin. Two of these resolutions are transcribed by Gould, and are as follows:—

> "1. That since the excellent Science of Geometry and Architecture is so much recommended in our ancient Constitutions, Masonry being first instituted with this Design, among others, to distinguish the true and skilful Architect from unskilful Pretenders: total ignorance of this art is very unbecoming a Man who bears the worthy Name and Character of MASON:
> We therefore conclude, that it is the Duty of every Member to make himself, in some Measure, acquainted therewith, as he would honour the Society he belongs to, and conform to the Constitutions.
> 2. That every Member may have an Opportunity of so doing, the present Cash to be laid out in the best Books of Architecture, suitable Mathematical Instruments, &c." (Gould, vol. iii., p. 430.)

The years 1731-1740 form a very interesting Masonic period in America. The problems surrounding Daniel Coxe and Henry Price as Provincial Grand Masters, as well as the genesis of several of the early American Lodges, still await full solution. Even a statement of the known facts would exceed the bounds of a Paper, let alone the observations on one. However, let me just point out one difficulty which is germane to this discussion. Although Franklin, in his letter to the Grand Master and Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, dated 28th November, 1734, says that "Mr. Price's deputation and power was extended over all America," yet the Boston prints from which Franklin quotes cannot be found, neither can any such "article of news from London" be identified in any of the contemporary London Press. Neither the Minute of Grand Lodge, nor the Constitutions of 1738, record the appointment of Price as a Provincial Grand Master of any part of America.

It is interesting to note that the advertisement of Franklin's Reprint of the Constitutions of 1723 appeared in May, 1734. He is installed Prov.G.M. of Pennsylvania on the following 24th June, and then two months later the Reprint is published. Although there are a number of typographical slips and certain omissions it does not pretend to be more than a reprint. The title page is copied from Anderson, with the exception that at the bottom we have, in lieu of Anderson, "London, 1723. Reprinted in Philadelphia by Special Order for the use of Brethren in North-America. In the Year of Masonry 5734. Anno Domini 1734." Here we have ample scope for discussion. From whom did the Special Order emanate? Certainly not from England, and hardly from Price, as at that time Franklin had not seen the Boston prints.

As early as 1748 Franklin's name appears in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society. In 1753, he is awarded the Copley Medal by the Society, on which occasion the Earl of Macclesfield, in his address to the Society, at the Anniversary Meeting, stated that:

> "the Council could not overlook the merit of Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania: for though he be not a Fellow of this Society, nor an inhabitant of this island, is a subject of the Crown of Great Britain, and must be acknowledged to have deserved well of the philosophical world, and of this learned body in particular, to whom he has at various times caused to be communicated many of the experiments he has made, and of which you have lately received a large collection." (Royal Society Journal Book, vol. xxii., p. 414.)

In 1756, on the 29th April, Franklin was duly elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In a letter to his son, William Franklin, then the Governor of New Jersey, dated the 19th December, 1767, he gives the following account of his election:—

> "I had an opportunity of looking over the old Council-books and Journals of the Society, and having a curiosity to see how I came in, (of which I had never been informed,) I looked back for the minutes relating to it. You must know that it is not usual to admit persons that have not requested to be admitted; and a recommendatory certificate in favour of the candidate, signed by, at least, three of the members, is by one rule to be presented to the Society, expressing that he is desirous of that honor, and is so and so qualified. As I never had asked or expected that honor, I was, as I said before, curious to see how the business was managed. I found that the certificate, worded very advantageously for me, was signed by Lord Macclesfield, their President, Lord Parker and Lord Willoughby, that the election was by an unanimous vote; and the honour being voluntarily conferred by the Society unsolicited by me, it was thought wrong to demand or receive the usual fees or composition; so that my name was entered in the list with a vote of the Council, that I was not to pay anything. And, accordingly, nothing has ever been demanded of me. In my case, a substantial favor accompanied the honor." (History of the Royal Society by G. R. Weld, ii., p. 8.)

Franklin's Certificate reads as follows:—

> "Benjamin Franklin, Esq., of Philadelphia, a gentleman who has very eminently distinguished himself by various discoveries in natural philosophy, and who first suggested the experiments to prove the analogy between lightning and electricity, being desirous of being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, is recommended by us, in consideration of his great merit, and of his many communications, as highly deserving the honor he desires.
>
> Signed Macclesfield, Parker, Willoughy,
> P. Collinson, W. Watson, Thomas Birch,
> James Parsons, John Canton."

(History of the Royal Society by G. R. Weld, vol. ii., p. 8.)

In 1760 Franklin was elected into the Council of the Royal Society, a position he retained for several years. On two occasions he was appointed to serve on important Committees, concerning matters referred to the Royal Society for their report.

At the time that Franklin received the Degree of LL.D. at St. Andrew's University, in 1759, he also received the Freedom of the city of Edinburgh. He had apparently been made a M.A. at Harvard and at Yale in 1753, and at the College of William and Mary in 1756; and in 1762 received the Degree of D.C.L. at Oxford.

Franklin resided in England, at different times, for upwards of fifteen years, and by his official position and his learning, came into contact with most of the leading men in England, as well as many in Scotland. Many of these must have been Freemasons; and just as he was invited to the Royal Society's Club, so also would he have been invited to attend Masonic meetings. He was known as a Freemason, and we have been told of his visit, with his Son, to a Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge, on the 17th November, 1760. This was noted in the Constitutions of 1767, when the historical portion of the Book of Constitutions was brought up to date, and also appears in the later editions until the Union of 1813. Apparently, there are no other entries concerning Franklin in the Minute Books of Grand Lodge. Now as to private Lodges. The only Lodge in which I have been able to trace Franklin is Bro.

Lafontaine's own Lodge, the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 2. This Lodge, at that time known as The West India & American Lodge, welcomed the Doctor and his Son as distinguished visitors on the 8th August, 1759. The following is an extract from the Minute Book of that Lodge:—

> "In persuance of the above minute the Lodge met This 8th day of Augt. 1759 And was open'd in due form. Two Brethren were admitted. Two Gentlemen proposed by Bror. Humphreys were made Masons and became members of the Lodge. Vizt. Bros. Tucker and McCulloh. There were five Visitors who pd. 2/- each, one of Stewards Lodge & two Sea fareing members who pd. 18d. each.
> Besides the honor of haveing the Provintial Grand of Pensilvania (and) his Son the Gd. Secretary who were by law excused paying for their Visit.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Bror. Hammon past Mastr. at the desire of the Rt. W. Master gave a very proper charge to the new made Brethren.
> All business being over the Lodge was closed."

The Members of the Lodge at this date appear to have been, William Appleton, James Critchley, Henry Burgh, David Humphreys, George Mason, William Wilder, Robert Field, William Nicholson, Richard Stevens, John Hammond, Philip Moses, William Fleetwood, ——— Cross, ——— Ketell, ——— Kemp, Thomas Marriott Perkins, Mundeford Allen, Thomas Dyne, John Elias Jaquery, ——— Lundin, Alexander Miller, Thomas Nelmes, Joseph Clever, Thomas Gibbs, Philip Lucombe, Captain William Marson or Marsam, Robert Mitchell, and John Scott. Did one of these Brethren bring Franklin and his son, or did they attend of their own volition not knowing any member?

I hope, in due course, other evidence of Franklin's Masonic activities in England will turn up, for it would certainly be strange if he did not sometimes attend Lodges during his long stay in England. Perhaps the Minutes of some Provincial Lodge might disclose him as a Visitor, during one of his periodical visits throughout England, Wales, and Scotland. We know that Franklin visited Cambridge, Birmingham, Chester, Bristol, and Bath, besides other places, where Lodges under the premier Grand Lodge existed. On the 10th October, 1759, the Minutes of the Lodge St. David, Edinburgh, record the presence, as a visitor, of "Br. Franklin Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Philadelphia." (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xxi., p. 270.) This was, of course, Benjamin Franklin's Son, William. There is no evidence that the Father accompanied the Son that evening.

Bro. Lafontaine has alluded to the lack of Masonic references in Franklin's Autobiography, and from the Masonic Student's point of view this is very disappointing. Franklin, however, in an Address, made the following allusions to the Craft:—

> "Freemasonry, I admit, has its secrets. It has secrets peculiar to itself; but of what do they principally consist? They consist of signs and tokens, which serve as testimonials of character and qualifications, which are only conferred after a due course of instruction and examination. They are of no small value. They speak a universal language and act as a passport to the attention and support of the initiated in all parts of the world. They cannot be lost so long as memory retains its power. Let the possessor of them be expatriated, shipwrecked or imprisoned; let him be stripped of everything he has got in the world, these credentials remain. They have stayed the uplifted hand of the destroyer; they have softened the asperities of the tyrant; they have mitigated the horrors of captivity; they have subdued the rancour of malevolence, and broken down the barrier of political animosity. On the field of battle, in the solitudes of the uncultivated forest, or in the busy

> haunts of the crowded city, they have made friends men of the most hostile feelings. The most distant regions and the most diversified conditions rush to the aid of each other, and feel special joy and satisfaction that they have been able to afford relief to a Brother Mason."

I am not quite certain where the Address can be found, for I have taken the quotation from a Summons of America Lodge, No. 3368.

The formation of the Societé Apollonniene in 1780, through the agency of the Lodge Les Neuf Soeurs, is rather striking, and reminds one of the Apollonian Lodge at Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, the subject of a Paper given to our Lodge by Bro. Tuckett (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xxvi., p. 31, etc.). The fact should certainly be noted as it might in some way form a link in the chain of evidence as to the existence of Apollonian Masons.

Lastly, with regard to Franklin as a Man, we feel, I am sure, that his great aim and object in life was to be of practical use to his fellows, and thus promote the welfare of mankind. His views on many subjects were well in advance of the age in which he lived. Thus, with regard to war, he said:—

> "All wars are follies, very expensive and very mischievous ones. When will mankind be convinced of this and agree to settle their differences by arbitration?"

With regard to his religious opinions, Franklin tells us, when recounting the earlier phases of his life, that after passing through a period of doubt he became "a thorough deist." I have already referred to the creed prepared by him about 1732; and at the close of his life—but five weeks before his death—in a letter to Dr. Stiles, President of Yale College, he affirmed his religious beliefs in the following statement:—

> "I believe on one God, the Creator of the Universe; that He governs it by His Providence; that He ought to be worshipped; that the most acceptable service we can render to Him is doing good to His other children; that the soul of man is immortal, and will be treated with justice in another life respecting its conduct in this. These I take to be the fundamental points of all sound religion, and I regard them as you do, in whatever sect I meet with them. As to Jesus of Nazareth, my opinion of whom you particularly desire, I think His system of morals and His religion, as He left them to us, the best the world ever saw, or is like to see; but . . . I have, with most of the present Dissenters in England, some doubts as to His divinity; though it is a question I do not dogmatise upon, having never studied it."

Sagacity and soundness of judgment were distinguishing features of Franklin's mind, and he possessed a perfect mastery over his passions. His great aim, throughout a long life, was to promote the happiness of others, by teaching them practical lessons of wisdom and prudence, and inculcating the principles of rectitude, and the habits of a virtuous life. W. E. H. Lecky, in his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," summing up his life, says:—

> "Franklin is, indeed, one of the very small class of men who can be said to have added something of real value to the art of living. Very few writers have left so many profound and original observations on the causes of success in life, and on the best means of cultivating the intellect and the character. . . . He had no religious fervour, and no sympathy with those who appeal to strong passions or heroic self-abnegation; but his busy and somewhat pedestrian intellect was ceaselessly employed in devising useful schemes for the benefit of mankind." (Vol. iv., p. 139.)

I like to think of him as one who, during an arduous life, kept in the very forefront of his scheme of things certain rules and precepts, which were then and still are fundamental tenets of the Craft, and who also wrote for our guidance:—

> "Dost thou love life, then do not squander time, for that is the stuff life is made of."

Bro. Cart de Lafontaine *writes*, in reply:—

Bro. Poole tells us something about the Junto, and points out that my paper may give the impression that this was a boyish venture, and I agree with him that my few remarks on the subject may bear that interpretation. I am glad that he has pointed out what far-reaching results sprang from this assembly. I only mentioned the Junto to show that from an early age Franklin may be said to have possessed tendencies leading in the direction of Masonry.

Bro. Poole then plunges into the Price and Coxe controversy, into which I refuse to be drawn (*vide* reply to Bro. Daynes).

Bro. Daynes very wisely says that the statements regarding the Henry Price and Daniel Coxe controversy would more than fill a paper, a sufficient reason for my declining to enter the arena as a combatant for either side.

It is by an extraordinary oversight that I omitted a mention of the visit of Dr. Franklin and his son to the Lodge of Antiquity in 1759. Bro. Daynes gives the names of those who "appear to have been" members of the Lodge at that time. So far as I can make out from an examination of the list given in our Lodge history, the following designations may be applied to some of these Masons:—William Appleton, Master of the Lodge: James Critchley, Shoemaker, S.W.; Henry Burgh, Engraver, J.W.: David Humphreys (also of the Mourning Bush Lodge), Hosier, Treasurer; George Mason, Haberdasher, Secretary. Philip Moses, Tailor, preceded Appleton as Master, and Appleton is succeeded by Thomas Marriott Perkins, Provincial Grand Master of Mosquito Shore in 1761, and of Jamaica from 1762 to 1770. (Is it not possible that this may be the Brother who invited the Franklins to visit the Lodge?) Of the others, William Wilder, Pipe-Maker, Robert Field, Cabinet Maker, and William Nicholson, were P.M.'s of the Lodge. The only two members who are described as "Gents." are Thomas Gibbs, and the aforesaid T. M. Perkins. Thomas Dyne, Linen Draper, was Secretary in 1763. Joseph Cleaver (not Clever) was a Woollen Draper, and Philip Luckombe (not Lucombe) resigned the Lodge in 1760.

As to the "Societé Apollonienne" a great deal might be said. It was in essence a Society formed on academic lines, and there were admitted to its "séances" as guests members of both sexes, as well as regular subscribers. Its first president was the celebrated Court de Gebelin. It was constituted on November 17th, 1780, and had its inaugural meeting on November 23rd. On that occasion the President opened the proceedings by a discourse on the necessity of men observing their social obligations. This was followed by a translation of some of the bolder of Pope's statements in his Essay on Man. Legrand de Laleu then declaimed some verses in the style of Young's "Night Thoughts." The Abbé Cordier de Saint-Firmin, who had always been a prominent figure in the Lodge "Les Neuf Soeurs," read an essay on the sacrifice that literary and artistic persons are called upon to make to gain any measure of success, and La Dixmerie, also a well-known member of the Lodge, made some remarks on Montaigne. There were others, not actually belonging to "Les Neuf Soeurs," who contributed to the programme. The Abbé Rozier read a paper on the Music of the Ancients; M. Lefevre de Villebrun furnished a translation of an inedited ode or hymn attributed to Homer, and said to have been discovered in Russia; and a M. Marechal delighted the audience with some poems of somewhat

amorous flavour. The "Memoires Secrets," to which I have alluded in my paper, in noticing this "réunion," adds this somewhat caustic comment:—"But one came away without being further instructed as to what these gentlemen propose to do, and without remarking anything else than an ordinary meeting of 'literati' offering their wares to those who were willing to appraise their qualities."

Bro. Daynes, in his quotation from Franklin's letter to Dr. Stiles, might with advantage have ended the last paragraph with these explanatory words which finish the Doctor's statement about belief in the divinity of Christ:—"and think it needless to busy myself with it now, when I expect soon an opportunity of knowing the truth with less trouble."

With regard to the "addenda" to Bro. Lepper's remarks, his first item is the account of the great Masonic meeting held at Philadelphia in December, 1778. As one who is musically inclined, I cannot refrain from stating that the anthem performed on that occasion was of a somewhat elaborate nature. First of all came a "Grand Symphony"; then the chorus, "Behold how good and joyful," etc.; this was followed by three solos; and the whole concluded with a trio, with these words, "O! I AM! Inspire us with Wisdom and Strength to support us in all our troubles, that we may worship Thee in the Beauty of Holiness." One of the solos had these characteristic words, "Thou hast gathered us from the East, and from the West, from the North, and from the South; Thou hast made us Companions for the Mighty upon Earth, even for the Princes of Great Nations."

The Rev. William Smith, D.D., who preached the sermon, was born in Scotland in 1727. The sermon was afterwards printed and issued with this dedication:—"To His Excellency, George Washington, Esquire, General and Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States of North America; the Friend of his Country and Mankind, Ambitious of no higher Title if higher was possible; the following Sermon honoured with his Presence when delivered, is dedicated, in testimony of the sincerest Brotherly affection and esteem of his Merit. By Order of the Brethren."

Bro. Sykes, in some interesting details regarding Franklin's early career as a printer, says that the young fellow, when living in Duke Street, paid 3/6 a week for his lodgings, and that this was afterwards reduced to 2/. But Phillips Russell, in his lately-published book on Franklin, tells us that the "lone widow" with whom Benjamin stayed reduced her rent to the even lower figure of 1/6 per week.

Bro. Sykes is reminded, by his mention of Duke Street that the celebrated Voltaire once lived in that neighbourhood. It was towards the close of 1727 that the young Frenchman, who was then busy in writing his "English Letters" and the "Henriade," was lodging in Maiden Lane. The "White Peruke" was kept by an old French barber and "perruquier," and it immediately adjoined the famous Bedford Head Tavern, at which Voltaire is said to have been a frequent visitor.

I cannot but express my appreciation of the very kindly and graceful terms in which allusion has been made to my paper, and I am pleased indeed that it has drawn from Brethren so much valuable information which goes to increase our knowledge of a singularly distinguished and gifted man.

FRIDAY, 2nd MARCH, 1928.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. George Norman, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M., as S.W.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; J. Walter Hobbs, P.A.G.D.C., J.D.; W. J. Williams, I.G.; Thos. M. Carter, P.Pr.G.St.B., Bristol, Stew.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M.; and A. Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. G. E. W. Bridge, F. J. Asbury, P.A.G.D.C., C. Komierowski, Allen Davis, Ed. M. Phillips, Wallace Heaton, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., H. B. Napier, Francis Hyndham, P.G.Stew., Walter Dewes, Ivor Grantham, B. Telepneff, J. Ed. Whitty, F. Bare, E. A. Uttley, P.G.D., T. E. Scott, P.A.G.D.C., Henry G. Gold, A. G. Barnes, G. W. Ward, P. H. Horley, W. Francis, L. G. Wearing, A. E. Gurney, H. Johnson, H. A. Matheson, W. T. J. Gun, A. F. Ford, E. Warren, Fred. Underwood, C. F. Sykes, A. Gault-Macgowan, W. E. F. Peake, G. Pear, Geo. C. Williams, W. Stubbings, W. Young, B. Ivanoff, J. J. Nolan, S. J. Bowers, and Harry Rose.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. R. L. Hurst, Apollo University Lodge No. 357; J. Harris, L.R.; I. Nesteroff, Shadwell Clerke Lodge No. 1910; Henry J. Neilson, Pr.G.W., Notts.; Henry J. Hallett, Earl of Warwick Lodge No. 2504; G. W. W. Brown, Queen Mary's Lodge No. 3327; Charles Buckington, Crays' Valley Lodge No. 2147; H. G. Lumsden, Vincent Lodge No. 3031; and A. L. House, Pr.G.D., Bucks.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Ed. Conder, L.R., P.M.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, I.P.M.; John Stokes, P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M.; J. E. S. Tuckett, P.A.G.S.B., P.M.; Ed. Armitage, P.G.D., Treasurer; G. W. Daynes, S.D.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C.; P.M.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Rev. H. Poole, P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland & Cumberland, S.W.; and J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.

One Lodge, one Lodge of Instruction and Fifty-nine Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Report of the Audit Committee:—

PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE.

The Committee met at the Offices, No. 27, Great Queen Street, London, on Friday, 6th January, 1928.

Present:—Bro. George Norman, W.M., in the Chair, with Bros. W. W. Covey-Crump, Sir Alfred Robbins, Rev. H. Poole, H. C. de Lafontaine, J. Heron Lepper, Gilbert W. Daynes, Gordon P. G. Hills, Lionel Vibert, Cecil Powell, W. J. Williams, J. Walter Hobbs, T. M. Carter, W. J. Songhurst, Secretary, and R. H. McLeod, Auditor.

The Secretary produced his Books, and the Treasurer's Accounts and Vouchers, which had been examined by the Auditor and certified as being correct.

The Committee agreed upon the following

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1927.

Brethren,

We have to record with great regret the death on 22nd January of R.W. Bro. Sir Charles Warren, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Past District Grand Master of the Eastern Archipelago, and the first Master of this Lodge, 1886-1888. Bro. William James Williams and Bro. Thomas Moravian Carter have been elected to full membership, and the total number is, therefore, now 25.

The membership of the Correspondence Circle shows a net decrease of 37. On the 30th November, 1926, we had a total of 3,166, and 200 names were added during the year: on the other hand, 237 were removed from the list, 90 by resignation, 72 by death, and 75 for non-payment of dues. Thus the total number carried forward is 3,129. We must once again urge Brethren to assist us by introducing new members. It is absolutely essential that the number should be increased very considerably, in order to provide means for publishing the *Transactions*.

During the year under review the final portion of Volume xxxvii. was issued, together with the full Volume xxxviii., and further efforts will be made during 1928 to make up arrears in publication. In the accounts now presented £1,000 have been reserved for Volume xxxix. and a similar amount for Volume xl. Subscriptions amounting to £435 17s. 2d. are still owing.

We desire to convey the thanks of the Lodge to our Local Secretaries, who continue to do much good work. A vacancy caused by the removal to Italy of Bro. J. C. G. Grasé, who had rendered excellent service in Holland for 27 years, has been filled by the appointment of Bro. J. J. Becker Elzinga, of Amsterdam. The death of Bro. A. G. M. Gillott (appointed in 1901), and that of Bro. C. W. P. Douglas de Fenzi has created vacancies in Costa Rica and Natal respectively; while the resignation of Bro. W. Platt leaves West Lancashire unrepresented. Bro. F. G. Marriott, of Brisbane, has kindly consented to act in Queensland, where we have had no Local Secretary for upwards of ten years.

For the Committee,

GEORGE NORMAN,
in the Chair.

GENERAL CASH ACCOUNT.

For the Year ending 30th November, 1927.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.	Expenditure.	£	s.	d.
To Cash Balance	278	11	11	By Lodge	41	1	9
,, Lodge	39	7	2	,, Salaries, Rent, Rates and Taxes	719	15	11
,, Joining Fees	98	14	7	,, Lighting, Heating, Cleaning, Insurance, Telephone, Carriage and Sundries ...	163	11	1
,, Subscriptions 1927 ...	1098	17	1	,, Printing, Stationery, etc.	993	11	5
,, do. 1926 ...	162	13	0	,, Medals	18	5	9
,, do. 1925 ...	49	8	0	,, Binding	32	0	9
,, Back Subscriptions ...	18	0	0	,, Sundry Publications ...	68	14	7
,, Life do. ...	113	8	0	,, Summer Outing ...	347	17	2
,, Payments received in Advance	174	16	5	,, Library	12	17	9
,, Medals	20	17	0	,, Repairs (27, Great Queen Street)	5	14	0
,, Binding	82	7	0	,, Postages	246	1	3
,, Sundry Publications ...	246	17	2	,, Local Secretaries' Expenses	4	3	5
,, Summer Outing ...	355	9	9	,, Furniture	6	0	0
,, Interest and Discounts ...	50	9	9	,, Cash in Hand	130	2	0
	£2789	16	10		£2789	16	10

Bro. Thos. M. Carter read the following paper:—

PROVINCIAL WARRANTS.

(PART I.)

BY BRO. T. M. CARTER, P.Pr.S.G.W., Bristol.

I.—PRELIMINARY.

WITH mere lapse of time, and especially after the great changes following the Union of 1813, there is danger lest many of the details of the great Provincial organisation of the Moderns during the latter half of the eighteenth century should be forgotten, and the significance of many documents issued by the Provincial authorities be unappreciated.

It was not until sometime after 1755 that the Moderns Grand Lodge of England adopted the plan of issuing a Constitution to Lodges in true Warrant form,—that is a document itself legally constituting a Lodge and appointing its first Master and Wardens.

About the same time the plan of appointing Provincial Grand Masters was more widely extended, and these, by their Patents of Appointment, were authorised themselves to constitute Lodges under their own name and authority.

The term Provincial Warrant is here used, therefore, to describe a document issued by a Provincial Grand Master in contradistinction to one issuing from the Grand Master or his Deputy. By this decentralisation much provincial activity was stimulated, and it was to this that the Moderns owed their strength at the close of the century.

A study of Provincial Warrants will be greatly helped by a general survey of conditions obtaining at the time, particularly with regard to the two rival organisations the Moderns and the Antients.

For the purpose of this survey only the very bald and objective facts of the formation of new Lodges and erasure of existing ones can be taken, but even from these a very helpful view of the general developments can, I think, be obtained.

In Plate I. a Chart is given—compiled from data in Lane's *Handy Book to the Lists of Lodges*—showing the comparative experience of the Moderns and Antients as indicated by the numbers of Lodges standing in their Registers at the end of every five years from 1735 to the Union in 1813: (the figures for Foreign Lodges being excluded, as not relevant to our enquiry), and the Total Curves in each case being analysed by separately plotting the curves for London and the Provinces.

The curve of Total Moderns accurately follows the curve of London Moderns until 1770, the Provincial Lodges giving steady augmentation but not greatly affecting the quality of the curve; but from that point the reverse obtains: after 1770 the London curve falls, almost without check, until the Union, while the Provincial curve steadily mounts, and (after the level fifteen years, to 1785, of balance in the Total curve between the London losses and the Provincial gains), it is then the Provincial curve which gives its character to the Total curve.

The Antients curve shows a level London curve till 1785 and a slight but steady rise to the time of the Union, by which time the number of Antients Lodges in London was very little short of that of the Moderns.

The Provincial curve shows but slight rise to 1795: from that time until the Union its ascending curve is steeper than that of the Moderns: which character is still apparent even if the deduction of the Lodges disallowed at the Union is made: and it will be seen that while the Total curve of the Moderns is nearly level from 1795 onwards, that of the Antients shows a steep ascent.

The isolation of the Moderns Grand Lodge from all the other independent English-speaking jurisdictions, which had gradually become more and more pronounced, has been indicated as one of the factors leading to the Union [1]: this Chart helps to bring vividly before us the conditions with which the Moderns were faced, and helps us to understand how little they were in the position of dictating terms to "erring schismatics," as was formerly implied.

We see from this Chart a great falling off in London Lodges from 1740 to 1750, then with the establishment of the Antients Grand Lodge in 1751 a steadily increased activity both in London and the Provinces, till the acme is reached in 1770, when the steady fall in London Lodges began and the Provinces but just made good the loss.

It was during the period from 1770 to 1785 that the plan of Warrant issues by the Moderns Provincial Lodges became more general, to be followed during the decade 1785 to 1795 by greatly increased activity in that respect, thus leaving the Antients well out of the running as regards the total number of established Lodges at that time.

In 1799 a new factor arose in the passing of the Act for the Suppression of Seditious Societies (39 Geo. III., cap. 79), which stopped the issue of any new Warrants, and led to widespread traffic in erased ones.

From the point of view of our study of Provincial Warrants the interest therefore ends in 1800, but from the subsequent curves, it will be seen that after that time even in the Provinces the Antients were gaining in numbers.

From a study of the Lists of Lodges formed in the various Provinces given in Appendix I. it will be seen that the centres of activity of the Antients and Moderns are not altogether comparable; many Antient Lodges being formed in Military and Naval Centres such as Kent and Hampshire, and but few in most of the inland counties, except that in the counties of Cheshire, Lancashire, and to a certain extent, Yorkshire, sustained activity is shown during the whole period on the part of both the rival organisations.

Another analysis dealing with similar facts is given in Plate II., which shows the number of *New Lodges* established, and *erasures* made from the Registers during similar quinquennial periods, distinguishing the Antients and the Moderns experience in London and the Provinces.

The same story is apparent here and need not again be detailed, but the presentation of the data in this diagrammatic form may be of assistance to students.

A point of great interest is the number of Erasures from the Register of the Moderns between 1740 and 1755 and the number of London Lodges soon springing up after the formation of the Antients Grand Lodge.

To what extent were they of the same personnel?

Unfortunately the Moderns Register rarely gives the names of members of the Lodges under its jurisdiction at that time, and the information can only be very indirectly accumulated; but it is worth investigating, though quite outside the scope of our present pursuit.

These Charts clearly demonstrate the vital importance of the Provincial organisation of the Moderns in the latter half of the century, and it is the purpose of this paper to discuss in some detail the various ways in which this organisation was effected, and the different methods and experiences of the Provinces; and much of the history of a Province will often be found embedded in the history of its Warrants.

[1] The Irish and Scottish Grand Lodges, as well as those overseas, maintained a closer fraternal association with the Antients—*vide A.Q.C.* xxviii., p. 173, on the *International Compact* by Bro. Chetwode Crawley.

II.—EARLY CONSTITUTIONS OF MODERNS, AND OTHER JURISDICTIONS.

It is impossible to present this subject clearly without some reference to the early practice of the 1717 Grand Lodge, and comparison with that of the other jurisdictions in Ireland and Scotland in the constituting and "warranting" of new Lodges.

This preliminary work was done by Bro. John Lane in a communication to this Lodge on Oct. 4, 1895, "The Early Lodges of Freemasons, their Constitutions and Warrants 1717 to 1760" (*A.Q.C.*, vol. viii., p. 193), and reference should be made to that valuable essay and the interesting discussion that followed.

A brief review must therefore here suffice.

Before the newly-established Grand Lodge attempted after 1717 to organise Lodges under its authority, and indeed for many years subsequent to its establishment, there were numerous Lodges scattered over various parts of the country, meeting by "inherent right" and considering themselves regularised and properly discharging Masonic functions if they had with them a copy of the "Old Charges," and it is scarcely necessary to recall the early duty that the members of the Grand Lodge laid upon themselves to digest these "Old Charges" into a "new and better method," entrusting that work to Dr. Anderson (as he states) and after discussion and amendment of his proposals, authorising the printing and publication of "The Book of Constitutions" in 1723.

This momentous step in Masonic history was by no means unchallenged; there are many indications of rivalry and dissatisfaction within the ranks of Grand Lodge with Anderson and his work, but it must be accepted as the deliberate and authoritative action of Grand Lodge, and henceforth it was a matter of paramount importance that the authority of this book should be recognised and established. The actual procedure and ceremonial for constituting a new Lodge had had early attention and a "Postscript" was added to the newly-issued Book of Constitutions giving details of the method "according to the Ancient usages of Masons"; its first paragraph states:—

"A new Lodge, for avoiding many Irregularities, should be solemnly constituted by the Grand Master, with his Deputy and Wardens; or in the Grand Master's absence, the Deputy shall Act for his Worship, and shall chuse some Master of a Lodge to assist him; or in case the Deputy is absent, the Grand Master shall call forth some Master of a Lodge to act as Deputy pro tempore"; and then follow details of a dignified ceremonial (which has to this day remained the basis of our Consecration ceremonies) and ending:—"And this Lodge being thus compleatly constituted, shall be register'd in the Grand Master's Book, and by his Order notify'd to the other Lodges": a regulation of 1729 adding:—"Every new Lodge for the future shall pay two guineas for their Constitution to the General Charity."

In the General Regulations included in this Book (1723) we read:—

> No. VIII. "No Set or Number of Brethren shall withdraw or separate themselves from the *Lodge* in which they are made *Brethren*, or were afterwards admitted *Members*, unless the Lodge becomes too numerous; nor even then, without a Dispensation from the Grand Master or his Deputy;: and when they are thus separated, they must either immediately join themselves to such *other Lodge* as they shall like best, with the unanimous Consent of that other *Lodge* to which they go (as above regulated) or else they must obtain the *Grand Master's* warrant to join in forming a *New* Lodge.
>
> "If any Set or Number of *Masons* shall take upon themselves to form a *Lodge* without the *Grand Master's* warrant, the *regular Lodges* are not to countenance them, nor own them as *fair Brethren* and duly form'd, nor approve of their Acts and Deeds, but must treat them as *Rebels*, until they humble themselves, as the *Grand*

> *Master* shall in his Prudence direct, and until he approve of them by his *Warrant*, which must be signify'd to the *other Lodges* as the custom is when a *New Lodge* is to be register'd in the *List* of *Lodges*."

Attention to the particular wording of this Article is of great importance in understanding the actual course of events.

It will be noted that the words "Dispensation" and "Warrant" are used apparently interchangeably and in the sense of "sanction," "permission" or "authorisation," except in the last paragraph where "warrant" refers to the approval of the Grand Master for the registration of a new Lodge, and inclusion in the engraved list which was to be circulated among all the other Lodges.

In the discussion on Bro. Lane's paper Bro. W. H. Rylands expressed the opinion that "the great object the Grand Lodge had in view was . . . to obtain the allegiance of all Lodges, so as to place them on the roll, and thus do away with individual rights."

Though the word "Warrant" is used it evidently did not refer to a specific document such as that to which we now give such name.

The Lodge was constituted by the personal attendance of the Grand Master or his Deputy, and as Lodges sought allegiance from more distant places, the third method described above was adopted, and authority to act on behalf of the Grand Master was sent to some local Mason, with instructions to *convene* the petitioning brethren and constitute them into a Lodge: a certificate being sometimes given that the instructions had been duly obeyed.

Bro. Lane gives documentary evidence of this procedure with reference to a London Lodge as early as 1725.

The essential point is that the constituting was a personal act and no formal document was a *necessary* part of the procedure, though in actual practice it soon became customary for such to be given as future evidence of constitution.

Probably as the occasions for this procedure increased the letter of deputation, following the formal petition, became itself more formal and it was more likely to be retained and treasured, and of the 47 "deputations" granted for constituting Lodges in the Country, which are recorded in the 1738 Book of Constitutions, four are still in existence and serve yet as the authority under which the Lodges work.

These are No. 39 Exeter (1732), No. 37 Bolton (1732), No. 41 Bath (1733) and No. 42 Bury (1733).

The wording of the earliest of these documents issued to St. John the Baptist's Lodge No. 39 Exeter, is as follows (the other three are almost identical, and are all given verbatim in Lane's Essay):—

> Montague (Seal) G^d^. M^r^.
>
> Whereas a Petition has been presented to us and signed by several Brethren residing in and about the City of Exeter humbly praying that they may be constituted into a regular Lodge,
>
> These are therefore to Impower and Authorize our R^t^. Worshipful and well beloved Brethren John Bury Esqr. and Mr. Thomas Jeffreys or either of them to convene our Brethren at Exeter aforesaid who have signed the said Petition, and that the said John Bury Esqr. or Mr. Thomas Jeffreys do in our place and stead Constitute a regular Lodge in due form (they the said John Bury Esqre. and Mr. Thomas Jeffreys taking special Care that they and every of them have been regularly made Masons) with like Privileges as all other Regular Lodges do enjoy and that they be required to conform themselves to all and every the Regulations contained in the printed Book of Constitutions, and observe such other Rules and Instructions as shall from time to time be transmitted to them by us or Thomas Batson Esqr. our Deputy Grand Master or the Grand Master or his Deputy for the time being And that they do send to us or our Deputy a list of the Members of their Lodge together with the Rules agreed on to be by them observed, to the end that they may be entred

in the Grand Lodge Book. And upon the due execution of this our Deputation the said John Bury Esq[re]. or Mr. Thomas Jeffrey is hereby required to transmitt to us or our said Deputy a Certificate under both or either of their hands of the time and place of such Constitution, in order that it may be entred in the Book of regular Lodges.

Given under our hand and seal of Office, this eleventh day of July, 1732, and in the year of Masonry 5732

By the Grand Master's Command

Tho. Batson D.G.M.
Geo. Rooke } G. Wardens
Will Reid Sec[y]. Ja. Smythe. }

The personal character of the document, the fact that it deals only with the constituting of the Lodge by a personal act; that it does not mention the appointment of Master and Wardens, and that the deputation is made personally by the Grand Master (though transmitted through his officers) and not by the Grand Lodge as such, are all points of interest and importance.

Documents such as these were continued to be issued by the Grand Lodge until 1755 and later, but there is a notable word in all these four early documents which is not to be found in any of the later ones.

This is the word "printed"—in the phrase

"Regulations contained in the *printed* Book of Constitutions."

Long before 1755 the authority of the Book of Constitutions had been recognised and established; by that time there were 140 Lodges on the G.L. Register: 68 of these being Provincial Lodges, while in London during the previous two decades the authority of Grand Lodge had survived the erasure of over 60 Lodges. "Printed" by then was a redundant word, but at the earlier date it appears to be of great significance.

We shall see how early in Ireland and how universally later the other plan was followed of having a definite Warrant, an authoritative document itself constituting the Lodge.

The essential difference between the two forms has been very clearly stated by Dr. Chetwode Crawley (*Cæm. Hib.*, F. 1, p. 4):—

"It is the essence of a Charter or Warrant, that it should be a document solemnly executed, and delivered to the parties to whom rights are conceded, to be by them preserved and produced as formal evidence of their title to privileges therein granted by some Body or Authority, legally possessed of the power to make such grant.

"It is idle to attribute such a character to the Deputations and the misnomer is unworthy of the reputation for accuracy so well won by the Modern School of Historians.

"To persist in its use would be to perpetuate a terminology slipshod in expression, misleading in meaning, and false in fact."

Why then did the Grand Lodge avoid issuing to their new Lodges a document to be by them preserved and produced as formal evidence of their title to privileges?

May not the answer lie in the earlier history of the Craft already alluded to, and in the new departure they had themselves so recently made?

The Old Charges were formerly the title to a Lodge's privileges, and the Grand Lodge had printed and published a revised version of these in a Book: but could scarcely have intended thereby to minimise their essential authority.

There is evidence, as has already been mentioned, of rivalry and dissatisfaction at this bold procedure, and it is certainly significant that large numbers of copies of the Old Charges are known to have been made after 1717.

It is not suggested that in all cases these were what may be called "commercial" copies,—some like the Woodford and Supreme Council are known to have been copies especially made for a distinguished individual; but others

(Melrose, Gateshead, Scarborough, Thistle) are definitely known to have been used for esoteric purposes in Lodge, and the issue of printed copies (Roberts, Cole) at a very low price, may well have been in recognition of an increasing demand, and possibly their use was associated with that prevalence of "clandestine" Masonry (or it may have been the distinguishing factor in the "irregular" as distinct from the clandestine) which bulks so largely in the early disciplinary troubles of Grand Lodge.

These printed issues can hardly, I think, be attributed to any general interest in the antiquities of the Craft: this could scarcely have been so prevalent at that time as to have justified publication, unless there were some accompanying traditional virtue, for Masonic purposes, in the possession of a copy: nor can it be definitely maintained that these copies were used only for "operative" Lodges: if indeed many such existed at that time without a very large speculative admixture.

The re-issue of Cole's printed version in 1751 is also of great interest, when we bear in mind the impending organisation of the Antients. How much are these issues, and the great falling away from the fold of the Moderns which happened after 1740, linked up with the appeal of the Antients to those who practised Masonry "after the Ancient Constitutions"?

It must of course be remembered that the members of all these erased Lodges—some sixty or more—were still potential Masons, and may have continued practising Masonry without central organisation and without keeping any records. Moreover, much as the benefits of a great central organisation with its central Charity and the prestige given by its aristocratic adherents, may have attracted, there can be little doubt that the great change from a Christian to a Theistic basis of the Craft repelled many who came to know of its earlier traditions.

However that may be, it is rash to urge such considerations as settling all the difficult questions surrounding these editions of the "Charges." Why did Cole dedicate his reprint to the Moderns, if their use was as suggested? And, since another edition was called for in 1762, can we assume that esoteric use by Lodges unconnected with the Grand Lodges was still creating a demand for them?

And the production of *Pocket Companions* as substitutes for the "Constitutions" for Lodge use also indicates that however much the Moderns had tried to keep the use of their Book of Constitutions an essential condition of association with their organisation, the facts of registration and enrolment in the lists of Lodges, and the regular payment of dues were, after all, the paramount conditions of membership, and that other forms of the "Charges" still obtained a possible use even among regulars.

The last paragraph of "The Sanction" in the 1738 B. of C. reads:—

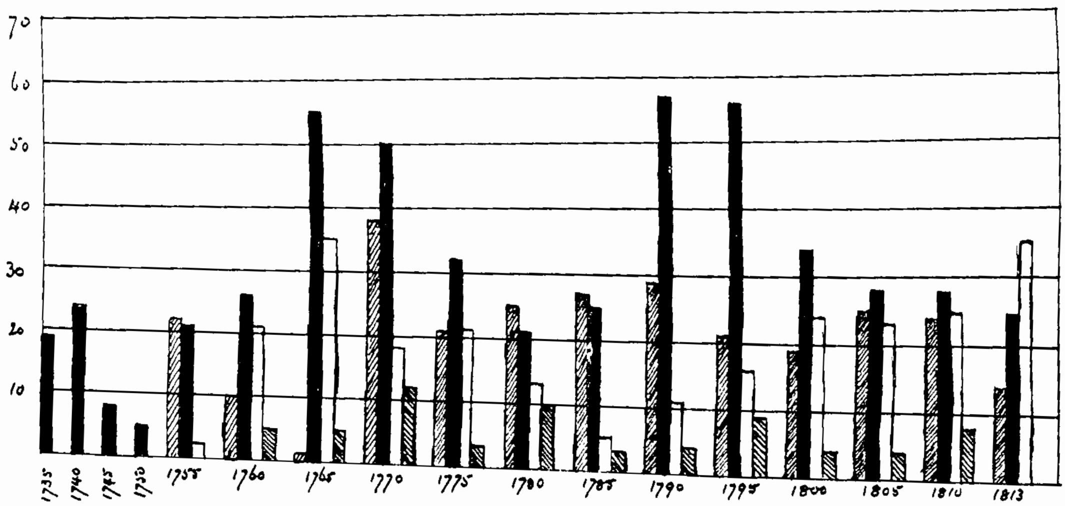
> "Therefore we also, the present Grand Master, Deputy and Wardens do hereby recommend this our new printed Book as the only Book of Constitutions, to the Free and Accepted Masons: and disclaiming all other Books, that have not the Sanction of the Grand Lodge, we warn all the Brethren against being employ'd or concern'd in writing and spreading, printing and publishing any other Books relating to Masons or Masonry, and against using any other Book in any Lodge as a Lodge Book, as they shall be answerable to the Grand Lodge."

The terms of Sanction of the later editions are very similar, that of 1784 reading:—

> "We, the acting Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, Grand Wardens, and other members composing the Hall Committee, do hereby recommend this present edition as the only Book of Masonic Constitutions for Free and Accepted Masons: disallowing all other publications that have not the Sanction of the Grand Lodge: and do warn all the Brethren against being concerned in writing, printing or publishing any other book concerning Masons or Masonry, as they shall be answerable to the Grand Lodge."

Charts showing establishment of New Lodges, and Erasures of Lodges under Moderns and Antients respectively, at the end of each five yearly period. (Excluding Foreign Lodges.)

1. PROVINCIAL LODGES.



2. LONDON LODGES.

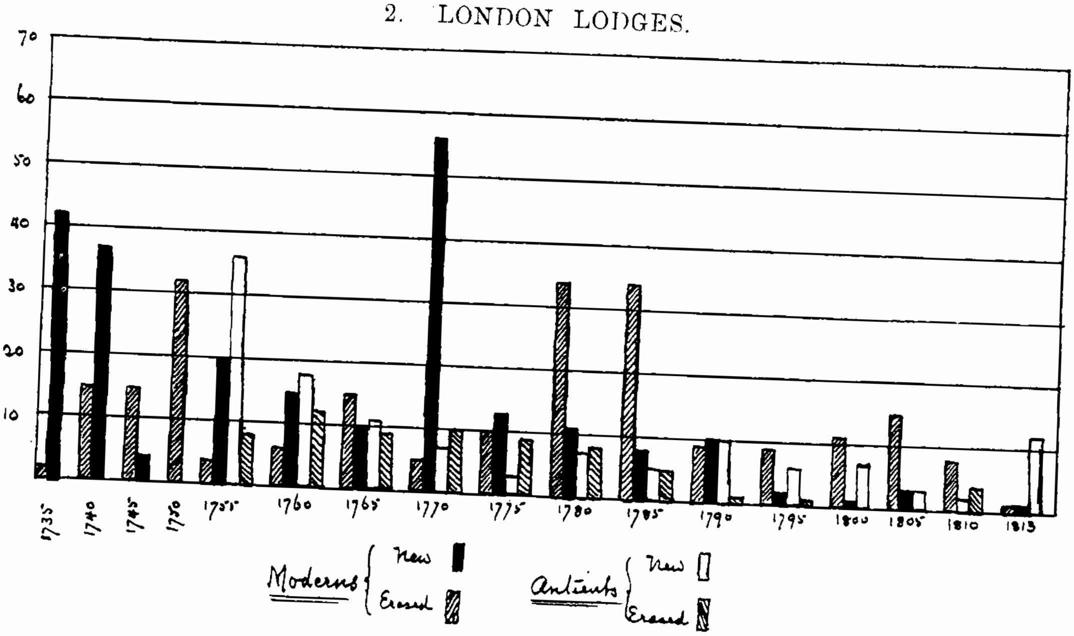
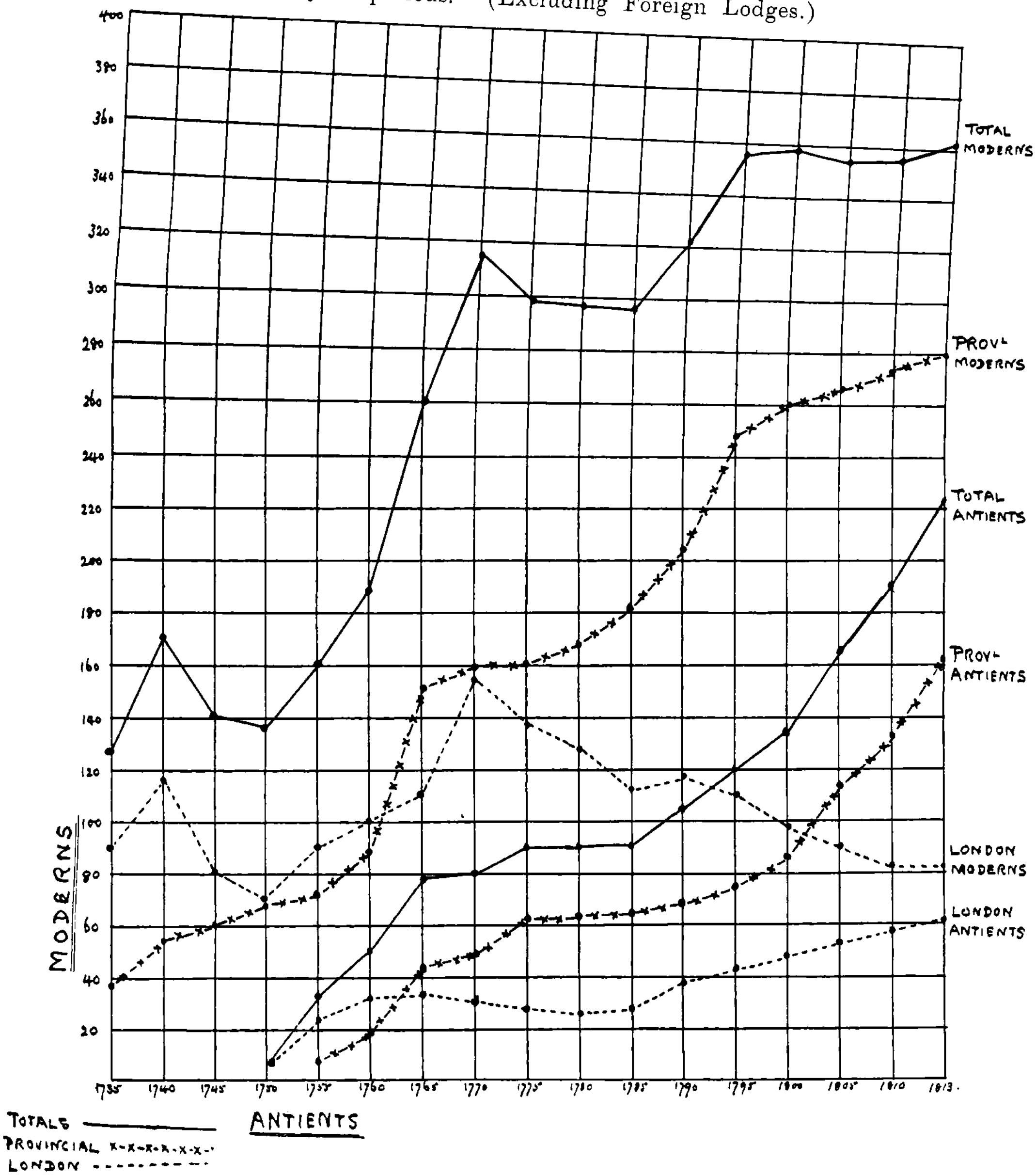


Chart showing Lodges on Registers of Moderns and Antients at end of five year periods. (Excluding Foreign Lodges.)



At the Union in 1813 there were erased as having ceased working, though still on Grand Lodge Registers:—

Moderns	...	1 London and	3 Provincial Lodges.
Antients	...	2 ,, and	35 ,, ,,

So complex and involved are the questions relating to the "Old Charges" that it is only too easy to display one's ignorance by discussing them, and on the general subject of their use by our eighteenth century Brethren I cannot do better than quote the remarks of Bro. Herbert Poole in his useful book (*The Old Charges*, p. 27):—

"The general impression seems to be that there was no clear cut line between the two classes of Masons (operatives and speculatives) and that probably the Old Charges were the common possession of both": and:—"One can only suppose that the rapid multiplication of Lodges involving much copying of MSS. led to a demand for a less laborious method of reproduction" (*i.e.*, printed versions).

Is it not, then, quite evident that the success of the plan to substitute Anderson's Book of Constitutions for the Old Charges was by no means assured till long after its publication, and, I suggest, that it would have been more precarious still had Grand Lodge issued at once some other document which purported to give "Constitution" to a Lodge.

We are so accustomed to regard the Warrant of our Lodge as the legal instrument of its constitution that it is not easy to get back to that early point of view: it is of the more interest, then, to note any survivals of it: at the Installation of a W.M. the Book of Constitutions is presented to him by the Installing Master with the comment in some rituals that it is to be "his guide at all times in cases of difficulty": in the pre-union ritual in Bristol, however, it (together with H.B., Comps. and Sq. and the Charter Warrant) is presented with the qualifying words: "which render your Lodge just perfect and regular." Is such expression used regarding the B. of C. elsewhere?

While legally the Deputation could never be regarded as the Constituting instrument, yet as time went on the documents issued from Grand Lodge in this form did in fact come to be regarded very much in that way, and we find many references to these Deputations as "Constitutions," and official recognition of such a status.

For instance, the following G.L. Minutes make such definite reference:—

24 June 1742: "The Master of the Turk's Head Lodge in Greek St., Soho, acquainted the Grand Master that as the said Lodge was greatly declined, he and the members had joined the King's Arms Lodge, No. 38, held at the Cannon, Charing Cross, and that by consent of the said Turk's Head Lodge, he did surrender the Constitution thereof; for which they were much applauded by the Grand Master."

3 Feb. 1743: "The Brethren were highly satisfied with the conduct of the Lodge held at the Rose in Cheapside: who, finding their state in great decline, had joined themselves to the Swan & Rummer in Bartholemew Lane near the Royal Exchange, and surrendered their Constitution to the Grand Master at the Communication."

26 Feb. 1745: "The Master and Wardens of the Lodge No. 185 surrendered their Constitution to the Grand Master."

22 Dec. 1748: "The Master of the Lodge No. 122 lately held at the White Bear in Old Bread Street acquainted the Brethren that as the said Lodge had for some time discontinued meeting, he to prevent the Constitution falling into bad hands, by Consent of the other Members thereof, surrendered the same to the G.M., which was greatly approved by the Grand Lodge."

But this practical use of the document cannot be held to alter its essential character, though it indicates that there was need of an official document frankly intended to serve those purposes.

Irish Practice.—By the kindness and courtesy of Bro. Lepper I have been able to see and permitted to make extracts from the chapters on Irish Warrants

in vol. ii. (unpublished) of the History of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Ireland (Lepper and Crosslé).

The authors state:—"As early as 1727 the Grand Lodge of Ireland was issuing some kind of document to its subordinate Lodges, as appears by the entry concerning No. 2 in the official Roll, while No. 21 Newport Co. Mayo claimed in 1818 to be in possession of a Warrant dating from the 22nd May 1727. Both these Lodges as we know from the original Warrants still preserved, took out later Charters in 1732 and 1733 respectively, so we are inclined to believe that the earlier documents they held were somewhat in the nature of a Dispensation, not a true Warrant."

Discussing Regulation VIII. of the Book of Constitutions (1723), which we have already considered, they say:—

"It is not unfair to conclude that neither word—(*i.e.*, Dispensation and Warrant)—was used in a strict sense implying a document of some kind; but we believe that it was from such a meaning being read into the passage by the Irish Freemasons, who . . . studied their Anderson diligently, that the actual Warrant as we know it now-a-days came into existence in Ireland, first of all the Masonic Constitutions, and then spread over all the World wherever the Craft is known."

We may usefully reflect here, I think, that no copies of the Old Charges have ever been found in Ireland and there is no evidence that they were ever in use there.

What actually were the conditions obtaining in Ireland before the formation of its Grand Lodge (about the year 1725) it is not possible now to say, patient research and lucky finds may in time give us more evidence: Masonic activities such as are indicated by the Tripos speech of 1688; the Munster traditions of Early Lodges; the possible Lodge of 1688 in the later-named "Walshe" Regiment; the Lodge of the Elizabeth St. Leger incident; and the large number of Lodges immediately rallying to the Irish Grand Lodge, point to the existence of some recognised authority, whether documentary or not; and it is not satisfactory to assume that that authority was no more than the mere word of the peripatetic "hedge mason."

Still it is a fact that no evidence has yet been forthcoming of the use of any kind of authorizing document: the English Book of Constitutions was the foundation of their own Code, and there were therefore no constituting documents detracting from its importance and authority: while it may well have appeared necessary to elaborate an organisation which gave them something more than a Book which could be bought in the open market.

A very definite decision was made within a few years of the Grand Lodge's formation, as shown by a notice printed in Faulkner's *Dublin Chronicle*, 11-14 Dec., 1731:—

> "Whereas there are several Lodges of Freemasons congregated in several Cities and Towns within this Kingdom, without a Warrant under the Hand and Seal of the Right Honourable the Lord Kingston, or the Right Honourable the Lord Nettervill Deputy Grand Master, or the Grand Wardens, It is therefore order'd that all such Lodges do immediately write to the Secretary, Mr. Thomas Griffith in Dublin and take out true and perfect Warrants, and pay the Fees for the same, or they will not be deem'd true Lodges.
>
> Signed by Order
>
> Tho Griffith. Secretary."

The first of these Warrants was issued on the 1st Feb. 1731/2 and is still in existence, the oldest Masonic Warrant in the World. This document reads:—

> "By the Right Worshipful and Right Honourable Lord Kingston, Grand Master of all the Lodges of Free Masons in the Kingdom of Ireland, the Right Honourable the Lord Nettevil, Deputy Grand Master, the

Honourable William Ponsonby and Dillon Pollard Hamson Esquires Grand Wardens. Whereas our Trusty and Well Beloved Brothers John Freke and Thomas Cooke Esq^{rs}., James Condon and Florence McCarthy have besought Us, that We would be pleas'd to erect a Lodge of Freemasons in the town of Michellstown and at the House of such persons, who by their Knowledge and Skill in Masonry may contribute to the Wellbeing and Advancement thereof.
We therefore duly weighing the Premisses and having nothing more at Heart than the Prosperity and true Advancement of Masonry, and reposing special Trust and Confidence in our Trusty and Well beloved Brothers, the said John Treke, & Tho Cooke, James Condon and Florence McCarthy of whose Abilities and Knowledge in Masonry we are satisfied: Do by these Presents of our . . . certain Knowledge and meer Motion, Nominate, Create, Authorize & Constitute the said . . . to be Mast^{r}. of the s^{d}. Lodge, & the s^{d}. Freke & Cooke Wardens of a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons to be held by them and their Successors lawfully admitted in the *town of Cork'* [written over erasure] for ever. And we do hereby Give and grant under the said Master and said Wardens, & the rest of the Worshipful Bre(thre)n and their successors full power and lawful Authority from Time to Time to proceed to election of new Master and Wardens, and to make such Laws, Rules, and Orders as they from Time to Time shall think proper and Convenient for the well being and ordering of the said Lodge: reserving to Ourselves and Our Successors Grand Masters and Grand Wardens of Ireland, the sole right of deciding all differences which shall be brought by Appeal before Us and Our Successors Grand Masters and Grand Wardens of Ireland.
In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our Hands and Seal of Office, this first day of February in the Year of Our Lord 1731 and in the Year of Masonry 5731.

Tho. Griffith Secretary."

The document is printed, with blank spaces for names and places filled in in manuscript; it has the signatures of the Grand Master and Deputy Grand Master at the top left, and on the wide left margin bears the seal of the Grand Lodge of Ireland and the number of the Lodge.

This form of Warrant remained unaltered until 1817 and is substantially the same as that now in use.

It will be noted that, *by these Presents*, Masons were constituted as a Lodge, and the Masters and Wardens appointed, and that the Document is isued not by the Grand Master alone, but associated with his Deputy G.M. and Grand Wardens.

The interesting question arises whether in Irish practice at this time the issue of the Warrant alone sufficed, and was not necessarily accompanied by any Constituting ceremony. This is not specifically dealt with in these chapters on Warrants, but Bro. Lepper has told me that he has no doubt whatever, that there was invariably a constituting ceremony, carried out on the lines of the Postscript in Anderson's Constitutions, similar to that which is practised to-day.

Scottish Practice.—The Grand Lodge of Scotland was not formed until 1736 and was at first concerned with the enrolment under its authority of the many old Lodges already existing.

With conditions in this respect similar to those obtaining at the earlier date in England it might be thought that there were the same reasons for avoiding the issue of a "Constituting" document: but the Irish plan of issuing Warrants was at once adopted though in a much differing form,—more elaborate and verbose,—and it is used almost unaltered to the present day. A full copy is given in Lane's Essay (p. 203).

It was issued by authority of The Most Worshipful the Grand Master of Scotland and the Grand Lodge. It is obvious, however, that the conditions by

that time were everywhere essentially different from those facing the premier Grand Lodge in 1723.

The centralisation of Masonic activities by enrolment of Lodges on a Grand Lodge Register, with specific privileges such as participation in a central charity, granted in return for loyal allegiance and payment of dues had become an accomplished fact in England, and in Ireland, for a decade and more; the question of Old Charges versus the new Book of Constitutions no longer arose: neither in the Irish nor the Scottish Warrants are these refered to, and the problem was simply one of securing an efficient centralised organisation.

Content with their original plan, and seeing no reason for modifying it, the Grand Lodge of England continued to constitute its Lodges throughout the country by Deputations until about the year 1757: but by then their position was becoming seriously undermined by the Grand Lodge of the Antients, formed in 1751.

Cradled and nurtured in Ireland this new and very vigorous body issued Warrants of Constitution to its Lodges, in a form differing widely from the Irish or Scottish.

The Warrant of the Enoch Lodge (1751) reads:—

"E. C. Vaughan. G.M.
W. Holford D.G.M. John Jackson S.G.W.
Sam. Galbraith J.G.W.

To all whome it may concern

We the Grand Lodge in ample form assembled do hereby Authorize and Impower our Trusty and Well beloved Brethren Willm. Cowen Master William Osborne Senr. Warden and John Nelson Junr. Warden (with their lawful Assistance) To form and hold a Lodge of Free and Accepted Ancient Masons and in such Lodge Admit enter and make Masons according to the Ancient and honourable Custom of the Royal Craft in all Ages and Nations throughout the known World. And we do hereby further Authorise and Impower our said Trusty and Well beloved Brethren William Cowen, William Osborn, and John Nelson (with their Lawful Assistance) To nominate, chuse, and Instal their Successors whom they are to invest with their power and dignity and such Successors shall in like manner Nominate Chuse and Instal their Successors &c. &c. &c. such Installations to be on every S^t^. John's Day during the continuance of the Lodge for ever. Providing that the Above named Brethren and their Successors always pay due Respect to this Ancient Grand Lodge otherwise this Warrant to be of no force and Virtue.

Given under our hands and Seal of the Ancient Grand Lodge London this 18th day of June in the Year of our Lord 1755 and in the Year of Masonry 5755.

Lau Dermott. G.Sec^y^.
Constituted July 17 1751-5751."

This document "authorizes and impowers" certain named brethren to form and hold a Lodge, and nominates them as its officers; it is issued by "the Grand Lodge in ample form assembled," the names of the Grand Officers being cited in various places, but no one of them named as the fount of authority. There is, it will be noted, no reference to any Constitutions or Book of Constitution, the instrument is not concerned with these, but merely (as were Ireland and Scotland) with the external organisation of the Lodges, and their relation to the Central Authority.

There can be little doubt that the initial success of the new Grand Lodge of the Antients, and the heavy losses of the Moderns during the previous decade caused the leaders in the latter organisation seriously to review their position.

At any rate, it is soon after this that we find the Moderns altering their method, and giving their Lodges a definite Warrant of Constitution, which could

be retained and cited and exhibited by the new Lodges as their authority for working; and this work appears to have been largely effected by the Deputy Grand Master, Dr. Manningham, who by his personal exertions had done so much to ward off the attacks of the rival Grand Lodge.

The very earliest Warrant issued by the Moderns is in fact one issued by a Provincial Grand Master.—and still exists in No. 89 now working at Dukinfield. It was issued by William Ratchdale, the P.G.M., of Lancashire (1742-1760) and is in character different from all others. Its terms are:—

"To all and every our Right Worshipful, Worshipful and Loveing Brethren (of the Ancient and Honourable) Society of free and Accepted Masons Send Greeting.

Know Ye that by virtue of the power given under the hand and seal of the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful John Lord Ward Baron of Birmingham in the County of Warwick Grand Master bareing date the 30th day of April AD 1743. AL 5743 (giving law)ful power and authority to me William Ratchdale of Liverpool in the County Palatine of Lancaster M D his Provincial Grand Master to appoint my Deputy and Wardens and Masons and constitute Lodges as occasions shall require I the said William Ratchdale takeing special care that all and every the Members of every Lodge of shall be constituted have been or shall be regularly made Masons and that they do observe perform and keep all & every the Rules orders & regulations contained in the Book of Constitutions (except such as have been or may be revoked or alter'd at any Quarterly Communication or other general meeting) and do al such matters and things as may from time to time from the Grand Lodge (by order of the Right Worshipful the Grand Master for the time being) deliver'd to me and that each Lodge so constituted by me ye sd P.G.M. shall pay the sum two guineas for the use of the Grand Charity and ten shillings and sixpence to the Grand Secretary for entering the said Lodge in the Lodge Book of ye Grand Lodge and (that every such) Lodge or Lodges as shall by him the said P.G.M. (be so) constituted that they keep the Rules (orders and Regulations aforesaid).

Now Whereas I the said William Ratchdale ye said P.G.M. have been applyed to by Petition from several Brethren dwelling and resideing in Manchester in the County Palatine of Lancaster praying that they may be constituted and formed into a regular Lodge.

Know Ye that I the said Wm. Ratchdale by virtue and in pursuance of the power aforesaid Hath and by these presents doth Constitute and form the said petitioning Bretheren into a Legal regular and constituted Lodge to be held on every 1st and 3rd Wednesday in every month at the place called St. Ann's Coffeehouse now kept by Harry Kirks in Manchester aforesaid and I do and have appointed Joseph Greenwood Gentn. Master of the said Lodge John Smith Genn. Senr. Warden and John Harrysone M D Junr. Warden.

Given under my hand and seal this 4th Day of Feb. 1754 A L 5754.

Wm. Ratchdale (Seal)
P.G.M."

It will be sees that this unique Warrant retains many of the characteristics of the Deputation while fundamentally altering its legal status, being itself the instrument by which the Lodge was constituted and its officers appointed.

It is issued by the personal authority of the P.G.M. who alone signs it, citing in the preamble the terms and conditions of his office and the power given him by the Grand Master.

The issue is not by a Lodge, but by the Grand Officer, and it continues to recite the necessity for observance of the Rules, orders, and Regulations of the Book of Constitutions.

A comparison of this document with the terms of the Deputations already cited is instructive, but even more so with the terms of the Patent of Appointment of Provincial Grand Masters.

Very few of these have been preserved. The Grand Lodge Library only possesses five issued to Home Provinces, one of which (dated 1796) has been quite recently acquired.

The earliest is dated 25 Nov. 1755, and relates to the appointment of a Provincial Grand Master for the Electorate of Hanover. A transcript of such a Patent to an American Province is, however, to be found in the Grand Lodge Minutes of 1736, and its wording is very similar to that here given.

The earliest issued to an English Province is that of Charles Marsh, P.G.M. for Radnor, which bears date 26 June 1777. It reads as follows:—

> "Manchester G.M. (Seal of G.L.)
>
> To all and every our Right Worshipful, Worshipful and Loving Brethren, We George Duke of Manchester &c. Grand Master of the Most Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons send Greeting. Know Ye That We of the great Trust and Confidence reposed in our Right Trusty and Well beloved Brother Charles Marsh of the War Office London Esquire Do hereby constitute and appoint him the said Charles Marsh Provincial Grand Master of and for the County of Radnor with full power and authority in due form to make Masons and Constitute and Regulate Lodges as occasion may require and also to do and execute all and every such other Acts and things appertaining to the said Office as usually have been and ought to be done and executed by other Provincial Grand Masters he the said Charles Marsh taking special care that all and every the members of every Lodge he shall Constitute shall have been regularly made Masons and that they do observe perform and keep all and every the Rules Orders and Regulations contained in the Book of Constitutions (except such as have been or may be repealed at any Quarterly Communication or other general meeting) together also with all such other Rules orders Regulations and Instructions as shall from time to time be transmitted by Us or by Rowland Holt Esquire our Deputy, or by any of Our Successors Grand Masters or their Deputys for the time being. And we hereby Will and require you our said Provincial Grand Master to cause four Quarterly Communications to be held yearly one whereof to be upon or as near the Feast Day of Saint John the Baptist as conveniently may be and that you promote on those and all other occasions whatever may be for the honour and advantage of Masonry and the Benefit of the Grand Charity, and that you yearly send to us or our Successors Grand Masters an account in writing of the proceedings therein and also of what Lodges you constitute and when and where held together with a List of the Members of the said several Lodges and Copies of all such Rules orders and Regulations as shall be made for the good Government of the same with whatever else you shall do by virtue of these Presents, and that you at the same time remit to the Treasurer of the Society for the time being at London Three pounds three shillings for every Lodge you shall Constitute for the use of the Grand Charity and other necessary purposes.
>
> Given at London under Our Hand & Seal of Masonry this 26th Day of June AL 5777. AD 1777.
>
> By the Grand Master's Command
>
> R. Holt D.G.M.
>
> Jas Heseltine G.S."

There can be little doubt from the preamble of the Warrant he issued in 1754 that Dr. Wm. Ratchdale had received instructions very similar to these; and if he had had them at the time of his appointment as P.G.M. in 1742, they

conveyed no indication that the carrying out of the instructions to Constitute Lodges was by any other method than that usually adopted.

From the action later taken by the D.G.M., Dr. Manningham, and the G.S., John Revis, it is probable that the advisability of some change in the policy respecting the constituting of Lodges and issue of Warrants was discussed at Grand Lodge, at any rate informally among the officers and such Provincial Grand Masters as may have been accessible.

Ratchdale had but to read his own Patent to realise that he had full power to do this for himself if he wished, and to him belongs the credit of having issued the first known Warrant of the Moderns.

It is not until 1757 that we find such a document issued from Grand Lodge.

Two Warrants of Lodges still working, No. 97 Palatine Lodge of Sunderland and No. 100 Lodge of Friendship, Great Yarmouth (formerly of Norwich), were issued by the G.M., Lord Carnarvon.

Lane quotes the Warrant issued to No. 97 dated 14 Jan. 1757 in full. I will give the one issued 25 Mar. 1757 to No. 100, then meeting at Norwich, which Warrant, it is interesting to note is on paper and entirely in the handwriting of Thomas Manningham himself (see Hamon le Strange, *History of Freemasonry in Norfolk*, p. 106):—

Its terms are identical with those of No. 97:—

> "Carnarvon G.M. (Seal of G.L.)
>
> To All and every Our Right Worshipful Worshipful and Loving Brethren We James Brydges, Marquis of Carnarvon, Grand Master of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons Send Greeting
>
> Know Ye that We at the humble Petition of our Right Worshipful and Well beloved William Wickes Levi Barlow Samuel Clark and several other Brethren residing in the City of Norwich in the County of Norfolk & confiding in the care of you the said William Wickes that all and every the said Brethren have been regularly made Masons do hereby Constitute you and the said Brethren into a regular Lodge of ffree and accepted Masons, And do further of the great trust and confidence reposed in you the said three above named Brethren appoint you the said William Wickes to be Master: the said Levi Barlow to be S.W. & the said Samuel Clarke to be J.W. for the opening the said Lodge and for such further time only as shall be thought proper by the Brethren thereof It being our Will that this our appointment of the above Officers shall in no wise affect any further Election of Officers of the Lodge But that such Election shall be regulated agreeably to such By Laws of the said Lodge as shall be consistent with the General Laws of this Society contained in the Book of Constitutions.
>
> And we do hereby Will and require you the said William Wickes and the future Masters of the Lodge for the time being to take especial care that all and every the Brethren of the above Lodge do observe perform and keep all and every the Rules, Orders, and Regulations contained in the Book of Constitutions (except such as have been or may be repealed at any Quarterly Communication, or other General meeting) together with all such other Rules, Orders, Regulations & Instructions as shall from time to time be transmitted by Us or Thomas Manningham M.D. our Deputy, or by any of our Successors, Grand Masters or their Deputy for the time being, and that you & such Masters of the Lodge for the time being do from time to time cause to be entered in a Book kept for that purpose an account of the proceedings of the Lodge, together with all such Rules, Orders and Regulations as shall be made for the good Government of the same. And that it be in no wise omitted at least once in every year to send to Us or Our Successors Grand Masters an account in

writing of the said Proceedings and copies of all such Rules, Orders, & Regulations as shall be made as aforesaid, together with a List of Members of the Lodge, & such a sum of money as may suit the circumstances thereof and reasonably be expected towards the General Charity. And we do moreover hereby Will and Require You the said William Wickes as soon as conveniently may be to send us an account in writing of what shall be done by virtue of these presents.

Given at London under Our Hand and Seal of Masonry this 25th day of March A D 1757 A L 5757.

By the Grand Master's Command

Witness C. J. Revis G.S. Thos. Manningham D.G.M."

The essential difference between this document and the Deputation need not again be stressed, but it is of interest to note their points of similarity:—

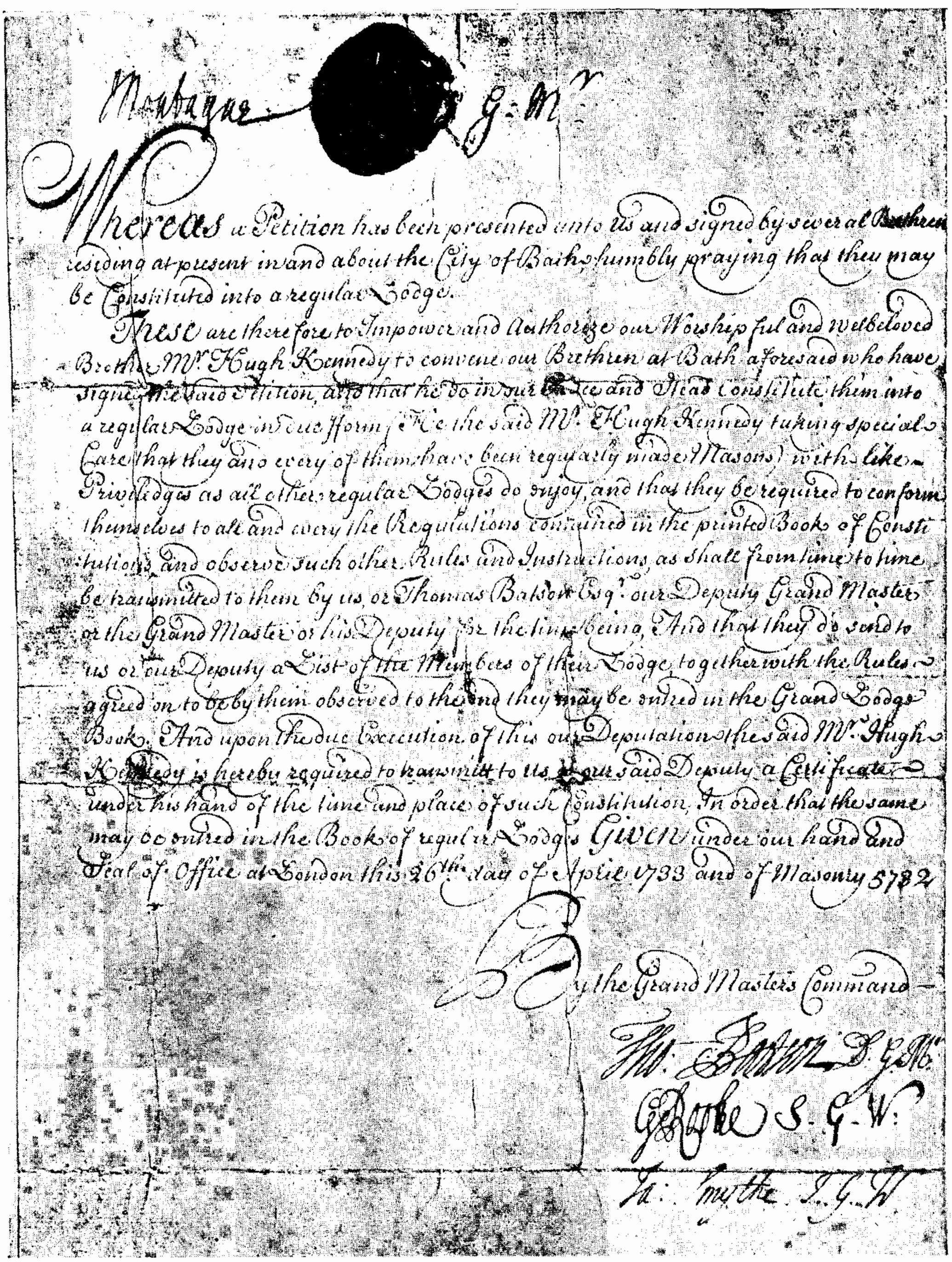
1. It is still a document issuing personally from the Grand Master, and promulgated through his Deputy and witnessed by the Grand Secretary but it is not stated to have emanated from the Grand Lodge as such.
2. Special care is enjoined that all and every of the founders have been regularly made Masons.
3. The importance of the Book of Constitutions is still emphasized.
4. The Bye Laws (or Rules) are to be submitted to Grand Lodge.
5. A list of Members is to be regularly submitted.

Points of similarity with the Patent of a Provincial Grand Master to be noticed are:—

1. "All and every the members of Lodges he shall constitute shall be regularly made Masons."
2. "and they do observe perform and keep all and every the Rules Orders and Regulations contained in the Book of Constitutions (except such as have been or may be repealed at any Quarterly Communication or other General meeting) together with all such other Rules Orders Regulations and Instructions as shall from time to time be transmitted by Us, or . . . our Deputy, and by any of our Successors Grand Masters or their Deputys for the time being."
3. A yearly account of proceedings is to be sent.
4. A List of Lodges and Members to be sent.
5. Copies of Rules, Orders, and Regulations to be sent.

This is the basis of all Grand Lodge Warrants subsequently issued, and became the pattern of most of the Provincial Warrants. After a while there was a somewhat shortened form adopted, and it is of interest to notice how the phrases in paragraph 2 just above are dealt with by the different Provincial Grand Masters in issuing Warrants under their Authority, some, like Ratchdale, recite them *in toto*, but the majority (having these instructions in their personal Patent) do not appear to have thought it necessary to recite them again to their Warranted Lodges, but omit those phrases while otherwise accurately following the Grand Lodge model.

The characteristic quality of the Deputation, indicating a personal act by someone deputed by the Grand Master, is one which leaves its impress on all the later documents issued by the Moderns. In other constitutions it is clearly stated that the Warrants are issued by the authority of the Grand Lodge, or the Grand Master is cited as deriving the authority and sanction for the issue from the Grand Lodge: but it is very rare to find an issue of a Warrant by the Moderns where any such recognition is made. The Grand Master or Acting Grand Master issues the Warrant through the channel of his Deputy and Secretary, but of his own authority, and the Provincial Grand Master similarly



Montague G: Mr

Whereas a Petition has been presented unto Us and signed by several Brethren residing at present in and about the City of Bath humbly praying that they may be Constituted into a regular Lodge.

These are therefore to Impower and Authorize our Worshipful and Welbeloved Brother Mr Hugh Kennedy to convene our Brethren at Bath aforesaid who have signed the said Petition, and that he do in our Place and Stead constitute them into a regular Lodge in due Form (He the said Mr Hugh Kennedy taking special Care that they and every of them have been regularly made Masons) with like Priviledges as all other regular Lodges do enjoy, and that they be required to conform themselves to all and every the Regulations contained in the printed Book of Constitutions and observe such other Rules and Instructions as shall from time to time be transmitted to them by us, or Thomas Batson Esqr. our Deputy Grand Master or the Grand Master or his Deputy for the time being, And that they do send to us or our Deputy a List of the Members of their Lodge together with the Rules agreed on to be by them observed to the end they may be entred in the Grand Lodge Book. And upon the due Execution of this our Deputation the said Mr Hugh Kennedy is hereby required to transmitt to us or our said Deputy a Certificate under his hand of the time and place of such Constitution, In order that the same may be entred in the Book of regular Lodges Given under our hand and Seal of Office at London this 26th day of April 1733 and of Masonry 5732

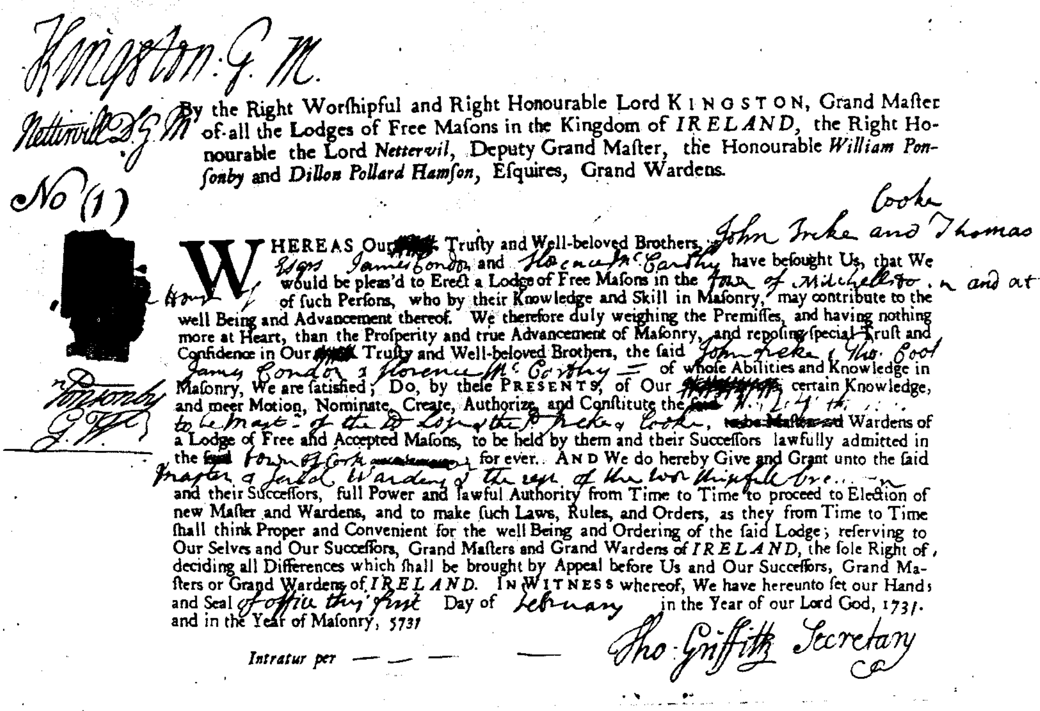
By the Grand Masters Command

Tho: Batson D. G. M.

G. Rooke S. G. W.

Ja: Smythe J. G. W.

Deputation to Constitute Lodge at Bath. 1732.



Kingston G. M.

Nettervill D. G. M.

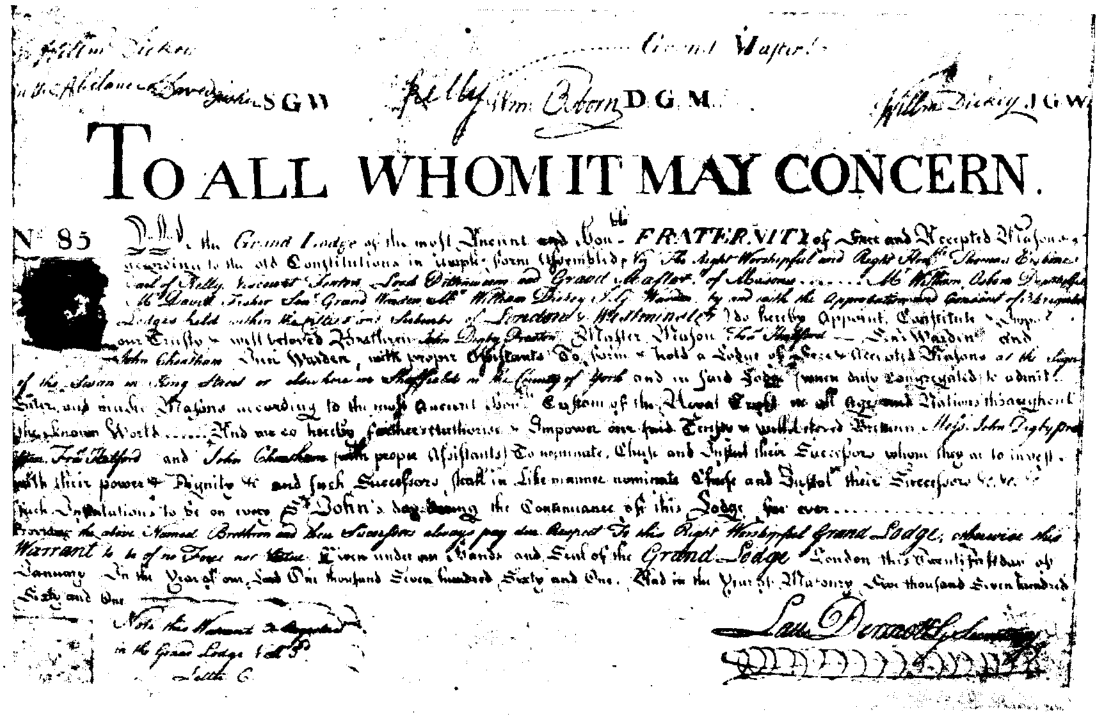
No (1)

By the Right Worshipful and Right Honourable Lord KINGSTON, Grand Master of all the Lodges of Free Masons in the Kingdom of *IRELAND*, the Right Honourable the Lord *Nettervil*, Deputy Grand Master, the Honourable *William Ponsonby* and *Dillon Pollard Hamson*, Esquires, Grand Wardens.

WHEREAS Our Trusty and Well-beloved Brothers, John [illegible] and Thomas Cooke [illegible] James Condon and Florence McCarthy have besought Us, that We would be pleas'd to Erect a Lodge of Free Masons in the Town of [illegible] and at [illegible] of such Persons, who by their Knowledge and Skill in Masonry, may contribute to the well Being and Advancement thereof. We therefore duly weighing the Premisses, and having nothing more at Heart, than the Prosperity and true Advancement of Masonry, and reposing special Trust and Confidence in Our Trusty and Well-beloved Brothers, the said John [illegible] & Tho. Cook James Condon & Florence McCarthy — of whose Abilities and Knowledge in Masonry, We are satisfied; Do, by these PRESENTS, of Our certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, Nominate, Create, Authorize, and Constitute the [illegible] to be Master of the [illegible] Cooke, Wardens of a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, to be held by them and their Successors lawfully admitted in the Town of Cork for ever. AND We do hereby Give and Grant unto the said Master & Wardens [illegible] and their Successors, full Power and lawful Authority from Time to Time to proceed to Election of new Master and Wardens, and to make such Laws, Rules, and Orders, as they from Time to Time shall think Proper and Convenient for the well Being and Ordering of the said Lodge; reserving to Our Selves and Our Successors, Grand Masters and Grand Wardens of *IRELAND*, the sole Right of deciding all Differences which shall be brought by Appeal before Us and Our Successors, Grand Masters or Grand Wardens of *IRELAND*. IN WITNESS whereof, We have hereunto set our Hands and Seal of office this first Day of February in the Year of our Lord God, 1731. and in the Year of Masonry, 5731

Intratur per — — — Tho. Griffith Secretary

Warrant for Irish Lodge. 1731.



[illegible] Grand Master.

[illegible] S.G.W. [illegible] Wm. Osborn D.G.M. William Dickey J.G.W.

TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

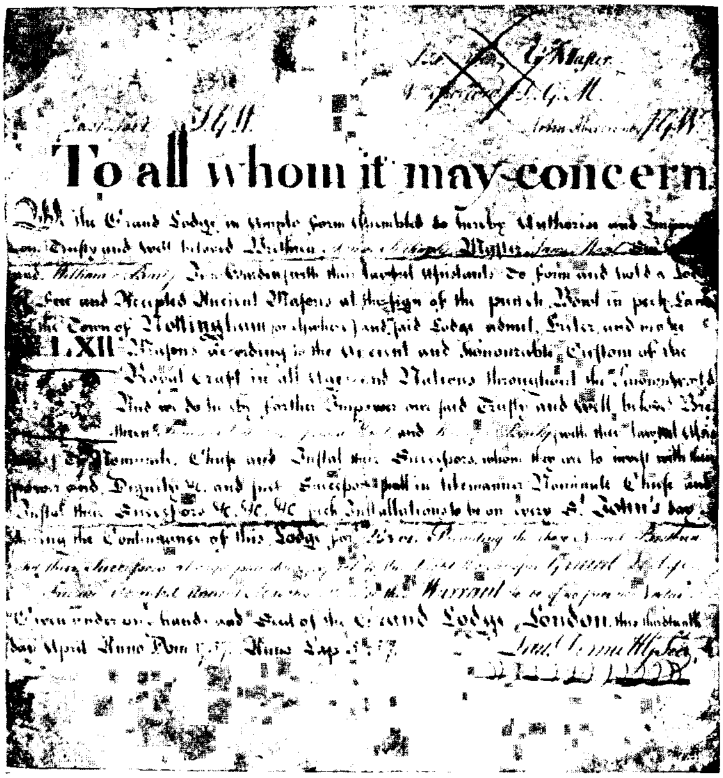
No. 85 We, the Grand Lodge of the most Ancient and Hon.ble FRATERNITY of Free and Accepted Masons (according to the old Constitutions) in ample form Assembled, viz. The Right Worshipful and Right Hon.ble Thomas Erskine Earl of Kelly, Viscount Fenton, Lord [illegible] and Grand Master of Masons ...... Mr. William Osborn [illegible] Mr. David Fisher Sen. Grand Warden Mr. William Dickey J.G. Warden, by and with the Approbation and Consent of the [illegible] Lodges held within the Cities and Suburbs of London & Westminster Do hereby Appoint, Constitute & Impower our Trusty & well beloved Brethren John [illegible] Master Mason Tho. [illegible] Sen. Warden and John Cheatham Jun. Warden, with proper Assistants to form & hold a Lodge of Free & Accepted Masons at the Sign of the Swan in King Street or elsewhere in Sheffield in the County of York and in said Lodge (when duly Congregated) to admit, Enter and make Masons according to the most Ancient and Hon.ble Custom of the Royal Craft in all Ages and Nations throughout the known World ...... And we do hereby further Authorise & Impower our said Trusty & well beloved Brethren Mess. John [illegible] Tho. [illegible] and John Cheatham (with proper Assistants) to nominate, Chuse and Install their Successors whom they are to invest with their power & Dignity &c. and such Successors shall in like manner nominate Chuse and Install their Successors &c. &c. Such Installations to be on every St. John's day during the Continuance of this Lodge for ever .... Providing the above Named Brethren and their Successors always pay due Respect to this Right Worshipful Grand Lodge; otherwise this Warrant to be of no Force nor Virtue. Given under our Hands and Seal of the Grand Lodge London this Twenty first Day of January In the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred Sixty and One. And in the Year of Masonry Five thousand Seven hundred Sixty and One.

Note this Warrant is Registered in the Grand Lodge Vol. 5 letter C

Laur. Dermott G. Secretary

Warrant of Lodge No. 85, Antients.

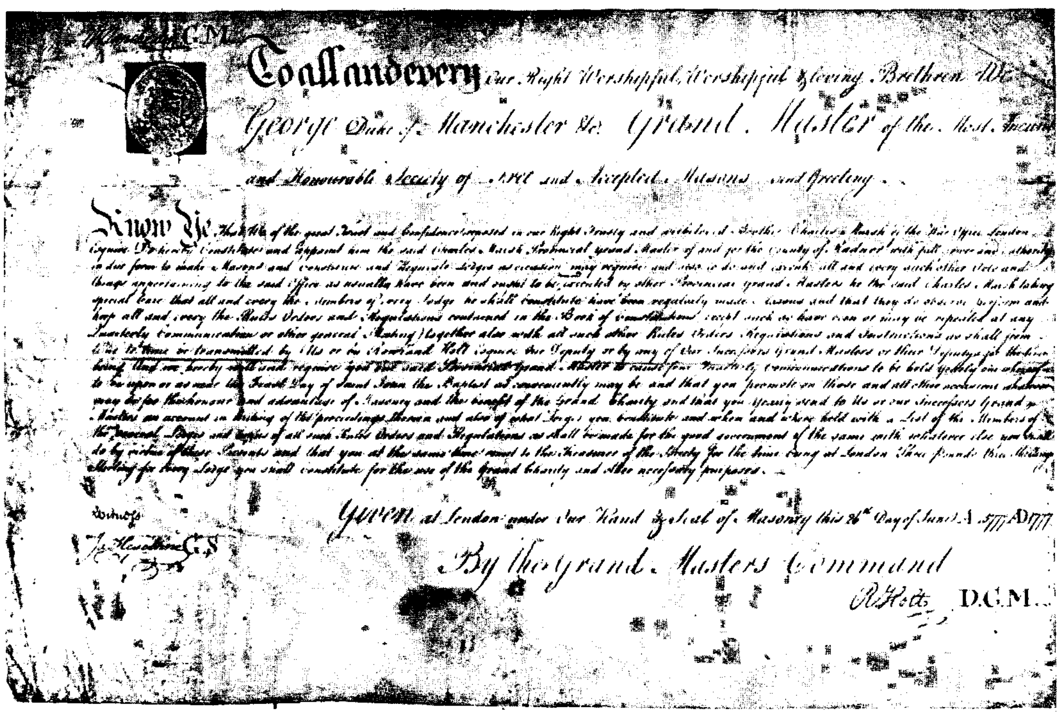
Warrant of Antients for Lodge at Sheffield. 1761.


To all whom it may concern

...the Town of Nottingham...

Given under our hands and Seal of the Grand Lodge London this ... Day April Anno Dom 1757...

Warrant of Antients for Lodge at Nottingham. 1757.


To all and every our Right Worshipful, Worshipful & loving Brethren We George Duke of Manchester &c Grand Master of the Most Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons send Greeting.

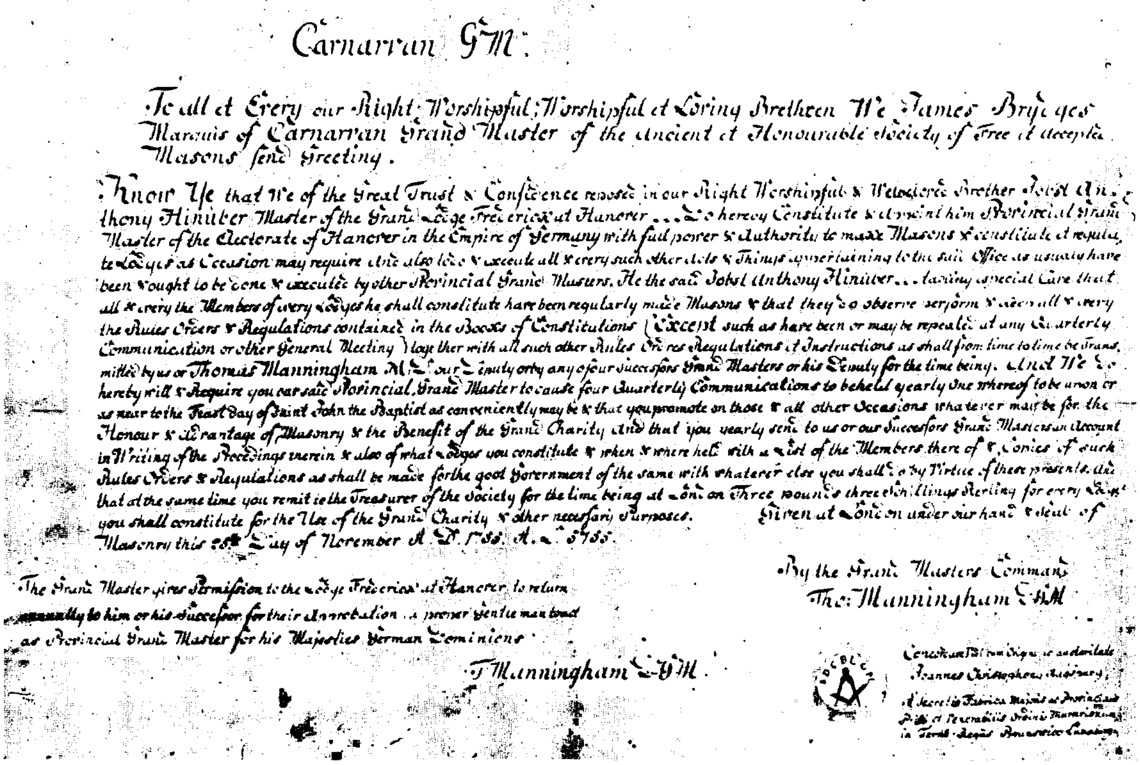
Know Ye...

Given at London under our Hand & Seal of Masonry this 26th Day of June A.L. 5777 A.D. 1777

By the Grand Masters Command

D.G.M.

Patent of Appointment of Charles Marsh as Provincial Grand Master. 1777.



Carnarvan G.M.

To all & Every our Right Worshipful, Worshipful & Loving Brethren We James Brydges Marquis of Carnarvan Grand Master of the Ancient & Honourable Society of Free & Accepted Masons send Greeting.

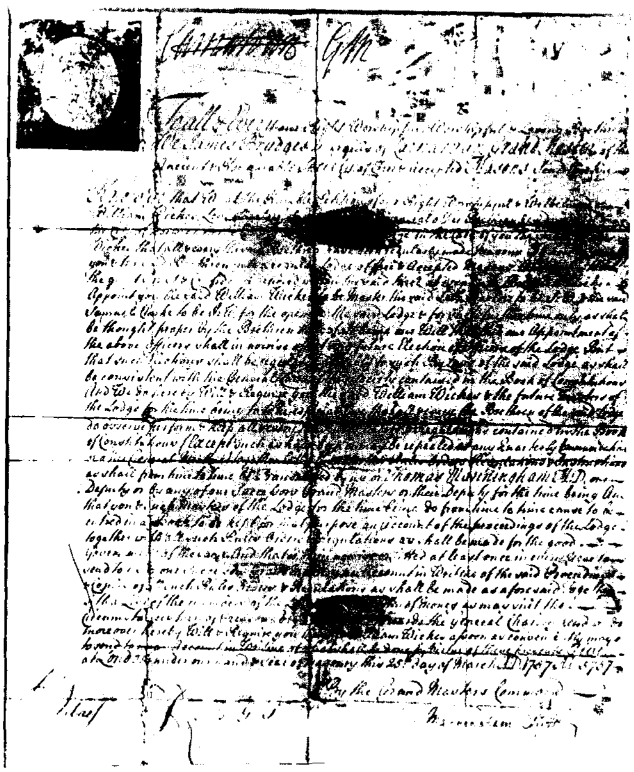
Know Ye that We of the Great Trust & Confidence reposed in our Right Worshipful & Beloved Brother John Anthony Hinüber Master of the Grand Lodge Frederick at Hanover . . . Do hereby Constitute & Appoint him Provincial Grand Master of the Electorate of Hanover in the Empire of Germany with full power & Authority to make Masons & constitute & regulate Lodges as Occasion may require And also to do & execute all & every such other Acts & Things appertaining to the said Office as usually have been & ought to be done & executed by other Provincial Grand Masters, He the said John Anthony Hinüber . . . taking special Care that all & every the Members of every Lodge he shall constitute have been regularly made Masons & that they do observe perform & keep all & every the Rules Orders & Regulations contained in the Books of Constitutions (Except such as have been or may be repealed at any Quarterly Communication or other General Meeting) together with all such other Rules Orders Regulations & Instructions as shall from time to time be transmitted by us or Thomas Manningham M.D. our Deputy or by any of our Successors Grand Masters or his Deputy for the time being. And We do hereby will & Require you our said Provincial Grand Master to cause four Quarterly Communications to be held yearly One whereof to be upon or as near to the Feast day of Saint John the Baptist as conveniently may be & that you promote on those & all other Occasions whatever may be for the Honour & Advantage of Masonry & the Benefit of the Grand Charity And that you yearly send to us or our Successors Grand Masters an Account in Writing of the Proceedings therein & also of what Lodges you constitute & when & where held with a List of the Members thereof & Copies of such Rules Orders & Regulations as shall be made for the good Government of the same with whatever else you shall do by Virtue of these presents And that at the same time you remit to the Treasurer of the Society for the time being at London Three pounds three shillings Sterling for every Lodge you shall constitute for the Use of the Grand Charity & other necessary Purposes. Given at London under our hand & Seal of Masonry this 25th Day of November A.D. 1755. A.L. 5755.

By the Grand Masters Command
Tho: Manningham D.G.M.

The Grand Master gives Permission to the Lodge Frederick at Hanover to return annually to him or his Successor for their Approbation a proper Gentleman to act as Provincial Grand Master for his Majesties German Dominions.

T. Manningham D.G.M.

Patent of Appointment of J. A. Hinuber as Provincial Grand Master. 1755.



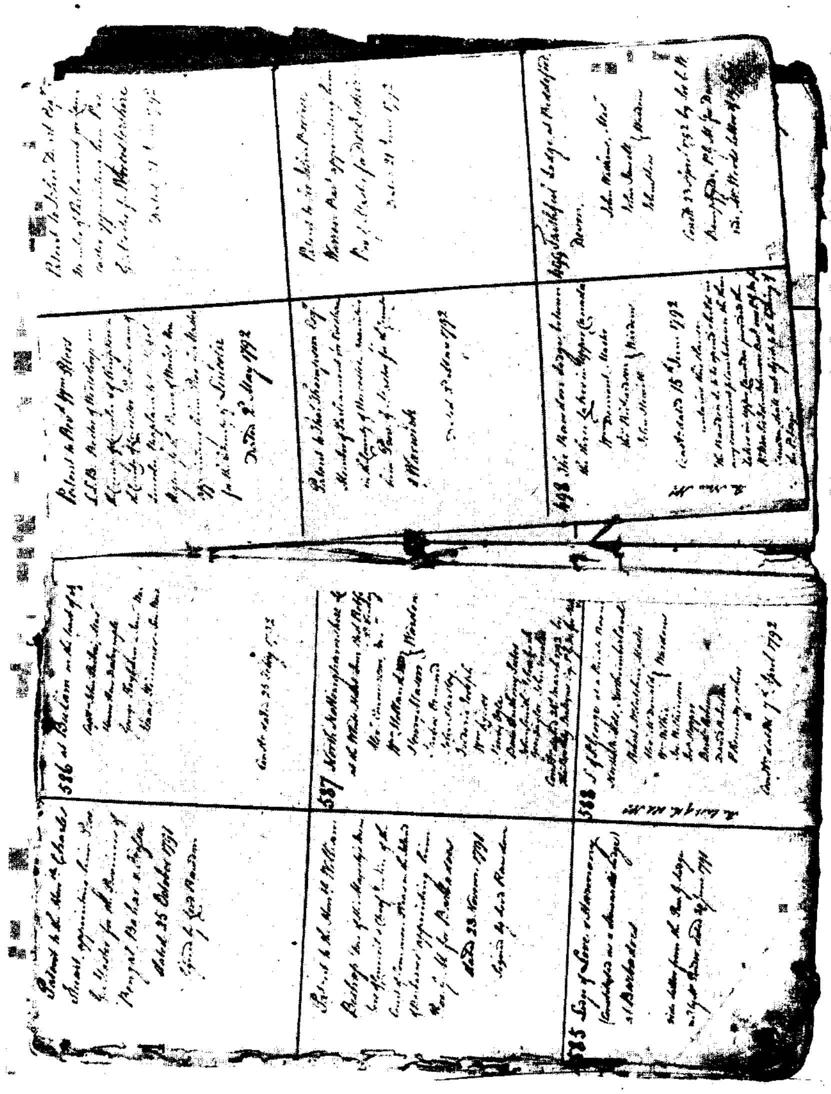
G.M.

To all & Every our Right Worshipful, Worshipful & Loving Brethren We James Brydges Marquis of Carnarvan Grand Master of the Ancient & Honourable Society of Free & Accepted Masons send Greeting

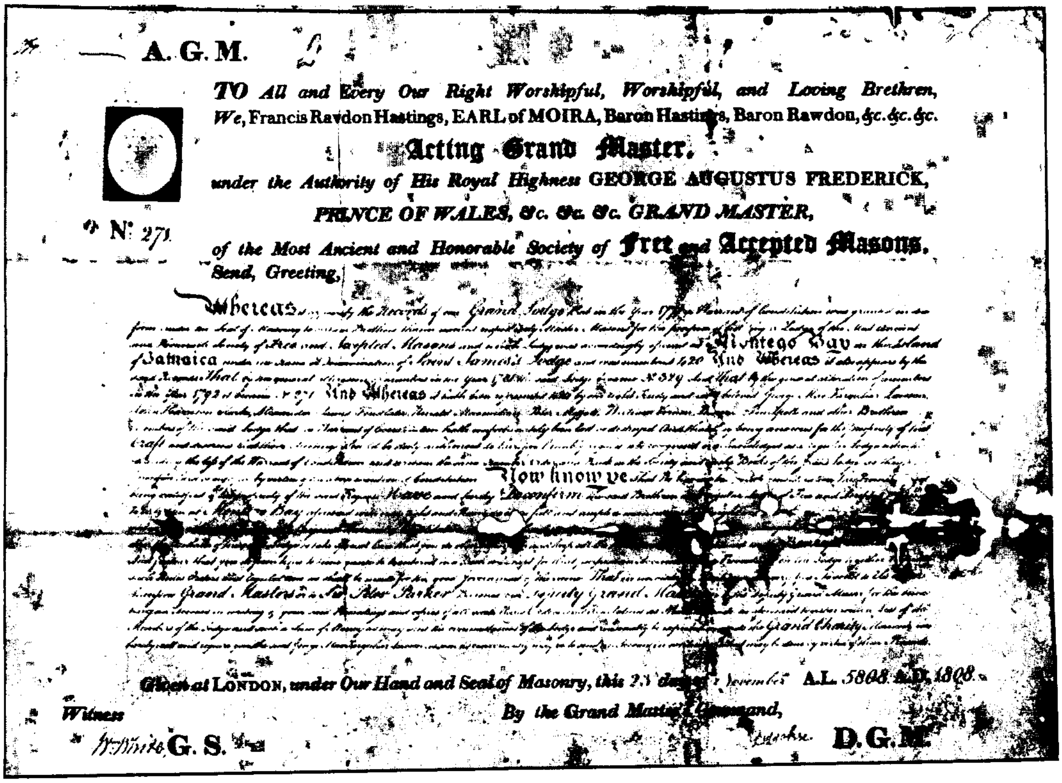
[illegible]

By the Grand Masters Command

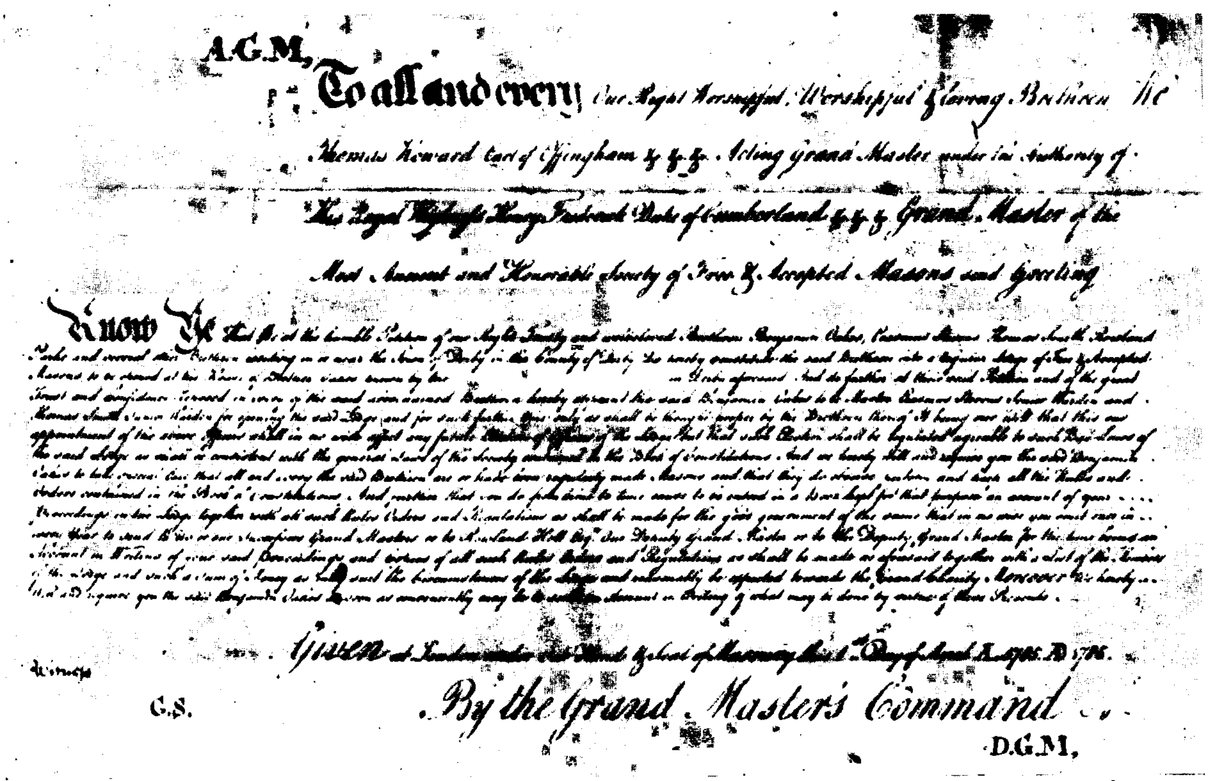
Warrant, Lodge of Friendship, Norwich. 1757.
In handwriting of Manningham, D.G.M.



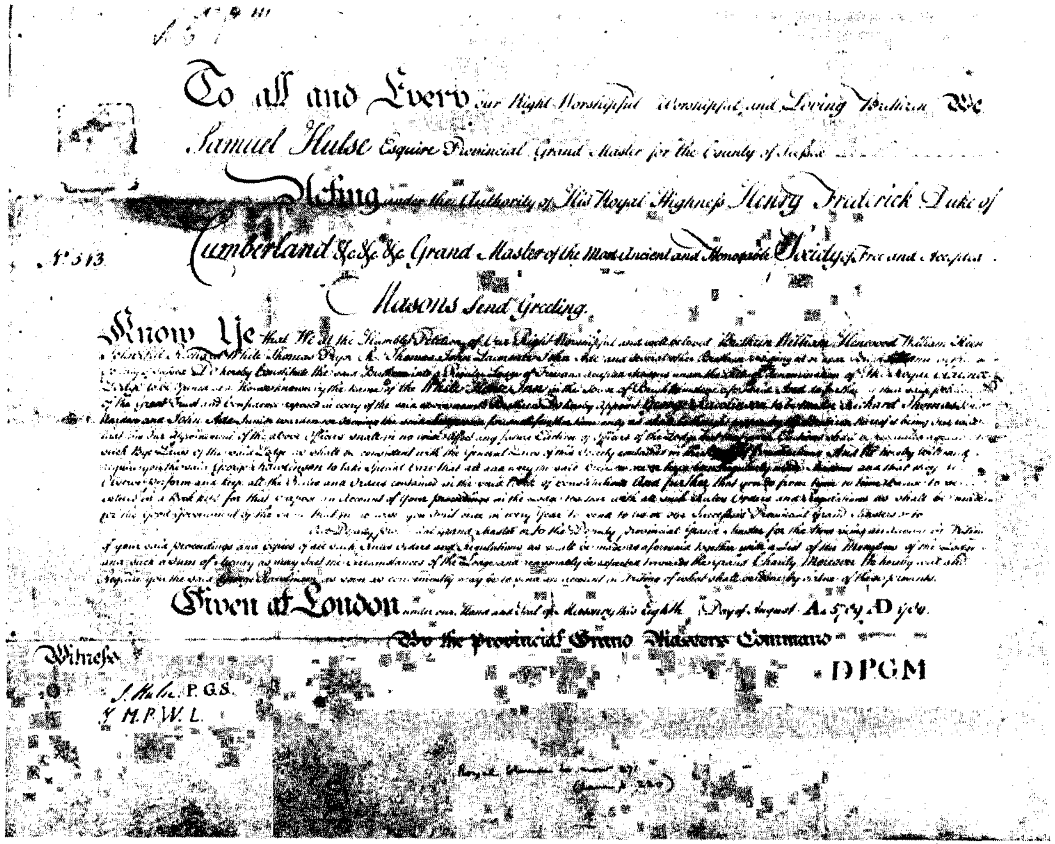
The Grand Secretary's Register.



Printed form of Warrant (Moderns). 1808.



Spoiled Warrant, Tyrian Lodge, Derby. 1785.



No 57

To all and Every our Right Worshipful Worshipful and Loving Brethren We Samuel Hulse Esquire Provincial Grand Master for the County of Sussex [illegible]

Acting under the Authority of His Royal Highness Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland &c. &c. &c. Grand Master of the Most Ancient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons Send Greeting.

No 513

Know Ye that We at the Humble Petition of Our Right Worshipful and well beloved Brethren William Henwood William [illegible] [illegible] White Thomas [illegible] Thomas John Lancaster John [illegible] and several other Brethren [illegible] do hereby Constitute the said Brethren into a Regular Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons under the Title or Denomination of The Royal Clarence Lodge to be opened at a House known by the name of the White Horse Inn in the Town of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Richard [illegible] Warden and John [illegible] Junior Warden [illegible] [illegible] Officers [illegible] Lodge [illegible] By Laws of the said Lodge [illegible] General Laws of this Society [illegible] Constitutions And We hereby will and require you the said George [illegible] to take special Care that all and every the said [illegible] and that they [illegible] perform and keep all the Rules and Orders contained in the said Book of Constitutions And further that you do from time to time cause to be entered in a Book kept for that purpose an Account of your proceedings in the Lodge together with all such Rules Orders and Regulations as shall be made for the good government of the same [illegible] you [illegible] once in every Year [illegible] to Us or Our Successors Provincial Grand Masters or to [illegible] Deputy [illegible] Grand Master or to the Deputy Provincial Grand Master for the time being [illegible] of your said proceedings and copies of all such Rules Orders and Regulations as shall be made as aforesaid together with a List of the Members of the Lodge and such a Sum of Money as may suit the Circumstances of the Lodge and reasonably be expected towards the Grand Charity Moreover We hereby will and require you the said [illegible] as soon as conveniently may be to send an account in Writing of what shall be done by virtue of these presents.

Given at London under our Hand and Seal of Masonry this Eighth Day of August A.L. 5789 A.D. 1789.

By the Provincial Grand Masters Command

Witness

J. Hulse P.G.S.

[illegible] M.P.W.L.

D.P.G.M.

Royal Clarence [illegible] 271 [illegible] 220)

Spoiled Warrant, Royal Clarence Lodge, Brighton. 1789.



Warrant, Harmony Lodge, Bacup, 1792, with later decoration.

issues his Warrant by virtue of the authority he has been given by the Grand Master. The Grand Lodge, or its officers, is rarely referred to in the preamble, or recital of authority, in any Moderns Warrant.

It need scarcely be pointed out that after the Union this was changed. The Moderns alone had adopted such a form of authority, to the Antients the "Lodge in ample form assembled" was always recited as the source of authority, and though the Moderns might fairly argue that as the Grand Master was subject to annual election by Grand Lodge, his authority was in effect similarly based, the form of words used upon Warrants issued since the Union has always included a recital of the fact that the Grand Master is acting "by the authority and under the sanction of the United Grand Lodge of England, vested in us for that purpose."

III.—PROVINCIAL WARRANTS IN GENERAL.

A large number of Provincial "Constitutions" still exists, many a one yet serving as the sole authority for the work of a Lodge, many preserved in Masonic libraries or private Lodges. A summary of those about which information could be obtained is given in Appendix I.; there are probably many others which might be added to the list.

No record was at first kept in the Grand Lodge Registers of the details of a Warrant issue. The register was of Lodges, and the numbering was of Lodges,—the official lists and registers took cognizance of no more.

But in 1785 the Grand Secretary, William White, began to keep a memorandum book of all such issues in the Provinces and continued it to the end of the century. Of the previous period no systematic record is available, and it has been necessary to get information in detail from existing Lodges which derived from the Moderns and search Provincial and many private Lodge Histories.

It should be noted that though the distinction drawn here between a Warrant, a Deputation, and a Dispensation is very real, these terms are themselves very loosely used in documents of the period, and that, particularly in the recitals of past History usually given in Warrants of Confirmation, the use of the term "Warrant" is no evidence that the document referred to was of the character we now indicate by that term.

For instance, the Warrant of Confirmation issued to the Lodge of Rectitude, Corsham, Wilts., No. 335, which gave re-issue to the erased Warrant of the Lodge established at the Maid's Head, Norwich, in 1724, says: "in the year 1724 a Warrant of Constitution was granted in due form under the seal of Masonry" and "We . . . have been pleased to assign the said Warrant of Constitution to the said Brethren"—a pious fiction!

This memorandum register of William White's is a small folio, without foreword or title page.

It consists of three fasciculi of six foolscap sheets in each, *i.e.*, twelve leaves; a former covering of all three fasciculi, made of thin cardboard having been cut down close to the folding, and a coarse brown paper cover stitched over it bearing the written description:—

"Warrants of Constitution and
Patents of Prov. Grand Masters."

The book was made up at different periods, the watermark being slightly different in each fasciculus, and that of the last bears date 1804.

The first entry has the date 29 Sep. 1784.

The earlier part of the first fasciculus gives interesting indications of its original condition.

The first leaf is of a different colour and texture from the rest, the paper is cleaner and more closely woven, and the watermark different; it was evidently added at a later date to supply the place of some earlier leaves that had been removed: its counterpart at the end of the fasciculus which should form the

twelfth leaf has been cut down close to the fold, and the entries pass chronologically to the first page of the second fasciculus, as is shown in the illustration (Plate IX.).

This new first leaf was evidently intended to replace the next two leaves of the original fasciculus which have been cut away close to the fold leaving the tenth and eleventh leaves without any folded counterpart, and many of the entries in what is now the third page (but was formerly the fifth) have been very thoroughly erased and scribbled over, while a few indications of writing still remain on the cut edges of the removed pages.

It would appear that this memorandum book was at first used for other matters and that Bro. Secretary White decided to devote it entirely to a register of Warrants and Patents only after he had had it for some time in use; then after this had become its established use he removed the two first leaves, and substituted this new one, with extracts from the discarded portion freshly written up.

And it is noticeable that he left the upper half of the first page blank, as though intending to inscribe a title or description of the book there.

The spacing or compartments of this first leaf resemble more the latter than the earlier pages of the original book.

The entries were at first made with irregular spacing in two columns down the right and left sides of the pages: by August, 1789, the page is ruled into eight equal compartments, and at the other side of the same leaf (after entry of No. 550 Independent Lodge, Congleton, Cheshire, 22 Oct. 1789, at the bottom of that page) the ruling into six compartments is adopted, and maintained to the end: though occasionally (particularly for foreign Lodges) four or five entries were made in one compartment.

The first entry on the first page of the first fasciculus is "Warrant of Confirmation for Lodge at Trichinopoly, granted to Terence Gahagan Esq., Capt. W^m^. Leyburn & Capt. Robt. Testt, dated 29 Sep. 1784."

The last entry on the last page of the first fasciculus is of Lodge 588 "Lodge of S^t^. George at a Private Room, North Shields Northumberland, 7 April 1792,"—and has the note "The last of the old numbers."

The second fasciculus of six sheets is complete and dates from 2 May 1792, when the Patent of the Rev. Wm. Peters is entered, to 20 Jan. 1802, when the entry is "Warrant of Confirmation for the Royal York Lodge formerly 546 now 455 granted to Philip Sheppard Esq. and others to hold the said Lodge at the Salutation Inn Minchin Hampton, Gloucestershire."

The third fasciculus, complete of six sheets, dates from 11 May 1803 with entry of appointment of George Harvey Esq. to be Prov. G.M. for Hertfordshire, to the entry at the end of the seventh page citing the appointment on 13 May 1812 of "William Williams of Bridehead in the Co. of Dorset Esq. to be Prov. Grand Master for Dorsetshire," the remaining pages having been ruled into compartments, but no entries made.

The entries respecting Lodges usually give certain particulars of the constitution of a Lodge, its serial number, date of constitution, place of meeting, often names of Officers and Petitioners, and usually a statement whether the Constitution was by a Provincial Grand Master.

Occasionally, (*e.g.*, respecting Cheshire Lodges) I have found that no such Provincial attribution has been made when, in fact, the Warrant was a Provincial issue: but in general the information (checked by actual issues still existing) is quite accurate, and may be taken as authoritative respecting those issues that have been lost.

And the expression "Constituted by" used in this register may also be taken as indicating that the constituting document—Warrant, Deputation, or Dispensation—was issued by the Provincial Grand Master.

Other compartments on the page are allotted to the notice of issue of a Patent or Deputation appointing a Provincial Grand Master in its due sequence of date and often giving full and interesting particulars respecting him.

How important had this plan of issuing the "Constitution" through the P.G.M. become during the last decades of the century will be realized by a glance at Appendix II., and from it the following figures can be tabulated:—

Moderns New Lodges Constituted (excluding Foreign)—

	Total.	Provincial Warrants.	Percentage.
1780 to 1800 ...	192	135	70 %
1790 to 1800 ...	93	77	83 %

The necessity for the Provincial organisation, once it was established, being loyally supported by the local Lodges and brethren on the one hand and the Grand Lodge on the other is a frequent topic of correspondence, and as time went on many broke through the discipline on account of local feeling; on this matter of Warranting New Lodges, and also the issuing of certificates to brethren by the Lodges, there are frequent allusions in contemporary letters.

For instance, on Aug. 6, 1773, Francis Clayton, W.M. of 171, writes to the Grand Secretary from Chester and complains that the practice of granting travelling certificates to Masons, other than locally "gives a large scope for a member to behave ill, and makes him careless whether he gets a certificate or no, from they Body he belongs to, when for the triffling sum of five shillings he can get a certificate from the Grand."

And Bro. Allison, Prov. G.Sec. of Cornwall, writes to the G.Sec. from Falmouth on March 11, 1792: "Unless the Transactions of the Lodges under his Law pass through his Hands in order to be laid before the Grand Lodge the Provincial's Authority is merely nominal and of no manner of utility."

But the interest taken in their provinces varied much as between the different Provincial Grand Masters, and while some kept a very tight hold, and had a kindly interest, others did but little active work, and then matters either passed into the hands of an active Deputy or Secretary, or were dealt with directly by Grand Lodge.

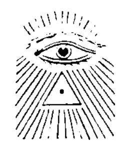
The Petition.—As when seeking a Constitution from Grand Lodge, so brethren wishing to form a new Lodge in a Province were requested to present a Petition in due form, setting out the reasons for their request and quoting the approval and support of local Lodges and brethren where this was obtainable.

One of the most interesting of these Petitions is that of the Brethren who wished to form a Lodge in Leeds in 1760. It is not, however, addressed to the Provincial Authorities,—but

> "To the Right Worshipful Worshipful Grand Master, Grand Wardens and all our Brethren Members of the Grand Lodge Held at the Devil's Tavern, Temple Bar, London.
>
> Right Worshipful Brethren
>
> We the Underwritten and your faithful Brethren residing in the Town of Leeds in the County of York, being more than a Competent Number to form a Lodge and make it perfect (amongst which there are some invested with Degree, to which we think you are not strangers) have assembled ourselves in this above Said Town of Leeds at Mr. John Thompson at the "Talbot" to work in good Harmony and according to the Rules and Statutes of our Royal Art. And being desirous to Continue our work
>
> 
>
> in the like good order and Harmony, and to be admitted into the Number of those you have already been pleased to Constitute. We beg you'll be pleased to deliver us Such Rules and Constitutions as you have done to many others here-to-fore, that we may be united and known to the whole Fraternity wheresoever dispersed over the face of

the Earth, not only for our own satisfaction, but also for the better Constituting to the improvement and good order of our Royal Art.

Our Brother the bearer of these will satisfy the Expenses required for the said Constitution: In the interim we beg leave to assure you that we shall always be ready to acknowledge the said favour by our Quarterly relief for the Poor and Pennyless Brethren as far as it shall lye in our Power. Granting you 3 times 3 and Cherished and known to the Enlightened mortals only. We remain sincerely your true and faithful Brethren.



Samuel Davenport
Jos. Fountain
John Barron
John Bedford Junr.
H. Ibbetson Master.
Geo. Lawman."

Jon. Priestly
Horatio Cataneo
Jam^{s}. Horrocks
Thos. Woodcock
Lewis Bastide.

Though there is often a naive individuality in the petitions, there soon came to be a common form, and, though the example is late in date, the following communication from the Provincial Grand Treasurer at York to Bro. G. Newbold, Secretary of the Britannia Lodge (evidently in response to a request for information as to procedure in forming a new Lodge), gives the matter explicitly.

In a covering letter dated "Friday evening" but evidently written at the end of December, 1797, he says:—

> "Above you receive a form of the usual Petition which you will follow and get signed, and on return will forward you a Dispensation for holding a Lodge till we can settle about the Constitution."

The "above form" reads:—

> "To the Right Worshipful Richard Slater Milnes Esquire, M.P. Provincial Grand Master for the County of York, and to the Worshipful William Spencer M.D. Past Deputy Provincial Grand Master.
>
> The humble Petition of [seven brethren, insert their names] respectively Master Masons.
>
> Sheweth
>
> That your Petitioners are regular Masons and are at present, or have been Members of regular Lodges. That having the Prosperity of the Fraternity at Heart they are willing to exert their best endeavours to promote and diffuse the genuine principals of Masonry. That for the convenience of their respective Dwellings and other good reasons they have agreed to form a New Lodge to be named [here insert the name of the Lodge] and have nominated and do recommend A. B. to be the first Master, C. D. to be the first Senior Warden, and E. F. to be the first Junior Warden.
>
> That in consequence of this resolution they pray for a Warrant of Constitution to empower them to assemble as a regular Lodge on the [here insert the day or days of the month] at the [Sign of the Plow or any other place to be fixed upon] in Whitby in the County of York then and there to discharge the Duties of Masonry in a regular and Constitutional manner according to the Original forms of the Order and the Laws of Grand Lodge.
>
> That the prayer of your Petitioners being granted they promise strict conformity to all regular Edicts and Commands of the Grand Master and to all the Constitutional Laws of the Grand and Provincial Lodges.
>
> The Petitioners sign their names.

The Dispensation.—It was to an increasing extent the custom during this period for a Provincial Grand Master—or for the Grand Secretary of G.L.—to grant a "dispensation" under which the Lodge could begin its meetings, and even initiate, pass, and raise new members, before the "Constitution" was duly completed and delivered, and sometimes a limit of time was stated for the authority to extend,—usually four to six weeks,—but towards the last decade of the century the tendency was for the period to be greatly extended, and indeed it will be seen that in Yorkshire this, at one time somewhat informal document—often issued by the D.P.G.M.—became expanded into an elaborately engrossed and embellished imitation of a Warrant, which, giving no limit of time, has continued to be the recognised Authority until this day, although no Warrant has been issued to confirm it.

Indeed, it would appear that at that later date, if the Grand Lodge had received their fees, no enquiry was made as to the terms or the regularity of the document issued.

In the case of the short time interim Dispensations it was customary to date back the Warrant when it was subsequently completed, to the date of the first authority to meet, and we have many allusions to this in the contemporary correspondence.

For instance:—

"Hampton Court Palace,
Mar. 30, 1787.

Dear Sir

I have this morning receiv'd a letter from Braintree in Essex, requesting me to grant a Warrant of Constitution to confirm the Dispensation which I gave them to hold a Lodge at a Private Room in that town,—dated Nov. 3, 1786 of which I inform'd you and receiv'd for answer that the number would be 491.—I must now desire you will do me the favour to get the Warrant made out with the *above* date, for the Lodge of Goodwill, to be held at a Private Room, Braintree in Essex—Bro. William Low, Master, Bro. Richard Bigs Senr. Warden, & Bro. Thos. Osborne Junr. Warden.—If it can be engrossed by Wednesday I can sign and send it the next day to Colchester for my Deputy and Secretary to witness it.

Your faithful & zealous Bro.
Thos. Dunckerley."

Similarly:—

"Whitchurch, Salop.
1 July, 1788.

. . . the intended Master with two of the officers of the New Lodge to be formed waited on me, and I have granted him a Dispensation to act &c. till their Warrant of Constitution is made out, which that you may be enabled to do, I transmit you the following particulars about it— . . .

Charles Shirreff."

A good example of the terms of an interim Dispensation is preserved by the Worcester Lodge No. 280.

It is issued by the Grand Secretary, not the Provincial Authorities:—

"No. 573

To Brothers D. B. Curwen, Thomas Smith, Jos. Dillon, Richard Hill, Moses Leviston, John Barnsley, Edward Connop and John Whitaker, residing in or near the City of Worcester.

Brethren,

You are hereby authorised to assemble as a regular Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons at the Rein Deer Inn in the City of Worcester, aforesaid, under the Title or Denomination of The Worcester Lodge, and to make, pass and raise Masons as occasions

shall require, and to do every other act as a regular Lodge of Freemasons until a Warrant of Constitution shall be made out.

By the Deputy Grand Master's Command

Wm. White G.S.

Freemasons' Hall. 2nd. Oct. 1790."

The Lodge was not "Constituted" until the following May, but the Warrant bears date 9 Oct. 1790.

An example of a Provincial issue of such Dispensation is that of the Lodge of Loyalty, Mottram in Longdendale, now No. 320. It is wrongly cited in Armstrong's "History of Freemasonry in Cheshire," p. 61, as being the only authority this Lodge possessed for the first hundred years of its existence.

As a matter of fact, a Warrant—unusual in form—was issued by the Provincial Grand Master, dated 10 Oct. 1799, of which fuller particulars are given later under Cheshire.

"Dispensation Granted to Messrs. Thomas Cordwell Thomas Rhodes and Edward Moss.

Whereas you have lately presented a Petition to the Right Worshipful and Honourable Sir Robert Salusbury Cotton, Bart. Provincial Grand Master of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, within the County Palatine of Chester, and City and County of Chester, requesting the favour of being Constituted into a Regular Lodge, which he has consented unto, and as the same cannot be immediately performed have requested me to grant you a Dispensation for the holding of a regular Lodge until the same can take place.

Therefore (out of the Great Trust & Confidence reposed in you) as well as in compliance with your request as by the consent and approbation of the said Provincial Grand Master, I do (as his Deputy) hereby grant you this Dispensation authorising you to hold regular Lodges and make and raise Masons at the House of the Sign of the Robin Hood and Little John, at Mottram in Longdendale, on some one day in every month (which you may fix upon) from the date hereof until such time as your Constitution shall be granted, or this authority recalled, you taking special care to obey and observe all Laws, Orders, Rules, & Regulations of the Grand Lodge of England, and behaving in all respects as becomes true and faithful Brethren.

In testimony whereof I have subscribed my Name and caused the Provincial seal to be affixed hereto, this twenty second day of September in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight. A L 5798.

Charles Hamilton D.P.G.M.

Signed in the presence of

Henry Bowers. P.G.Sec."

All the Warrants issued by the Moderns were engrossed on vellum, or very rarely on stout paper, and although the engraver's art was so common at that time, and reproduction of documents from engraved plates was comparatively so inexpensive and largely resorted to for other documents—*e.g.*, Certificates and Summonses,—there are no Warrants for which such a plate was used.

The earliest issue by the Moderns, I have seen, that was not wholly engrossed by hand is a Warrant of Confirmation issued to St. James Lodge, Montago Bay, Jamaica, on 23 Nov. 1808.

It is on paper, issued by the Earl of Moira, and signed by Peter Parker D.G.M. and Wm. White G.S. and is preserved in Grand Lodge.

In this document the heading and preamble are *Printed* from type, as also are the final words "Given at London &c." with blanks left for names and dates.

Since the Union, Warrants have all again been entirely engrossed, so that this form of Moderns Warrant with the printed Preamble and final phrase can only have been issued for five or six years: all have the recital of the assignation

of some previously issued Warrant, and all were issued by Grand Lodge for Provincial or Foreign Lodges, as no new Lodges were formed in London during that time.

On page 129 of his *Handy book to the Lists of Lodges* Lane gives a list of twenty-two Lodges thus newly-formed between the years 1809 and 1812 to which a new number was given: of these eleven are still working: these may have such Warrants,—there can be very few others in England.

Two excellent examples of these partly printed Warrants are preserved in the G.L. Library: that of the Lodge of Union, Portsea, dated 8 Mar. 1810, the Lodge having been erased in 1836, and of the Union York Lodge formed in the 2nd Regt. of West York Militia, dated 1 May 1811, with erasure in 1829.

Some indications of the methods employed in producing the engrossed Warrants are afforded by examination of certain spoiled and unissued Warrants which have been preserved in the G.L. Library.

There is one which was being completed for the Tyrian Lodge, Derby, and dated 1 Mar. 1785, but was spoiled in engrossing.

It will be seen that the Title letters of officials are engrossed at their place of signature: A.G.M. at the top left; D.G.M. bottom right, and G.S. with the word Witness at bottom left, but no autographs affixed.

Similarly, for the Royal Clarence, Brighton, 8 Aug. 1789, there is an unissued Provincial Warrant which has been spoiled by the Provincial Grand Master Samuel Hulse putting his name in the wrong place,—*i.e.*, in the place allotted to the "Witness" and in front of the initials P.G.S. In this Warrant will be noticed the blank space left for the name of the D.P.G.M. and the fact that the number 543 is already engrossed.

As will be seen when considering the Provinces in detail there is great variety in the character of the documents issued by the different Provincial Grand Masters—some of the latter closely followed the Grand Lodge model, and (like Dunckerley) issued this form uniformly throughout their jurisdictions, others adopted at one time the Warrant, and at another the Deputation form (as in Norfolk), others adopted forms of their own (as Allen of Lancashire, Bell of Cornwall, and Cotton of Cheshire) while in Yorkshire is shown the extraordinary development of the Dispensation form, and many other indications of local history and influences

The Warrant was engrossed sometimes in London, and sometimes at the local centre, and there are usually quite definite characteristics in either case.

Dunckerley, for instance, had all his documents engrossed in London, and blanks were left for sundry details and signatures to be filled in the body of the document as well as for the autographs of himself, his deputy and his witnesses. When issued at a local centre the engrossing was frequently done by the P.G.S. himself, but it does not follow that because the statement, "Given at Salisbury," or "Norwich," or "Manchester" is made that the engrossing was actually done there—such was often written in London.

The usual procedure with reference to the charges for new "Constitutions" is laid down very definitely in a letter written by Jas. Heseltine, G.Sec: to Charles Townsend, P.G.S. Chester, dated "Doctors" Commons 16 Nov. 1769:—

> "Sir and Bro.
>
> . . . .
>
> As to the demand for the Constitution it has been usual for some years and became a Law of the G.L. from 28 Oct. 1768, 'that every Lodge Constituted shall pay one Guinea for being registered and half a guinea for drawing the Constitution on parchment,' which with two guineas always paid for the Fund of Charity makes the sum of 3½ guineas. If, therefore, a Lodge be Constituted within any particular Province the Prov^l^. G. Sec. is allowed the half guinea for ingrossing the Warrant and the other 3 guineas are remitted for the Charity and Registering."

The allocation of the money does not always seem to have been clearly understood as the following letter from Durham shows—(the letter also indicating that even at that date there were Lodges, with a previous independent existence, now applying for enrolment and recognition rather than a foundation):—

"Nov. 14 1769. Stockton.

Dear Sir,

Your obliging letter acquainting me with your kindly having represented us at the Grand Lodge I laid before my Brethren, the last Lodge night who truly sensible of the Favour you had done them desired me to make their Thanks to you, and if not too great a Trouble wou'd think themselves obliged in your representing them at all Times when they have business to transact at the Grand. The Two Guineas for Copying our Constitution on parchment, we think exceedingly high, as 'tis no more than renewing our Right, and why as much should be paid for the Hands of the Grand Officers we cannot apprehend, however should they insist on that sum, I am order'd to request the Favour of your getting it done with all convenient dispatch, & to desire your making the best terms you can with the Secretary.

. . . .

I am D^r. Sir, Your much oblig'd

Jos. Burden.

Direct for Thos. Rudd at Hayes Wharf."

From Norfolk at about the same period similar enquiries were made, and the following correspondence is preserved in Grand Lodge:—

"Mr. Heseltine.

Sir and Bro. . . .

I find since my return Bro. Worth of Diss has been wth y^u^. The Brethren there have now given up the expectation of setling under the old Becles Constitution, & at their order I have now drawn up a New Constitution for them under the direction of our P.G.M. but must beg of you, Sir, to send me a seal from under the Grand Stamp to affix to the vellum wth some small ribband or silk Ferret such as you use on like occasions, as I have never yet been able to prevail with the Brethren to provide me with a broad seal of Masonry.

. . . .

Please also let me know what money I am to send y^u^ up on account of the Constitution as I find the Brethren at Diss expects it to be less than what I noted w^n^ wth you, and also say w^t^ is the charge of the seal & materials to do it on wth all wch shall be duly transmitted to you.

You'll send this small parcel by Nasmith's Coach directed to me Schoolmaster in S^t^. Clements.

I am. Dear Sir & Bro.

Yr true & faithful Bro.

Thomas Davey.

Norwich July 8. 1770."

The reply of the G.S. copied in the Letter book in G.L. shows that a seal was sent to attach to the vellum "though it is the first application of the kind I have yet had."

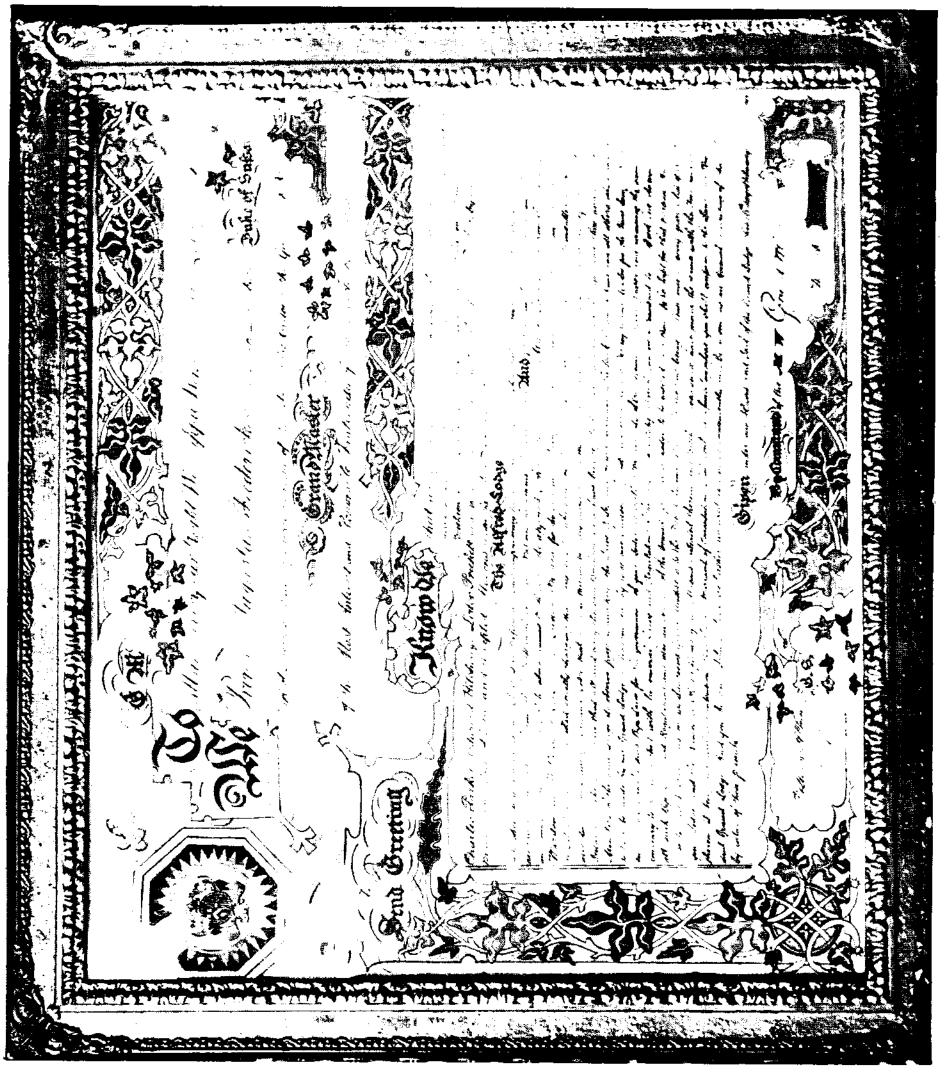
£3. 3s. was charged for constituting and enrolling the Lodge and Bro. Davey was directed that half a guinea was the charge for writing it and for the materials.

The document is in possession of the Provincial Grand Lodge at Norwich with its original seal and ribband, and beneath it is written a certificate that the Lodge had been constituted and the first Master appointed.

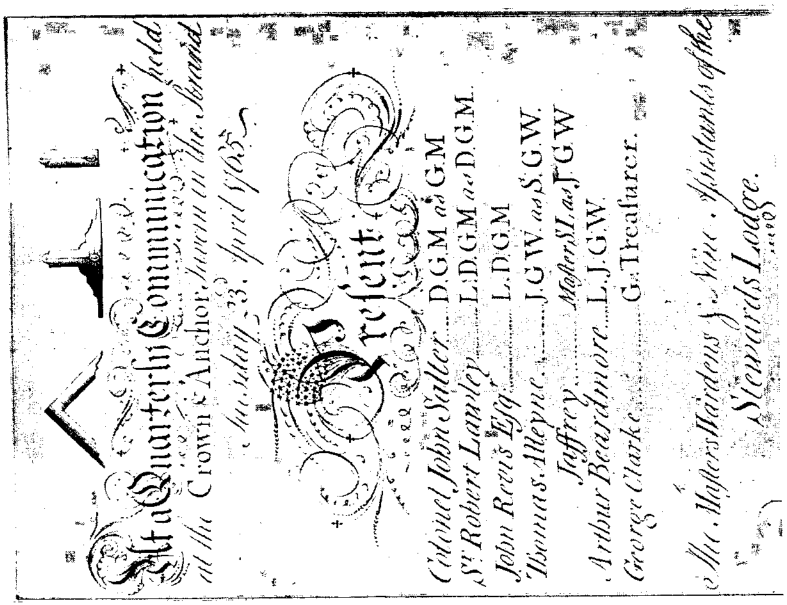
It is unusual to find the seal of a Moderns Lodge attached in this way to a ribband, though common with the Antients. The document was locally written, probably by Thomas Davey himself.



Warrant, Lodge of Amity, Rochdale, 1791, with later decoration.
(From a photograph by W. Bro. Eustace B. Beesley.)



Warrant. Alfred Lodge. Oxford, 1814, with later decoration.

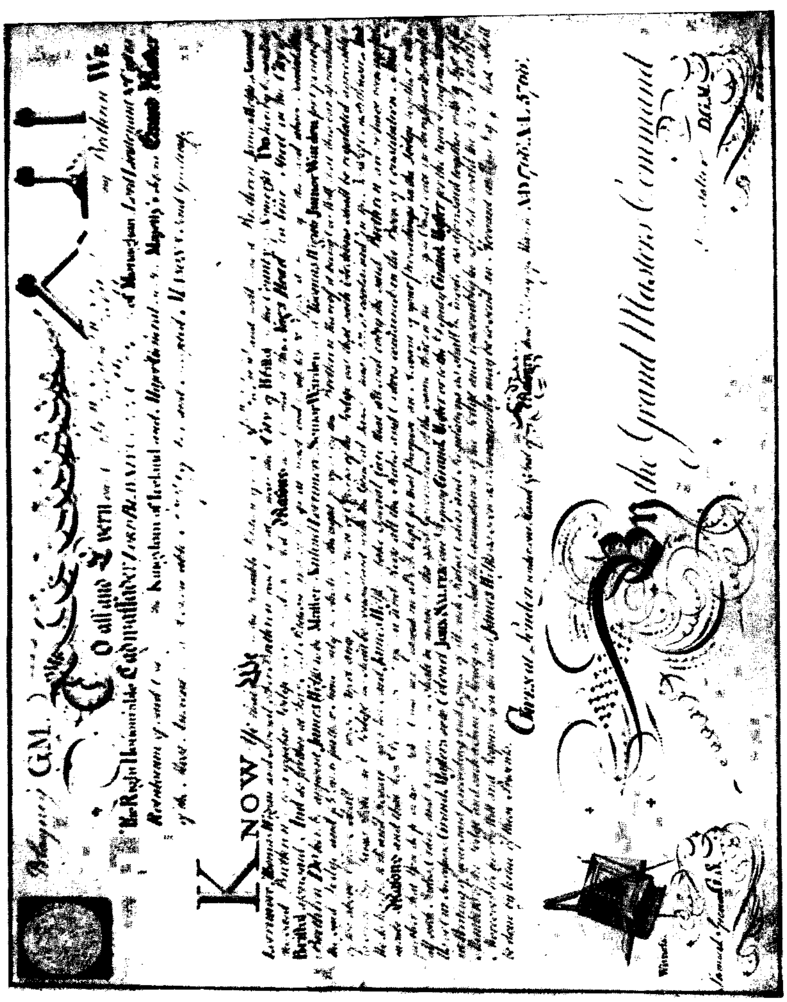

At a Quarterly Communication held
at the Crown & Anchor [illegible] in the Strand
Tuesday 23d April 1765.

Present

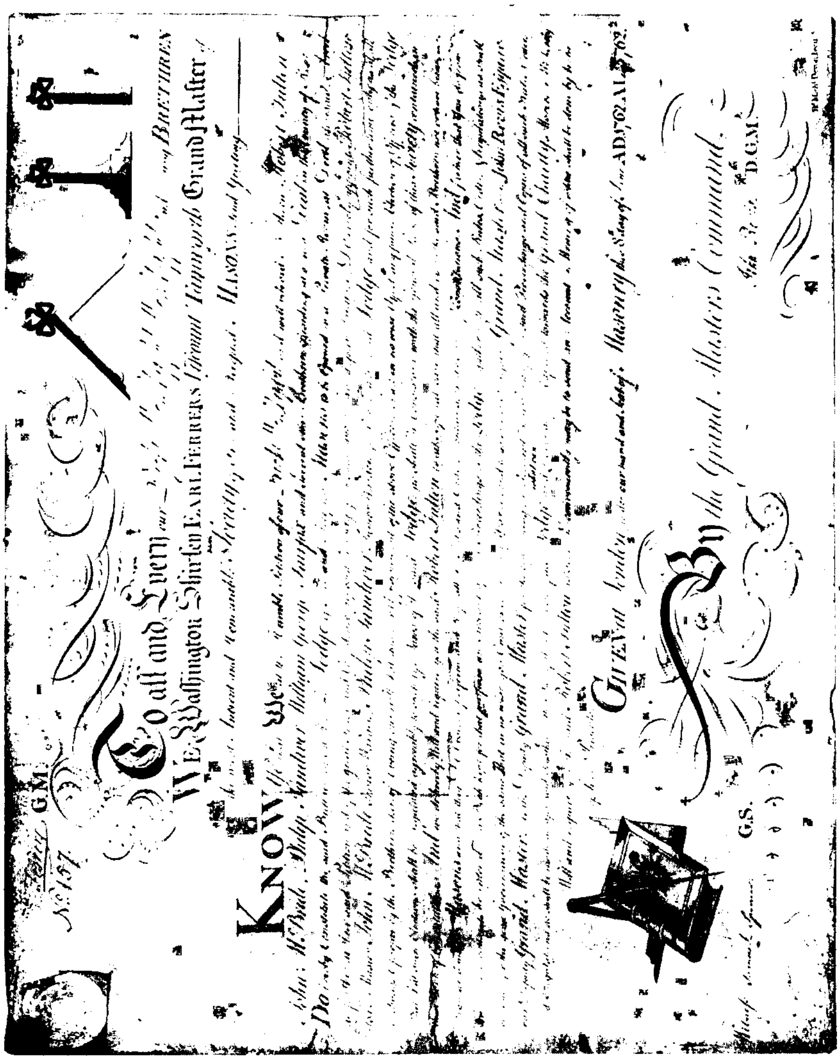
Colonel John Salter ... D.G.M. as G.M.
Sr Robert Lawley ... L.D.G.M. as D.G.M.
John Revis Esq ... L.D.G.M.
Thomas Alleyne ... J.G.W. as S.G.W.
Jaffrey ... Master S.L. as J.G.W.
Arthur Beardmore ... L.J.G.W.
George Clarke ... G. Treasurer.

The Masters Wardens & Nine Assistants of the
Stewards Lodge.

Page from Grand Lodge Minute Book, the work of Michael Devon, 1765.



Warrant with decoration by Michael Devon. 1766.



Warrant with decoration by Michael Devon. 1762.

From Worcestershire too, there is an interesting letter preserved in the G.L. Library, which shows the anxiety of Brethren as to the expenses they would have to face in founding a Lodge and applying for a Warrant.

Letter from John Brown, Evesham, dated 11 Dec. 1771 to Mr. Heseltine, Doctors Commons, London (Post Paid):—

> "You will no doubt be rather surpriz'd at your reception of a letter from one not Personally known but hope ye subject will in some measure attone for ye freedom taken. The purport of which is we find you are at present G.S. of ye G.L. of England under ye Modern Constitution and as we have in this Town about 5 Masons, all of which have been rais'd to ye Degree of M.M., one or two of which are P.M. & R.A. we have lately had a meeting to Consult about Holding a Lodge in this Town (as we are all well wishers of ye Craft) but as we are so few in No. are fearfull of Expenses of a Warrant with ye Furniture of ye Lodge will be to high for our Number,—We should therefore take it as a particular favour if you would be so kind as to inform us, what ye Expense of a Warrant from ye G.L. will be & whether (as we have no Lodge near us) our P.M. cannot legally Instal a Master in ye Chair, & whether our giving a Particular Ac^t^. of what Lodge he was M. of & when ye other B^r^. were legally made & rais'd will be sufficient to Procure ye Warrant, or what Proof and recommendation will be required for that purpose.
>
> I am with great respect in ye Name of All B^r^.
>
> John Brown.
>
> S^r^. your most obed^t^. Hble Ser^t^. and B^r^.
>
> Evesham, Worcestershire
> 11 Decem^b^. 1771."

The Minutes of Grand Lodge of Oct. 28 1768 to which the Grand Secretary referred in his letter to Bro. Chas. Townsend of Chester relate the occasion of founding the fund for the building of the new Hall,—a step which was to have very far-reaching consequences upon the fortunes of the Moderns. This matter of charges for Patents and Constitutions is there so clearly detailed that it will be well to quote that part of the proceedings—as related in the 1784 B. of C.:—

> "Grand Lodge, at the Crown & Anchor tavern, in the Strand, Friday, Oct. 28, 1768. Present, the Hon. Charles Dillon, as grand Master: Richard Holt, Esq. as deputy grand Master: Henry Jaffray Esq. as senior grand Warden: John Friday, master of the stewards' lodge as junior grand warden: Rowland Berkeley, Esq. grand treasurer: Thomas French, grand secretary: Thomas Dyne, grand sword bearer: the master, wardens, and assistants of the stewards' lodge, with the master & wardens of seventy nine regular lodges.
>
> The deputy grand master informed the grand lodge, that the grand master had been pleased to appoint Brother Thomas French grand Secretary, in the room of Brother Samuel Spencer deceased.
>
> The grand master in the chair then informed the brethren, that at a Committee of charity held at the Horn Tavern, Fleet Street, on the 21st inst., he had presented a plan for raising a fund to build a hall, and purchase jewels, furniture &c. for the grand Lodge, independent of the general fund of charity: that he apprehended the accomplishment of such a design would give a sanction to our assemblies: that the plan had been carefully perused by the brethren present at the Committee: and several amendments having been made thereto, they were referred to this grand lodge for confirmation.
>
> The several heads of this plan being proposed to the brethren, they resolved, that the said resolutions do meet with the approbation of this grand lodge: and that they be strictly enforced by all regular lodges and masons under the Constitution of England, under the title

of 'Regulations for raising a fund to build a hall, and purchase jewels, furniture &c. for the grand lodge, independent of the general fund of charity'; that they be forthwith printed and transmitted to all the lodges on record: that the above regulations do commence on the 29th October, and that all the money collected in consequence of the above regulations, be paid to the grand Secretary on or before each Grand Lodge."

The first five of these regulations, as appearing in the Minutes of Grand Lodge are as follows:—

"Resolved

1. That Every Grand Officer shall contribute annually in proportion to the dignity of his Office not less than the following sums:

		£.	s.	d
Grand Master	...	20	0	0
Deputy Grand Master	...	5	5	0
Senior Grand Warden	...	3	3	0
Junior Grand Warden	...	2	2	0
Grand Treasurer	...	3	3	0
Grand Secretary	...	3	3	0
Grand Sword Bearer	...	1	1	0

2. That every Provincial Grand Master shall pay One guinea for registering his name and half a Guinea for drawing out his Deputation on Parchment.

3. That every Provincial Grand Master who chuses to have his Patent curiously drawn with the usual Embellishments on Vellum shall pay Five Guineas.

4. That every Lodge constituted shall pay one Guinea for being registered, and half a guinea for drawing their Constitution on Parchment.

5. That every Lodge which chuses to have their Constitution drawn with the usual Embellishments on Vellum shall pay Five Guineas."

In transcribing these regulations in the 1784 Book of Constitutions (p. 386) an asterisk is put at Article II. with the footnote:—

"The fees for deputations, constitutions, and dispensations, are perquisites of the Grand Secretary, till a Salary is annexed to the office."

The late Samuel Spencer, whose death and successor are announced at that same G.L. Meeting, had been appointed and re-appointed annually as Grand Secretary from the year 1757; and an inspection of the Grand Lodge Minutes for this period shows a remarkable change in the style of their writing. A certain Bro. Michael Devon was from about 1758 employed as assistant or deputy in the Grand Secretary's office, and was evidently entrusted with this duty; from a general neatness and formality in handwriting he advanced to a simple rubrication of the page, and then to more and more elaborate embellishment and fantastic penmanship introducing coloured drawings of Masonic emblems at successive stages in the development of his decorative style.

It was to this Michael Devon that the work was entrusted of satisfying those who were prepared to pay Five Guineas for having their Constitution "drawn with the usual Embellishments on Vellum." That this tariff had been in operation some years previously to the Hall Fund regulations is shown by the Warrants of the Lodge which met at the Three Kings, Deal,—issued in 1762,—and the Lodge at the Union Punch Bowl, Bristol, 1766, of which reproductions are here given, and his work for the old Lodge at the Bull's Head, Halifax (whose 1738 Deputation was re-issued by Samuel Spencer) will be seen to have a far-reaching influence on the character of Yorkshire Warrants. How many Lodges,

in London and elsewhere, possess these interesting illuminated documents, I cannot say: nor, when his work ceased about 1770, does it appear that others took it up: and, so far as I have found, the elaborately embellished and decorated Warrant afterwards became a local product.

A petition to Grand Lodge written by Devon in this same highly-decorated style is preserved in the G.L. Library.

The illustration given of a page of the Grand Lodge Minute Book forms an interesting comparison with the embellishments on the Bristol Warrant of 1766 and the re-issued Deputation of 61 Halifax.

Of a later date the following letters from York are so informing on this subject that they are worth quoting at length.

It should be noted that the writer, Christopher Wilson, was initiated in the Apollo Lodge on Mar. 3, 1783, and became Secretary of the Lodge on Sep. 19 of that same year, and that as the Apollo was practically the Provincial Grand Lodge he was also the Provincial Grand Secretary. The management of the Province had for some time been in the hands of Richard Garland, the Deputy P.G.M.: and though, as we see from Wilson's own letter, he had himself engrossed two Warrants, when the time came for the affairs of the Province to be put in order, he found he had much to learn. He is described as a "Writing Master" and the many documents written by him are beautiful examples of engrossing:—

"York. 29 Sep. 1788.

Dear Sir, . . .

In your former letter you mention'd the Fees of Constitution being 2 guineas to each Fund and 1 guinea for registering and half a guinea for Writing the Warrant.—which last mentioned sum I don't properly understand what you mean—whether it be allow'd for writing the Warrant or dispensation for opening a Lodge before the Constitution be executed, or it is for writing the Constitution itself.

If it is for the latter shall request the favour of you to get the three now wanted executed in London as we can't get 'em done on any such Terms in the Country.

The rest of the Business is attended with a great deal of Trouble which I do of my own free will and accord and with a desire as far as in my power to promote the Interest of the Society. But if I am to be paid for what I do, should then expect to have something nearly adequate to the work.

If you will therefore be so obliging as to let me know what you usually pay for writing Constitutions elegantly upon Vellum with embellishments, can then be better able to judge upon the matter. Was it upon any other occasion but Masonry should certainly decline the job—as my time is very much engag'd other ways, and the application which I should wish to bestow upon 'em is rather prejudicial to my health,—at least I thought so in those I have done.

Request the favour of your answer by return of Brother Houseman & believe me to remain

D^{r}. Sir, Your most obliged & affectionate Brother

Chris. Wilson P.G.S."

The letter was addressed "W^{m}. White Esq. G.S. Sion Garden, London," and is endorsed "Ans^{d}. 28 Oct." though no copy of reply is to be found in the G.L. letter book.

A further letter reads:—

"York 16 Nov. 1788.

D^{r}. Sir

The enclos'd Bill value 5 guineas I this morning receiv'd from the Globe Lodge, Scarboro' being the fees for Constitution which you'll please to account for at the approaching Communication.

Am much oblig.'d to you for your favor of the 28th ult.—which came duly to hand—and was glad to find you had receiv'd both the remittances safe. . . .

Am much oblig'd to you for your offer to get the Constitution wrote, but as the manner you speak of being done plain upon parchment wd. not be satisfactory and they are agreeable to allow a reasonable consideration for having 'em neatly executed, think I must undertake to do 'em.

What I have to request of you therefore relative to the Seals is, that you would send me a few of the Wafer Seals of the Grd. Lodge such as you put to patents, constitutions &c. ready took off—as they are usually put to the Pl. Gd. Master's Signature in Constitutions.

Hope I shall hear from you as soon as convt. after the 26th inst., and am, with fraternal regard

Dr. Sir

Your much oblig'd servt. & Br.

Chris. Wilson. P.G.S.

To Wm. White Esq. G.S."

At the Hercules, Great Queen St., Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, endorsed "Ansd. 20 Dec."

It will have been recognised that by this time the cost of the Constitution had been increased from three to five guineas apart from the cost of engrossing.

As will presently appear, there was a tradition of decorated and embellished Warrants in Yorkshire which were evidently much preferred to the plain G.L. issue: others had different taste; see, for example, the following letter from Dunckerley to the G. Sec.:—

"Hampton Court Palace,
Feb. 1. 1785.

Dear Brother

I must beg you will get a Warrant engross'd for the Royal Gloucester Lodge, to be held at the Bell Inn in the City of Gloucester.—Bro. John Phillpott's Master—Thos. Woore Sen. Warden and Charles Elmes Junr. Warden—To be dated Hampton Court Palace. Jan. 10th 1785 (the date of the Dispensation which I have granted them for holding the said Lodge). I hope it will be well wrote & a proper margin left for frame & glass. You will let me have it as soon as convenient, to be sign'd & forwarded to my Deputy and Secretary at Bristol. It should not be folded, but rolled on a small roller.

. . . .

Your affect. Brother & faithful servant

Thos. Dunckerley.

Wm. White Esq.";

and with reference to a Warrant for a Lodge at Harbour Grace, Newfoundland, he states:—

"I beg you will get it executed (in the same *neat* manner as that for Gloucester) as soon as possible." (See Dorset.)

The much decorated Warrants of which we shall see many examples, were almost all local products and in many instances the decorations and embellishments were added subsequently to the completion of the engrossing, possibly in some cases at a much later date.

A good example of this later treatment of a plainly engrossed Warrant issued from Grand Lodge is seen at the Alfred Lodge, Oxford. This Warrant was the first issued by the United Grand Lodge (dated 16 Feb. 1814) and it is now very elaborately decorated and illuminated in gold and colour. A careful examination shows that this has all been superimposed on the old Warrant, and

the evidence that this is a later local addition is strengthened by the fact that a similarly decorated Royal Arch Charter hangs beside it in the Lodge room.

That a tariff charge for a decorated Warrant was made in Yorkshire when later it became customary for these decorated Warrants to be produced for the majority of the new Lodges is clear from the latter portion of the letter from Bro. John Watson, the P.G.T. to Bro. G. Newbold, with reference to the new Lodge at Whitby. Following the portion already given it continues:—

"The Dispensation will be		15	6
Constitution Fees to Grand Lodge will be ...	5	5	0
Writing the Constitution (if the old one cannot be made serve) Provincial Fees &c. about ...	5	10	6
	11	11	0
Postage		1	0
	11	12	0

The first, second and fourth charges need only be remitted at the time of forwarding the Dispensation. I recvd. a Letter from Br. White on the subject and will write to him respecting the Old Warrant but the Grand Lodge Fees must at all events be paid—in haste

Your ob^{t}. Serv. & Bror.

John Watson P.G.T.

Friday Evening."

One of the practical difficulties in connection with the issue of Provincial Warrants was the allocation of the Number: usually it could be given at once, but delays sometimes occurred and there are many existing documents without a Lodge number.

In this connection it may perhaps be mentioned that there was no numbering of Warrants in the Provinces as distinct from the numbering in the Grand Lodge Register.

Shirreff, it is true, started a Provincial numbering with his No. 1 at Shrewsbury and No. 2 Whitchurch, but that is as far as he got, and similarly Dobrie gives No. 1 and No. 2 Jersey. Bro. Lawrence in his "Sidelights on Freemasonry" (p. 108) states: "There are cases in which a Lodge worked for years under a Provincial Warrant and under a Provincial number, and when eventually it found its way on to the register of the Grand Lodge of England, its Provincial number accompanied it." This is quite a misleading statement and can have no reference to the English Provincial Lodges in the eighteenth century. Very occasionally a wrong number is given on the Warrant (559 for example, instead of 575 for the first numbering of The Lodge of Fidelity No. 281 Lancaster), but this was due to delay in payments for Constitution.

Another misunderstanding is that there was a numbering of *Warrants* as distinct from the numbering of *Lodges* (a correspondent thus explained the numbers borne on the document he was describing). The Grand Lodge Register of Lodges—both of Antients and Moderns—is the sole reference of the number upon the Warrant, which has no numeration of its own.

The disadvantages following delay in getting a number allotted are well illustrated in the case of the Loyal and Prudent Lodge of Leeds,—which received its Warrant dated 19 Mar. 1790, but to which no number was allotted for two years,—a position which gave rise to vigorous protest on the part of the Brethren of the Lodge:—

"Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Loyal and Prudent Lodge Constituted by the Provincial Grand Lodge in the County of York to address you as a Brother who has for many years testified your good wishes for the welfare of the Craft.

I also apply to you as Grand Treasurer not doubting that you will pay attention to our request.

We have worked under a Warrant of Constitution granted by the Provincial Grand Lodge near 2 years & under a regular Constitution given us about 6 months, we have remitted our fees regularly & have acted as far as in our power as become good masons.

The Lodge has repeatedly applied to the Provincial Grand Lodge requesting them to put us in possession of our number but we have not obtained it, this inattention we were displeased at, but are much more surpris'd that conduct should appear in a much superior Lodge.

You will agree with me that in every line of Business regularity and punctuality ought to be attended to, we wrote to Mr. White, Grand Secretary on the 19th ult. Inclosing him a list of all Masons made and Members admitted into our Lodge, also a Draft value £8. 9. 6 for Fees due to the Grand Lodge, at the same time informing him of the great neglect of the Provincial Grand Lodge in not giving us our number, & begging him to acknowledge the receipt of our letter and procure us the number, also to have our Lodge enter'd into the Masonic Almanack, urging the necessity of it as many of our Members have been refu'd admittance into other Lodges for the want of it. Mr. White has not answered our letter, nor acknowledg'd the receipt of our Draft & to our great mortification the Calendar is again publish'd and our Lodge does not appear therein.

I cannot help informing you that the Lodge 'Loyal and Prudent' is compos'd of a set of Gentlemen and Merchants who think themselves much neglected particularly so as a Lodge in Lancashire which was formed twelve months after ours is now registred in the Calendar.

To give you an idea of the respectability of our Lodge, we do not make a Member under Six guineas which with the Fees &c. amount to near Seven. It is our intention to conduct our Lodge upon true Masonic principles & shall study at all times to conform to the Rules and regulations of the Grand Lodge.

If we have acted improperly in addressing our Letter to Mr. White we will thank you to inform us who we are to write to in future & apologize to Mr. White for our not knowing better.

I am also desir'd by the Lodge to say that they are unanimously resolved that no more Fees shall be remitted either to the Grand Lodges or the P.G.L. till we are regularly registered in the Calendar. We beg, Sir, to refer ourselves to your goodness hoping that you will trace out where the neglect has been & procure us such relief as we have a right, as Masons, to expect.

I am, by order of the Loyal & Prudent Lodge
Dear Sir
Your faithful Brother
& very Hble Servant
Jams. Richardson Secy.
Atty. at Law. Leeds. 7 Dec. 1791."

Usually the Number was given at the time of issue, and, as we have seen in the spoilt Sussex Warrant, was engrossed with it, but if not, it was usually added at the top left hand corner under the P.G.M.'s signature and the G.L. Seal, and many Warrants show a succession of numbers giving the changes at the different enumerations.

In some provinces, also, the number was often stated in the body of the Document, and here the zealous brethren of later years have shown some lack of

historical sense in altering the number so cited, after scraping the surface of the vellum to erase the old figure.

In the Warrant of Confirmation given by John Allen to the Lodge of Fortitude in 1772, confirming this Constitution of 1739 he referred to their number at the existing 1770 enumeration as No. 83; but some later enthusiast thought he was doing his Lodge a service by scraping the 8 and altering it to a 6, which was the Lodge number in the enumeration of 1792.—fortunately later Brethren have been content to leave it at that, and have not tried to get it to look like 87 and 77 and 64 successively.

Where the Deputation form of Constitution was used for Provincial issues the usual certificate is added, and strangely enough in the Devonshire issues the custom of adding a Certificate (logical in the Deputation form) has been carried on when the issue is in Warrant form.

The exuberance of newly constituted Brethren may even affect so formal a matter as the wording of their certificate: as is shown by the document transmitted to Grand Lodge, after the successful launching of the New Lodge at Blandford, Dorset:—

"Blandford. May 11, 1771.

W. Brother

Pursuant to a Dispensation from and under the Seal of the Most Noble Prince, Henry Somerset Duke of Beauford &c., Grand Master of all Regular Lodges of Free and Accepted Masons to Bro. Ambrose Courtney R.W.M. of the Sarum Lodge & his proper officers requiring them to attend and Constitute a Lodge at the Greyhound in the Town of Blandford, Dorset

In consequence of which on the 8th of May 1771 at half past ten in the morning Bro. Jas. Forster, Knight Esq. was duly installed R.W.M. and chose for his officers Bro. Richd. Okely S.W. Bro. Eadd. Perry J.W. Bro. Jno. Page Treasurer & Bro. Wm. Pearce Secretary the Lodge being closed the Breth. proceeded to Church in regular order, after which they dined together and spent the day in mirth and amity, many Healths for the Welfare of the Craft and the Well-wishers thereof were drunk, & the whole conducted with that decency always necessary and which at all times is the foundation of perfect union & Harmony.

The R.W.M. of the Lodge at Blandford together with the Wardens and other the Officers & Brethren beg their respects to the Grand Master & assures him that it shall be their constant endeavour in every respect to keep up the dignity & due decorum which ought always to subsist in a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons.

I am, Wor. Bro.
with due respect
Yours affectionately
Wm. Pearse.

Present at the Installation

Sarum Lodge	18 names	
Poole Lodge	8 names	&c. &c.

We get many reminders in the correspondence concerning the issuing of Warrants and granting of Constitutions which is preserved from many Provinces in Grand Lodge, of the cumbersome methods of payment prevailing even so late as the end of the eighteenth century.

This to the Grand Secretary:—

"Sir.

. . . It is, Sir, requesting to know how you would chuse to have the money remitted for a Warrant of Constitution, which you say is £5. 15. 6. We have thought prudent to premise this judging

you may have a particular channel of remittance (besides that of your Deputy Provincial whose kind offices we would, if consistent, rather dispense with at this period) else, Sir, we can ourselves pay the sum here, to your order, on any respectable House in London, but particularly in the mercer, bookselling or grocer line.

. . . .

I am, Sir, with due deference
for my Brethren and self
Your most obedient humble Servant
Thomas Bryden.

P.S.—You will please send to me, Printer, to be left at Mr. Swan's the Globe Tavern, King St., Whitehaven.
24 Feb. 1786."

Even John Allen, writing to the Grand Secretary from another part of London, wants information on the point:—

"Clements' Inn. 29 Nov. 1786.

Dear Sir

I wish you w^d^. inform we whe^r^. I can yet pay in some money for a Country Lodge. If so, you shall immediately have the particulars.

Please also to inform me the No. I may give to a New Lodge I am going to Constitute at Wigan in Lancashire. At same Time pray furnish me with a flying Seal or Impression of the Grand Lodge Seal to affix to the Warrant.

. . . .

I am y^rs^. D^r^. S^r^.
m^t^. sincerely
Jno. Allen.

Mr. White
Sion College."

Although not strictly relevant to a study of the Warrant it is of interest to note the custom which obtained in some Provinces of requiring the New Lodge to attend at the place at which the Provincial Grand Lodge was held, and for the Brethren seeking Constitution at their hands to pay, not only their own expenses, but to entertain and sometimes "cloathe" the Provincial Officers.

The first entry in the earliest Minute Book of No. 89 Duckinfield reads:—

"Expenses in going to & coming from Liverpool to the Provincial in order to have the Lodge Constituted £7. 7. 3."

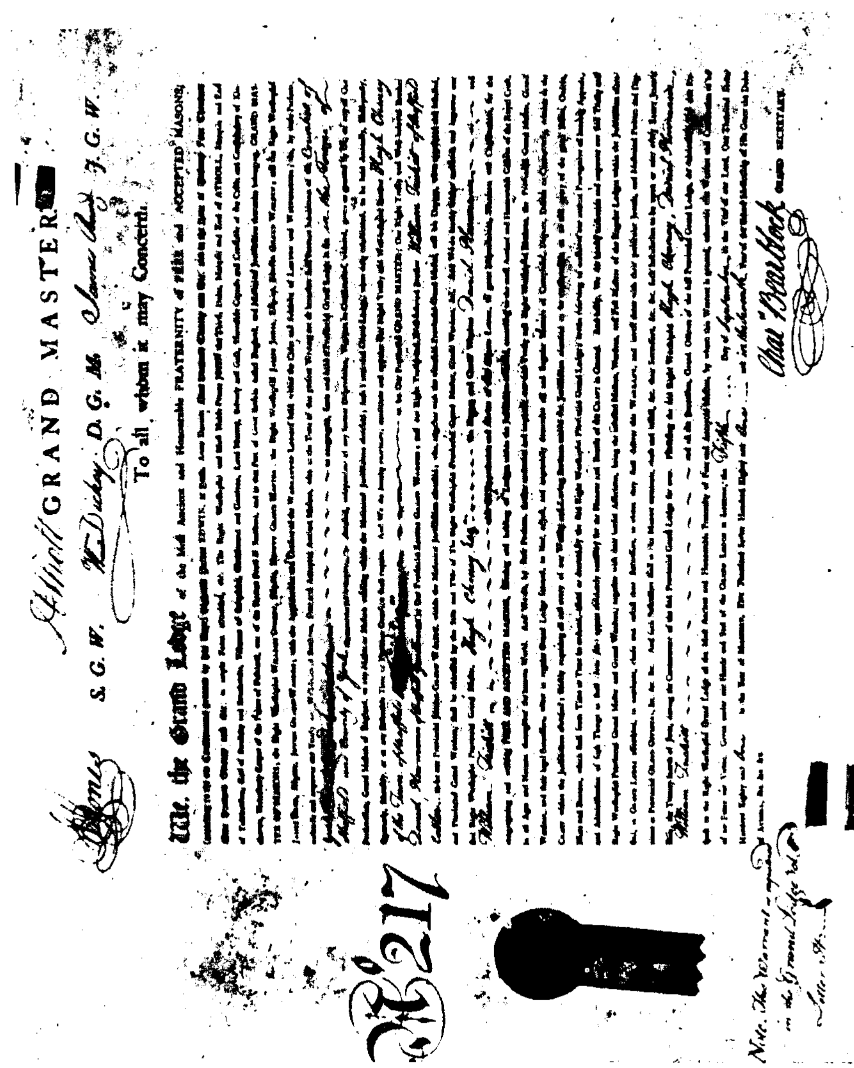
In most Provinces some Lodge assumed, or was given by the Provincial Grand Master, a position of superiority over the other Lodges: from its ranks nearly, if not quite, all the Provincial Officers were chosen, and often the Officers of the Lodge became at once the officers of the Province; in some cases also the Minute Book of the Lodge was used for the Provincial records.

The Apollo at York; Royal Cumberland at Bath; Phœnix in Southampton; Tyrian at Derby; the Lodge meeting at the Feathers at Chester; and the South Saxon in Sussex are notable instances, and many others could be mentioned.

The advancement of one Lodge to a premier position reached its acme in the Province of Sussex early in the new century (1801) when a Special Warrant was issued by Samuel Hulse appointing the South Saxon Lodge at Lewes, to be the Provincial Lodge, and giving them large authority in the Province.

This interesting document illustrates the lack of control of Grand Lodge over Provincial developments, even where at variance with recognised customs, especially in the delegation of authority to a Lodge as such, and not retaining the authority in the person of the Provincial Grand Master:—

"To All and Every to whom these Presents shall come and may concern.
Know Ye that I, Samuel Hulse, Esq. Lieutenant General of



Warrant for a Provincial Grand Lodge (Antients). 1781.

His Majesty's Forces, Treasurer to the Prince of Wales, Colonel of the 19th Regt. of Foot and Provincial Grand Master of Free and Accepted Masons for the County of Sussex, Do, by virtue of my said office, and under immediate sanction and authority of His Royal Highness George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales &c. &c. &c. Grand Master of England, first had and obtained specially for this purpose hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint the South Saxon Lodge held at Lewes the Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Sussex to consist of the Grand Officers hereunder named and twelve Grand Stewards (subject nevertheless to such new Elections as occasion may from time to time require) with full power to make Masons, constitute Regular Lodges, and to frame and enforce such Bye Laws and Regulations as may be deemed necessary for the Good Government of the Institution, also to do and execute all and every such other Act or Acts Thing or Things as appertain to the Duties of a Regularly constituted Provincial Grand Lodge

(citation of 19 Grand Officers)

Given under my Hand and Seal at London this Seventh day of March A L 5801 A D 1801

S. Hulse P.G.M."

There is no Seal of Grand Lodge, but a seal probably made for the occasion bears the following inscription:—

"South Saxon Lodge 557 Presented by Bro. W. Belcombe Langridge."

The document is not engrossed but printed.

It is difficult to believe that this was issued with the cognizance and approval of the responsible Grand Lodge officials—probably the whole scheme was put up by the Provincial officials who were able to make use of the personal relations between their Provincial Grand Master and His Royal Highness to effect a short cut to the realisation of their ambition.

The Lodge never exercised these powers. New Lodges could not be Warranted because of the restricting Act of 1799, and the advent of the Union in 1813 put an end to its authority.

The custom of the Antients Grand Lodge was to issue all its documents with the authority of the Grand Lodge only; and by a fiction, local bodies were authorised to open a Grand Lodge "for the space of three hours" for the purpose of constituting a Lodge.

In 1781, however, the Antients made one interesting departure from their custom, and issued a Warrant of Constitution for a Provincial Grand Lodge.

Whether or not it had any association with the rivalry of the two Masonic jurisdictions, it is interesting to note that this Provincial Lodge was for Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire. We have noted the success of the Antients in London, and the efforts made by the Moderns to strengthen their position in the Provinces. And as it was in these very Provinces that the Moderns were becoming most numerous, it does not seem unlikely that this was a deliberate move on the part of the Antients to strengthen their hold on that part of the country—though the Provincial Lodge thus established never appears to have functioned, and its lapsed Warrant was re-issued in 1813 to a Lodge in Whitehaven, Cumberland, which itself lived less than ten years.

The document differs from all Moderns Warrants in being printed as indeed was customary for all Warrants issued by the Antients. It reads:—

"Atholl. Grand Master

Jas. Jones S.G.W., Wm. Dickey D.G.M., James Read J.G.W.

To All whom it may Concern

We, the Grand Lodge of the Most Ancient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons (according to the old Constitutions

granted by His Royal Highness Prince Edwin at York, Anno Domini Nine Hundred Twenty and Six and in the Year of Masonry Four Thousand Nine Hundred Twenty and Six) in ample Form assembled viz. The Right Worshipful the Most Noble Prince the Third Duke Marquis and Earl of Atholl, Marquis and Earl of Tullibardine, Earl of Strathsay and Strathardle, Viscount of Balguilder, Glenalmond and Glenlyon, Lord Murray, Belveny and Gask, Heretable Captain and Constable of the Castle and Constabulary of Kincleaven, Hereditary Keeper of the Palace of Falkland, one of the Sixteen Peers of Scotland and in that Part of Great Britain called England and Masonical Jurisdiction thereunto belonging Grand Master of Masons: the Right Worshipful William Dickey Esquire, Deputy Grand Master the Right Worshipful James Jones Esquire Senior Grand Warden and the Right Worshipful James Read Esquire Junior Grand Warden: with the approbation and consent of the Warranted Lodges held within the Cities and Suburbs of London and Westminster: do, by these Presents authorise and impower our Trusty and well beloved Brethren, Free and Accepted Ancient Masons, who at the Time of this present Writing are or hereafter shall become Inhabitants of the [Counties of York, Chester, and Lancaster] to congregate, form, and hold a Provincial Grand Lodge [in the Town of Sheffield and County of York . . .] aforesaid, independent of any former Dispensation, Warrant or Constitution ordered given or granted by Us, or any of our Predecessors, Grand Masters of England, to any Mason or Masons residing within the Masonical jurisdiction aforesaid; such Provincial Grand Lodge, when duly constituted to be held Annually Half Yearly Quarterly Monthly or at any seasonable Time or Times as occasion shall require. And We do hereby nominate constitute and appoint our Right Trusty and Well beloved Brother [Hugh Cheney of the Town of Sheffield aforesaid Esqre. . . .] to be Our Provincial Grand Master, Our Right Trusty and Well beloved Brother [Daniel Plowman of Sheffield Gentleman] to be Our Provincial Senior Grand Warden; and our Right Trusty and Well beloved Brother [William Trickett of Sheffield cuttler] to be our Provincial Junior Grand Warden within the Masonical jurisdiction aforesaid; who, together with the aforesaid Provincial Grand Master, and his Deputy when appointed and installed and Provincial Grand Wardens shall be addressed by the Stile and Title of the Right Worshipful Provincial Grand Master, Grand Wardens &c. And we do hereby further authorize and impower our said Right Worshipful Grand Master [Hugh Cheney Esqre. . . .] his Deputy and Grand Wardens [Daniel Plowman . . .] and [William Trickett . . .] with the approbation and advice of their Grand Lodge to Grant Dispensations Warrants and Constitutions for the congregating and making of Free and Accepted Masons, forming and holding of Lodges within the Jurisdiction aforesaid, according to the most Ancient and Honourable Custom of the Royal Craft in all ages and nations throught the known world. And We do by these Presents further authorise and impower our said Trusty and Right Worshipful Brethren, the Provincial Grand Master, Grand Wardens and their legal Successors, when in regular Grand Lodge formed, to hear, adjust and impartially determine all and singular Matters of Complaint, Dispute, Debate, or Controversy relative to the Craft within the jurisdiction aforesaid: strictly requiring all and every of our Worthy and Loving Brethren within the jurisdiction aforesaid, to be conformable to all and every of the good Rules Orders Issues and Decrees, which shall from Time to Time be ordered issued or decreed by the said Right Worshipful Provincial Grand Lodge; herein reserving to ourselves our ancient Prerogative of hearing Appeals, and Administration of such Things as

shall (bona fide) appear absolutely necessary for the Honour & Benefit of the Craft in General. And lastly, We do hereby authorise and impower our said Trusty and Right Worshipful Provincial Grand Master and Grand Wardens, together with their lawful associates being the Installed Masters Wardens and Past Masters of the Regular Lodges within the jurisdiction aforesaid in Grand Lodge assembled to nominate chuse and install their Successors, to whom they shall deliver this Warrant and invest them with their particular Jewels, and Masonical Powers and Dignities as Provincial Grand Officers &c. &c. &c. And such Successors shall in like manner nominate chuse and install &c. their Successors &c. &c. such Installation to be upon or near every Saint John's Day the Twenty fourth of June during the Continuance of the Said Provincial Grand Lodge for ever.

Providing the said Right Worshipful [Hugh Cheney, Daniel Plowman, William Trickett . . .] and all the Successors Grand Officers of the said Provincial Grand Lodge do continually pay due Respect to the Right Worshipful Grand Lodge of the Most Ancient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons by whom this Warrant is Granted, otherwise this Warrant and Constitution to be of no Force nor Virtue.

Given under our Hand and Seal of the Grand Lodge in London the [Fifth] day of [September] in the Year of our Lord. One Thousand Seven Hundred Eighty and [One] in the Year of Masonry Four Thousand Seven Hundred Eighty and [One . . .] and [in the Seventh] Year of the Grand Mastership of His Grace the Duke of Atholl &c. &c. &c.

Charles Bearblock
Grand Secretary.

No. 217

[Seal]

Note.—This Warrant is registered in the Grand Lodge Vol. 8, Letter H.

This Warrant was evidently intended to be one of many such issues: blank spaces were left in the printed document (marked above by square brackets) and the words within are written in manuscript.

But it is unique: not only has no issue to any other English Province been discovered, but none is recorded in the well kept registers of the Antients Grand Lodge.

(To be continued.)

The summary of information given in the following Appendices is as complete and accurate as my resources would allow, and will I hope be of use to students.

But there are probably many other of these old documents in various parts of the country, in private collections, or in Lodges: and it will be very helpful if anyone knowing of such will kindly send information about them to the Secretary so that eventually the lists may be made as complete as possible.

APPENDIX I.

Lodges established in the Provinces from 1724 to 1799 showing Character and present Location of Charter issued by Moderns.

For completeness of record, Lodges *transferred* from London or elsewhere have been included but are marked within square brackets [ ].

PROVINCIAL issues are in HEAVY TYPE.

W = Warrant. C = Warrant of Confirmation. D = Deputation. Disp: = Dispensation.

Page numbers refer to the text of the paper in *A.Q.C.*

MODERNS.								ANTIENTS.			
P.G.M.	D.P.G.M.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (1 = lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (1 = lapsed)
ANGLESEY.											
None	None		Lord Boston's Arms, Holyhead.	1768	1799				None		
BERKSHIRE.											
Col. J. Deaken 1773	None		Mermaid, Windsor	1759	1775				Place unknown, Reading	1759	? 1759
									Upper Ship Inn, Duke St. Reading.	1759	? 1763
Arth. Stanhope 1795			White Hart, New Windsor	1785	1813				Place unknown, Reading	1771	? 1775
									Castle Inn, Windsor	1791	1838
BRECKNOCKSHIRE.											
			The Bell, Brecon	1765	1769				Sun, Wheat St. Brecon	1764	? 1765
Sir H. Mackworth	None		**Cambrian, Brecon**	**1789**	1828	[1]					

[1] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

Lord Eardley 1796	None	88	Black Bear, Cambridge [Three Tuns, Peace Hill, Cambridge 1762] Spread Eagle, Wisbeach Sun Inn, Cambridge Club Inn, Wisbeach Rose Tavern, Cambridge St. John's Lodge, Newmarket Cambridge New Lodge, Cambridge Social, Hoop Inn, Cambridge	1749 1754 (London) 1761 1763 1764 1772 1773 1793 1797	1785 1769 1780 1811 1780 1794 1859 1809	C (1829)	Lodge		Isle of Ely	1765	?

CARDIGANSHIRE.

Sir H. Mackworth	None		Aberystwith.	1791	1797	1			None		

1 Note in G.L. Register—on account of the death of Sir H. Mackworth before he had executed his Warrant a Dispensation for holding the Lodge was sent dated 29 Sep. 1791.

CARMARTHENSHIRE.

None	None		Bay Nag's Head, Carmarthen Three Crowns, Carmarthen	1724 1753	1754 1777	D 1			None		

1 Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.

CARNARVONSHIRE.

None	None		Snowden Lodge, Carnarvon	1786	1809				None		

MODERNS.								ANTIENTS.			
P.G.M.	D.P.G.M.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)
CHANNEL ISLANDS.											
Thomas Dobrée 1753	None		Lily Tavern, Guernsey	1753	1812			84 (Guernsey)	Army, Elizabeth Castle, Jersey (Guernsey Lodge purchased Wt. 1807 for £21)	1762	l 1763
			Three Crowns, St. Peter's Port, Guernsey	1760	1768				Three Crowns, St. Peter's Port, Guernsey	1763	?
			St. Helary, Jersey (Union No. 1)	1765	1813			168	Royal George, St. Peter's Port, Guernsey	1784	
			Three Crowns, St. Peter's Port, Guernsey	1774	1812				Three Crowns, St. Peter's Port, Guernsey (Revived 1763 Lodge on payment of £5. 5.)	1789	1828
			Union No. 2, Jersey	1788	?	D [1]	Jersey P.G.L.		Fortitude, Jersey	1794	1832
									Divn. of Artificers (Mil), Jersey	1795	1801

[1] Facsimile in G.L. Library.

P.G.M.	D.P.G.M.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)
CHESHIRE.											
Elected annually by Chester Lodges			T.I. Spread Eagle, Chester	1724	1755	D [1]					
Col. Francis Columbine 1725 and 1726	Samuel Smith 1725-1727		T.I. Castle and Falcon, Chester	1724	1739	D [1]					
			T.I. Angel, Congleton	1724	1754	D [1]					
Capt. Hugh Warburton 1727			T.I. Angel, Macclesfield	1731	1769	D [1]			Ship on Launch, Parkgate	1758	1775
(and appointed by G.L.)			T.I. Horse and Groom, Chester	1739	1838			74 (Birmingham)	Unicorn Hillgate, Stockport	1760	1793
Records lost till 1742			Raven, Cow Lane, Chester	1755	1792						
Capt. Robt. Norton 1742-1753	Edwd. Orme 1742-1776		Plume of Feathers, Chester	1755	1828			50 (Hinckley)	Red Lion, Macclesfield	1764	1794
			Star, Watergate St. Chester	1766	1796						

CHESHIRE, *continued.*

Ald. John Page 1754-1756			Star, Watergate St. Chester (for Neston)	1769	1811			104 (Stockport)	Star, Mottram in Longdendale	1765	1765
Appointed by G.L. Ald. John Page 1757-1770			Rising Sun, Chester	1773	1791				Star Inn, Chester	1766	?
Hon. J. Smith Barry 1771-1784	Pattison Ellames 1777 to 1797		Industrious, Chester	1786	1828	[2]			Bear's Paw, Frodsham	1770	1794
			Trade and Navigation, Northwich	1786	1828	[2]			Childers, Macclesfield	1774	? 1801
			Beneficent, Macclesfield	1789	1827	W [3]					
Sir R. Salusbury Cotton 1785-1809			Independent, Congleton	1789	1802			201 (London)	Unicorn, Stockport	1791	1806
			Benevolence, Stockport	1790	1800	[2]			R.A. Temple of Jerusalem, Stockport	1793	1807
			Noah's Ark, Middlewich	1792	1851	[2]					
		287	Unanimity, Stockport	1792		W	Lodge				
		293	King's Friends, Nantwich	1793		W	Lodge		9th Dragoons, Macclesfield	1794	?
		295	Union, Macclesfield	1793		W	Lodge				
			in Cheshire Militia	1794	1818			212 (London)	Fleece Tavern, Stockport	1795	1807
			Crown Inn, Nantwich	1794	1809	[2]					
	Chas. Hamilton 1798-1817	320	Robin Hood, Mottram in Longdendale	1799		W	Lodge				

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.
[2] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.
[3] Copies extant.

CORNWALL and SCILLY ISLES.

Wm. Pye 1752	None	75	King's Arms, Falmouth	1751		C (1825)					
			King's Arms, Helston	1752	1774						
[Isaac Head P.G.M. Scilly 1755]			Seven Stars, Truro	1752	1769						
			"Druids," Redruth	1754	1838						
Stephen Bell 1762			Ship and Castle, Penzance	1755	1777						
Geo. Bell 1764			The Ship, St. Ives	1765	1786						
			Plymouth & Devonport Inn, Launceston	1767	1783						
			St. Mary's Island, Scilly	1768	1851	1					

MODERNS.								ANTIENTS.			
P.G.M.	D.P.G.M.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)
CORNWALL and SCILLY ISLES, *continued*.											
Stephen Bell 1775			St. Michael's Lodge, Marazion	1777	1790				[Wilts Militia at Falmouth 1796]	1794 (Sussex)	1834
			Phœnix, Truro	1779	1788	D	No. 331 (Truro)				
			Volubian, Falmouth	1782	1809						
			Three Grand Principles, Penryn	1799	1838	2			[Hambro Arms, St. Mawes 1797]	1797 (Devon)	1799
Sir John Aubyne 1785		318 (Helston)	Cornwall Regt of Fencible Light Dragoons	1799		W & C (1844)	Lodge				

[1] Letter in G.L. Library states to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

[2] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

P.G.M.	D.P.G.M.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)
CUMBERLAND.											
Henry Ellison 1769	None		St. George and Dragon, Whitehaven	1741	1768						
			Post Office, Whitehaven	1761	1786						
			Green Dragon, Workington	1762	1775						
			Recruiting Sergeant, Carlisle	1766	1783			119	Sun and Sexton, Whitehaven	1768	
			Blue Bell Inn, Carlisle.	1771	1851						
			Sun and Sector, Workington	1774	1828						
			Unanimity, Penrith	1776	1811						
			Place unknown, Dalston	1780	1787						
		264 (Batley) (Yorks)	Ship Inn, Cockermouth	1783	1800	W	Lodge	159 (Devon)	Square and Compasses, Workington	1779	?
John Losh 1799			Union, Grapes Inn, Carlisle	1796		W [1]	Lodge		Cross Keys, Cockermouth	1789	?

[1] Under Scotch Warrant from 1786.

DENBIGHSHIRE.

Rev. F. H. Egerton 1791	None	331 (Truro) assigned.	Wynnstay Royal Denbigh Lodge, Denbigh Peace & Good Neighbourhood, Wynnstay	1771 1787 1795	? 1811 1809	W [1] 2	in G.L.		None		

[1] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M. for Cheshire.

[2] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

DERBYSHIRE.

Thos. Boothby Perkins (Baron Rancliffe) 1789-1792 Admiral Sir J. B. Warren 1792-1801	None	253	Virgin's Inn, Derby Tyrian, Derby Scarsdale, Chesterfield	1732 1785 1793	1777	D [1] W [2] 3	Lodge		Three Graces, Chesterfield	1762	?

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.

[2] There is also a spoilt unissued Warrant in G.L.

[3] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

DEVONSHIRE.

		39	New Inn, Exeter	1732		D [1]	Lodge [2]				
			Masons' Arms, Plymouth Dock	1735	1777	D [1]					
			Pope's Head, Plymouth	1748	1828						
			Mitre, Plymouth	1748	1758						
			Unity, White Hart, Plymouth	1758	1803						
		105	Red Lion, Plymouth	1759		W	Lodge				
		106 (Exmouth)	Sun, Newton Abbot	1759	l. 1795	C (1882)	Lodge [3]				
			Medway's Vaults, Crediton	1759	1786			70 (Plymouth)	Third Regiment of Foot, Exeter	1759	

MODERNS.								ANTIENTS.			
P.G.M.	D.P.G.M.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)
DEVONSHIRE, *continued*.											
			Private Room, Appledore	1762	1777						
			on H.M.S. Prince, Plymouth	1762	1765						
		112	Half Moon Inn, Exeter	1762		C (1819)	Lodge				
			Fleece, Barnstaple	1762	1776						
			Seven Stars, nr. Exeter	1763	1769			54 (Lancs.)	Place unknown, Plymouth	1763	?
			Salutation, Topsham	1764	1811						
			Globe, Exeter	1766	1789						
			White Hart, Exeter	1766	1791						
			Castle, Dartmouth	1767	1777						
		170 (Weymouth)	St. John's Hall, Tiverton	1767	l. 1798	C (1804)	Lodge				
			[Contentment, Devonport 1783]	1767 (Cornwall)	1786						
			Exeter Inn, Teignmouth	1769	1786						
			Royal George, Newton Abbot	1769	1803						
		189	Three Crowns, Plymouth	1769		W	Lodge				
		202	Bunch of Grapes, Devonport	1771		W	Lodge				
			Crown and Anchor, Paignton	1772	1824	W	in G.L.		Third Regiment of Foot, Exeter	1771	1793
Sir Chas. W. Bampfylde 1775			Friendship, Dartmouth	1780	1851						
		248	True Love and Unity, Brixham	1782		W	Lodge		1st Regt. E. Devon Militia, Roborough Down	1781	1835
	John Codrington		Good Intention (2nd Dev. Mil.), Exeter	1783	1823						
		251	Loyal, Barnstaple	1783		W	Lodge				
			Concord, Devonport	1784	1800	4					
		258 (Heckmondwike, Yorks)	Amphibious, Plymouth	1786	l. 1800	W	Lodge				

DEVONSHIRE, *continued*.

		282	**Bedford, Tavistock**	**1791**		C (1839) [4]					
			Faithful, Bideford	**1792**	1823	**W**	in G.L.		[Wilts Militia, Plymouth 1797-8]	1794 Sussex	1834
	Thomas Okes	303	**Benevolent, Teignmouth**	**1794**		**W**	Lodge	223 (Plymouth)	Prince George, Devonport	1797	l. 1799
									Charity, Devonport	1799	

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.
[2] Facsimile in G.L.
[3] Authority to remove in 1804 in G.L.
[4] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

DORSETSHIRE.

Thomas Dunckerley 1777-1795		137	Three Crowns, Weymouth	1736	1754	D [1]	Lodge		None		
			George Inn, Lyme Regis	1764	1780						
			Lion & Lamb, Poole	1765		W					
			Greyhound, Blandford	1771	1781	? D [2]					
			King's Arms, Dorchester	1775	1830						
			Weymouth Lodge, Weymouth	1776	1785						
			Benevolence, Sherborne	1786	1798	[3]					
	Alex Campbell, M.D. 1780		Friendship & Sincerity, Shaftesbury	1786	1828	[3]					

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.
[2] Certificate re Constitution in G.L.
[3] Probably issued by P.G.M.

DURHAM.

Joseph Laycock 1734			[Queen's Head, Stockton-on-Tees, 1756]	1726 (London)	1838						
Edwd. Alport d. 1742	None	48 (Gateshead)	(Place unknown, Winlaton, 1725)								
			Two Fencers, Swalwell, 1735	1735		C (1848) D [1]	Lodge				
			Fountain, Gateshead	1735/6	1768	D [1]					
J. Smitham Junr. 1755		94	Masons' Arms, Sunderland	1755		C (1821)	Lodge				

MODERNS.								ANTIENTS.			
P.G.M.	D.P.G.M.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)
DURHAM, *continued*.											
Geo. Thompson		97	Sea Captains', Sunderland	1757		W	Lodge				
Dav. Richardson 1781			Square & Compasses, Barnard Castle	1759	1768						
		111	Horse & Groom, Darlington	1761		W	Lodge		None		
W. H. Lampton 1787		124	Marquis of Granby, Durham	1763		W	Lodge				
			Hare & Hounds, Barnard Castle	1770	1838						
Sir R. Milbanke 1798			Union, Gateshead	1773	1827	W	in G.L.				
			King of Prussia, S. Shields	1774	1815						
			Sun Inn, Monkwearmouth Shore	1774	1790						
		240	St. Hilda's Lodge, S. Shields	1780							
			Raby, Staindrop	1784	1798						

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.

ESSEX.											
		16	[The Cock, Waltham Abbey 1779]	1730 (London)		C (1881)					
		51	Three Cups, High St. Colchester	1736		C (1777) D[1]	Lodge				
			Horn, Braintree	1737	1754	D[1]					
			King's Head, Romford	1739	1769						
			Saracen's Head, Chelmsford	1764	1782						
			Three Crowns, Harwich	1764	1795						
			King's Head, Malden	1772	1785						

ESSEX, *continued*.

Thomas Dunckerley 1776-1795	Thomas Boggis 1777-1791		Unity, Colchester	1776	1791	W [2]					
			[Golden Lion, Romford, 1784]	1776 (London)	1789						
			Social, Braintree	1777	1798						
			Goodwill, Braintree	1786	1823	W	in G.L.				
	Robt. Cook M.D. 1791-1801	276	Good Fellowship, Chelmsford	1789		W	Lodge				
		284 (Warwick)	[Warwick Reg. of Militia 1779]	1792 (Norfolk)		W	Lodge				
Geo. Downing 1796-1801			Prestonian Lodge of Perfect Friendship, Gray's Thurrock	1797	1828	[3]			Sixth or Inniskilling Dragoons, Romford	1797	1837

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.

[2] See Life of Dunckerley, p. 171.

[3] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

FLINTSHIRE.

Rev. F. H. Egerton 1791	None		Boar's Head, Holywell	1761	1787				None		
			St. Winifred's, Holywell	1795	1829	[1]					

[1] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

GLAMORGANSHIRE.

			Red House, Cardiff	1754	1775						
			Bear, Cowbridge	1754	1775						
			Star Tavern, Swansea	1769	1809	W	No. 237	36 (Cardiff)	Place unknown, Bridgend (Star & Garter, London 1754)	1765 and 1777	
	None	237 (Swansea)	Gnoll, Neath	1777		C (1805) [1]	Lodge				
Sir H. Mackworth			Mackworth, Cowbridge	1787	1792	[2]					

[1] Certificate given in Constitution of Lodge "by virtue of a Warrant" from G.L. is preserved in G.L.

[2] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

MODERNS.								ANTIENTS.			
P.G.M.	D.P.G.M.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l = lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l = lapsed)
GLOUCESTERSHIRE and BRISTOL.											
			T.I. Nag's Head, Bristol	1724	1736						
			Rummer, Bristol	1735	l. 1761	D [1]					
			Wheatsheaf, Gloucester	1738	1768	D [1]					
			Swan, High St. Tewkesbury	1738	1754						
			Red Lion, Bristol	1740	1783						
			White Lion, Bristol	1744	1766						
Sir Robt. de Cornwall 1753 . . . ? (d. 1756)			Exchange Tavern, Bristol (revived 1782, Three Tuns)	1753	1780			31 (Canterbury)	Edinburgh Castle, Bristol	1753	l. 1765
			Lord Blakeney's Head, Bristol	1757	1769			32 (Liverpool)	Unicorn, Lafford's Gate, Bristol	1753	l. 1759
		103	Bell, Bristol	1758		C (1800)	Lodge		Place unknown, Bristol	1761	l. 1774
			Temple, Bristol	1759	1773						
			Union, Bristol	1766	1769	W (1766) [2]	Br. Mas Socy		Place unknown, Bristol	1763	?
			[Bath Barge, Bristol, 1773]	1767 (Kent)	1838				Jerusalem, Broad St. Bristol	1769	1829
			Admiral Hawke, Bristol	1767	1769						
			Sun, Bristol	1768	1768	W	in G.L.				
		187	Shakespeare Tavern, Bristol (L. of Hospitality)	1769		C (1819)	Lodge				
			Bull (Jehosaphat), Bristol (at Wotton under Edge, Glos. 1799)	1773	l. 1797						
			Temple, Bristol	1776	1784						
		187	Three Tuns, Bristol (united with L. of Liberty 1788)	1782					[First Reg of E. Devon Militia 1794]	1781 (Devon)	1835
Thomas Dunckerley 1784-1795 (Bristol 1786)	for Bristol Jos. Springer 1786-91 & 1798		**Royal Gloucester, Gloucester**	1785	1851	W [3]	Copy in Br. P.G.L.				
Henry Jenner (for Bristol) 1798-1808	Jos. A. Small 1789		**Temple, Bristol**	1785	1791	[4]					
Marquis of Worcester (for Gloucester) 1799	Thos. Bachelor 1795	273 (Madras)	**Royal York, Bristol**	1789	l. 1800	W C (1802)	Br. Mas Socy		Boothall Inn, Gloucester	1799	1838

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.

[2] Recently found Warrant which may refer to the Union Lodge, but was for a Lodge stated to be meeting at the "Nag's Head" whereas the Union met at the Union Punch House.

[3] See Dunckerley's letter dated Feb. 1, 1785.

[4] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

HAMPSHIRE and ISLE OF WIGHT.

		35	East India Arms, Gosport [Medina, W. Cowes, I. of W. 1761]	1724 1733 (London)	1838	D [1] C (1824)	Lodge				
			King's Head, Portsmouth Common	1739	1758			65 (London)	Place unknown, Portsmouth	1758	l. 1762
			Royal Oak, Portsmouth Common	1759	1768				Spring Clock, Gosport	1759	1832
			Bell, Portsmouth Common	1761	1767			76	Baker's Arms, Winchester	1761	
			Bell, Portsmouth Common	1762	1767						
			Vine, Portsmouth	1762	1772				Bedford, Man of War, Portsmouth Common	1762	?
			Black Bear, Havant	1763	1768				2nd Div. Marines, Portsmouth	1763	1764
			Private Room, Stubbington	1763	1773						
		132 (Ringwood)	Crown, Lymington	1764		2					
Thos. Dunckerley 1767	J. Vining Reed 1767		Fountain, Hillsea	1764	1767						
Lord Chas. Montague 1776	Capt. Robinson ? 1767	195 (Bournemouth)	New Inn, Christchurch	1770		W (Transitional)	Lodge	130	Vine Tavern, Southampton [4] (accepted Modern Warrant, 1792)	1772	
	Lord Chas. Montague 1776		Concord, Southampton	1775	1813						
Capt. Hy. Pascal 1784	Henry Dagge 1776	257	Phœnix, Portsmouth	1786		W	Lodge		Capt. Webdell's Co. of Artillery, Portsmouth	1773	l. 1782
Thos. Dunckerley 1786			Royal Navy, Gosport	1787	1794	3					
		130	Royal Gloucester, Southampton	1792		W [4]					
		309 (Fareham)	Harmony, Fountain Tavern, Gosport	1796		W	Lodge		[23rd Regt. of Foot (R.W. Fusiliers, Southampton 1779]	1788 (Kent)	1822
			Vectis Lodge of Peace & Concord, I. of W.	1796	1838	W	in G.L.		Seventeenth Dragoons, Netley	1794	1828
Maj. Sherborne Stewart 1796		319 (Lymington)	White Hart Inn, Winchester	1799		W	Lodge				

1 Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.

2 Provincial Authority for Removal, preserved as Warrant.

3 Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

4 Antient Lodge took Modern Constitution but reverted 1798.

MODERNS.								ANTIENTS			
P.G.M.	D.P.G.M.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Consti-tution.	Date of Erasure (l = lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Consti tution	Date of Erasure (l = lapsed)
HEREFORDSHIRE.											
Sir Robt. de Cornwall 1753 (d. 1756)	None		Swan & Falcon, Hereford	1733	1754	D [1]			None		
			Three Horse Shoes, Leominster	1742	1768						
Charles, Duke of Norfolk 1789		120	White Hart, Hereford	1762		W	Lodge				
			King's Head, Ross	1764	1773						
Thos. Dunckerley 1790			Silurian, Kington	1791	l. 1801	2					
Adam Gordon 1797			Royal Edward, Leominster	1793	1828	2					

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.
[2] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

HERTFORDSHIRE.											
None	None		Red Rampant Lion, St. Albans	1739	1755				None		
			Private Room, St. Albans	1767	1777						
			Harmony, Baldock	1776	1787						
KENT.											
		20	[Queen's Head, Red Cat Lane, Chatham, 1748]	1723 (London)							
			Red Lion, Canterbury	1730	1754	D [1]					
		77	Lodge of Freedom, Gravesend	1751		C (1847)	Lodge				
			Swan, Ramsgate	1754	1768			87 (London)	Bunch of Grapes, Chatham	1762	

KENT. *continued.*

			King's Own Regiment of Foot, Maidstone	1755	l. 1789			133	Ship Inn, Faversham (Took Moderns Warrant, 1764)	1763	
			King's Head, Canterbury	1760	1773				White Swan, Bromley	1764	?
			Lord Granby's Head, Dover	1761	1769				Navy Club House, Sheerness	1765	?
			Three Kings, Deal	1762	1822	W	in G.L.		House of Br. J. Wallace, Dover	1767	?
			Crown Inn, Rochester	1763	1768				Seven Stars, Foot's Cray	1769	l. 1779
			Silver Lion, Dover	1763	1792			131 (Truro)	Mitre Tavern, Chatham	1772	
			Falcon, Gravesend	1764	1768				1st Battn. Royal Artillery, Chatham	1774	1777
		133	Ship Inn, Faversham	1764		W	Lodge		1st Royal Lancs. Militia, Dover	1776	1778
			George & Dragon, Milton	1764	1773				Canteen, Dover Castle, Dover	1777	1837
			[George Inn, Lamberhurst 1785]	1765 (Sussex)	1788				Marquis of Granby, Sheerness (passed to 158, v. inf., 1797)	1778	1795
		160 (Essex)	[Seven Stars, Bromley, 1787]	1766 (London)					[1st Regt. E. Devon Militia, Dover, 1794]	1781 Devon	1835
			Sun, Chatham	1767	l. 1769				17th Regt. of Foot, Chatham	1787	1792
			White Hart, Folkestone	1767	1778						
Hon. Robt. Boyle Walsingham 1770			Bull Inn, Wrotham	1772	1776			184	Crown & Thistle, Chatham (united with L. of Harmony, v. inf., 1824)	1787	
			Rose Inn, Dartford	1775	1803				76th Regt., Chatham	1788	1828
Capt. Chas. Frederick 1774		31	Industrious, Canterbury (united with A 37, in 1819)	1776	1819	W	in G.L.		23rd Regt., Chatham	1788	1822
			Falcon, Gravesend	1776	1832				Marine Barracks, Chatham	1789	1792
Capt. Geo. Smith 1777			Impregnable, Sandwich	1777	1796			199 (Dover)	Castle Inn, Maidstone	1791	l. 1800
			Fortitude, Maidstone	1779	1828				[17th Regt. Light Dragoons, Canterbury, 1799]	1794 Hants	1828
Col. Jacob Sawbridge 1785	Geo. Farbrace		Love & Unity, Dover	1779	1792						
			Thanet, Margate	1785	1829	W	in G.L.		Hiram Lodge, Chatham	1795	1828

MODERNS.								ANTIENTS.			
P.G.M.	D.P.G.M.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l = lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l = lapsed)
KENT, *continued.*											
		284 (Warwick)	[Warwick Regt. of Militia 1797]	1792 (Norfolk)		W	Lodge		W. Middlesex Militia, Dover	1796	1796
		299	Emulation, Dartford	1794		W	Lodge	158	Adam's Lodge, Sheerness	1797	
	Julius Shepherd		Jacobs Lodge, Ramsgate	1798	1827						
Dr. Wm. Perfect 1794			Lodge of Reason, Ashford	1799	1811			184	Lodge of Harmony, Old Brompton (united with 306 (of 1814) in 1824, v. sup.)	1799	
LANCASHIRE.											
Edwd. Entwistle 1734			King's Head, Salford	1727	1754	D [1]					
			New King's Arms, Leigh	1732	1768	D [1]					
		37	Private Room, Bolton	1732		D [1]	Lodge				
		42	Red Lion, Bury	1733		D [1]	Lodge				
			St. George & Dragon, Liverpool	1736	1775	D [1]					
		64 (Manchester)	Golden Lion, Salford	1739		C (1772)	Lodge				
Wm. Ratchdale 1742		86	Rose and Crown, Prescot	1753		D	Lodge	44	St. Anne's Church, Mitre, Manchester	1755	1793
		89 (Dukinfield)	St. Anne's Coffee House, Manchester	1754		W	Lodge		The Cock, Warrington	1755	1756
			White Lion, Liverpool	1755	1813				Place unknown, Liverpool	1755	1785
									Place unknown, Liverpool	1756	1756
John Smith 1760		116	Hole in the Wall, Colne	1762		W	Lodge		Place unknown, Liverpool	1756	1756
		126	The Hall, Blucher St., Burnley	1763		W	Lodge	57 (Hull)	Place unknown, Manchester	1756	1775
		148	Fleece, Warrington	1765		W (Copy)	Lodge		[Widow's Brook, Heaton Norris, 1784]	1760 Cheshi'e	1793
		163	Swan & Saracen's Head, Manchester	1766		W	Lodge		Crown & Thistle, Liverpool	1764	1782

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.

[2] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

LANCASHIRE, *continued.*

			[Cooper's Inn, Preston, 1779]	1767 (London)	1794				Caledonian, Liverpool	1766	1794
John Allen 1769		191 (Bury)	Woolpack, Manchester	1769		C (1846)	Lodge	128 (Bury)	Prince George, Manchester (took Moderns Constitution, 1793)	1771	1793
			Red Lion, Bury	1770	1789			57 (Hull)	Buck & Dog, Liverpool	1775	1807
		219 (Todmorden)	Punch Bowl, Leigh	1774		W	Lodge		Place unknown, Manchester	1775	1775
			Turk's Head, Preston	1775	1784			146 (Bolton)	Antiquity, Leigh	1776	
		241	Merchant's Lodge, Liverpool	1780		W	Lodge		Cock, Stratford, Manchester	1777	1782
		249	Mariner's Lodge, Liverpool	1783		W	Lodge	178	Queen's Head, Wigan	1786	
			Sincerity, Wigan	1786	1828	2		32	Angel, King St., Liverpool	1786	
			Harmony, Ormskirk	1786	1838	W	in G.L.		Swan with Two Necks, Chorley	1787	1838
	Wm. Hall	266 (Heywood)	Napthali, Salford	1788					Angel, Deansgate, Manchester	1792	1832
		267 (Macclesfield)	Unity, Manchester	1788		W	Lodge	203	Ancient Union, Liverpool	1792	
		268 (Ashton-u-Lyne)	Union, Manchester	1788		W	Lodge		Freemason's Tavern, Liverpool	1792	1822
		269 (Blackburn)	Fidelity, Burnley	1788		W	Lodge	204	Plume and Feathers, Manchester	1793	1799
								44	Queen's Head, Old Churchyard, Manchester	1795	1795
		274 (Newchurch)	Tranquility, Manchester	1789		W	Lodge	210 (Denton)	Duke of Athol, Manchester	1795	
									Bull's Head, Manchester	1796	1836
		277	Friendship, Oldham	1789		W	Lodge	215 (Haslingden)	Commerce, Manchester	1796	
		281	Fortitude, Lancaster	1789		W	Lodge	216	Harmonic, Liverpool	1796	
		283 Haslingden)	Amity, Rochdale	1791		W	Lodge	220 (Gaston)	Harmony, Liverpool	1796	
		288 (Todmorden)	Harmony, Bacup	1792		W	Lodge	152	Moseley Arms, Manchester	1796	
		292	Sincerity, Liverpool	1793		W	Lodge	221	St. John's, Bolton	1797	
		298 (Rochdale)	Harmony, Royton	1793		W	Lodge				

MODERNS.								ANTIENTS.			
P.G.M.	D.P.G.M.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure l=lapsed)
LANCASHIRE, *continued.*											
			St. John, Lancaster	1793	1809	2		226 (Little-borough)	Benevolence, Blackburn	1797	
		300	Minerva, Ashton-under-Lyne	1793		W	Lodge				
		314	Peace & Unity, Preston	1797		W	Lodge	227 (London)	Prince of Wales' Fencible Cavalry, ? Manchester	1798	
		317	Affability, Manchester	1799		W	Lodge				
LEICESTERSHIRE.											
Col. Sir Thos. Fowke 1774 Thos. Boothby Perkins Baron Rancliffe 1789	None		Wheatsheaf, Leicester Pelican, Leicester	1739 1754	1744 1769				Place unknown, Leicester (Two Lodges—see G.L. records)	1761	1821
		279	St. John's, Loseby Lane, Leicester	1790		C (1820) [1]	Lodge				
LINCOLNSHIRE.											
Rev. Wm. Peters 1792	John Dodsworth 1792 Matthew Barnett 1793		Saracen's Head, Lincoln Angel above Hill, Lincoln St. Matthew's, Barton upon Humber	1730 1737 1787	1760 1754 1851	D [1] D [1]			None		
			Prince of Wales, Gainsborough	1787	l. 1803						
			Doric, George Inn, Grantham	1791	1798	W	in G.L.				
			Urania, Glanford Brigg	1792	l. 1801	2					
		297	Witham, Reindeer Inn, Lincoln	1793		W	Lodge				

Lancashire footnotes:

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.

[2] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

Leicestershire footnote:

[1] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

Lincolnshire footnotes:

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.

[2] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

MERIONETHSHIRE.

None	None		Angel & Crown, Dolgelly	1743	1780				None		

MIDDLESEX.

			[Crown, Twickenham, 1787]	1784 (London)	1828				The Castle, London Rd., Isleworth	1769	1775
None	None	255 (London)	Toy Inn, Hampton Court	1785					Crown, High St., Uxbridge	1796	1813

MONMOUTHSHIRE.

Sir Robt. de Cornwall 1753	None		Monmouth	1768	1773				Green Dragon, Skinner St., Newport	1764	l. 1764

MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

Rev. F. H. Egerton 1791	None		None					107 (Norfolk)	King of Prussia's Head, Welchpool	1766	1775

NORFOLK.

			Maid's Head, Norwich	1724	1809	D [1]					
			Duke's Head, Lyme Regis	1729	1786	D [1]					
		52	King's Head, Norwich	1736		C (1819) [1]	Lodge				
		71 (Lowestoft)	The Bear, Market Place, Norwich	1747		C (1810)	Lodge				
			Union Coffee House, Norwich	1749	1809	D [2]					
			Green Dragon, Norwich	1750	1853						
			Hole in the Wall, Norwich	1751	1805						

MODERNS.								ANTIENTS.			
P.G.M	D.P.G.M	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)
NORFOLK, *continued.*											
			Angel, Great Yarmouth	1751	1831	D	in G.L.				
		85	Castle and Lyon, Norwich	1753		D	Lodge				
			Chequers, Norwich	1754	l. 1800						
			Shoulder of Mutton, Norwich	1755	1791						
		93	Social, Norwich	1755		C (1797)	Lodge				
			[Star, Lynn, 1759]	1757 (London)	1780						
		100 (Yarmouth)	Friendship, Norwich	1757		W	Lodge				
		102	Unanimity, Norwich	1758	l. 1797						
Edwd. Bacon 1759	Francis Frank 1759		White Swan, Gt. Yarmouth	1759	1786						
			Duke's Head, Lynn Regis	1762	1838	W	in G.L.		Royal Exchange, Norwich	1761	1762
			Crown Inn, Swaffham	1764	1791	D	in No. 2879 [3]		Star, Norfolk St., Lynn	1762	l. ?
		52	Blue Boar, Norwich (united with King's Head L. 1817)	1765					Place unknown, Norwich	1762	1777
			Royal Edwin, Fakenham	1765	1829	D	in G.L.		Three Tuns, Norwich (apostatised)	1767	1792
			Royal Alfred, Diss	1770	1790	D	in P.G.L.				
Sir Edwd. Astley 1785	Robt. Partridge ? 1783	284 (Warwick)	Little White Swan, Norwich	1792		W	Lodge		Queen of Hungary's Head, Norwich (apostatised)	1769	1792
			Unity, Yarmouth	1793	1829	[4]			Lodge of Patience, Norwich	1770	1845
			Strict Benevolence, Lynn	1796	1825	D	in G.L.		Trowel and Hammer, Norwich	1770	l. 1805
			Theatrical Lodge, Norwich	1797	1828	[4]		213	Lodge of Perseverance, Norwich	1795	
		313	United Friends, Yarmouth	1797		W	Lodge		11th Regt. of Foot, Norwich	1793	l. ?
Hon. Henry Hobart 1798			Attention, Lynn	1798	1823	[4]					

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.
[2] Full Copy in original Minute Book in Lodge.
[3] Copy preserved in original Minute Book (see A.Q.C. xx. 232).
[4] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

George, Earl of Pomfret 1798	None		The George, Northampton	1730	1754	D [1]			None		
		272 (Boston, Lincs.)	Harmony, Northampton	1789	l. 1800	W	Lodge				

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Matthew Ridley 1734			The Cock, Newcastle	1757	1788				White Bear, Berwick-on-Tweed	1758	1827
			All Saints', Wooler	1762	1775				Black Lion, Newcastle-on-Tyne	1763	l. 1763
			Black Bull, Hexham	1763	1790			24	Old George, King St., North Shields (united with "Athol Lodge," 1813)	1764	?
	None	24	Castle Garth, Newcastle (united with "Athol Lodge, 1814)	1766					The Bell, Tweedmouth	1764	1827
			Private Room, North Shields	1766	1827						
John Errington 1771			[Wheatsheaf, Morpeth, 1789]	1774 Durham	1815				Lord Delavel's Lodge, Ford	1766	1827
			Northumberland, Alnwick	1779	1828				Marquis of Granby, Berwick	1772	1828
			All Saints', Rothbury	1779	1786						
			St. Michæl's, Alnwick	1780	1798						
			St. George, North Shields	1792	1834						

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

			Black Moor's Head, Nottingham	1753	1758			47	Place unknown, Nottingham	1755	
			Punch Bowl, Nottingham (formerly Antients, 1757)	1763	1828	W	in G.L.	62 (Manchester)	Punch Bowl, Nottingham (accepted Moderns Warrant, 1763)	1757	
Thos. Boothby Parkyns (Baron Rancliffe) ? 1783	None		White Lion, Mansfield	1768	1775						
			Corinthian, Newark	1790	1851	1			Carpenter's Arms, Nottingham (apostatised)	1790	1803
			White Hart Tavern, E. Retford	1792	1803	1					

[1] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

MODERNS.								ANTIENTS.			
P.G.M.	D.P.G.M.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)
OXFORDSHIRE.											
			Crown, Oxford	1729	1736				Ram Inn, Chipping Norton	1771	l. 1801
			White Lion, Banbury	1749	1768				Cross Inn, Cornmarket St., Oxford	1773	l. 1776
	None		King's Head, Oxford	1769	1790				Crown Inn, Sharp St., Bicester	1774	l. 1774
Sir John M. Hayes 1795			Tom Langford's, Turl St., Oxford	1770	1789	W	Copy in G.L.		Duke of Atholl's Arms, Oxford	1781	l. 1783
									Cross Inn, Cornmarket St., Oxford	1792	l. 1802
PEMBROKESHIRE.											
None	None		Ship and Castle, Haverfordwest	1741	1773				None		
SHROPSHIRE.											
Sir Edwd. Matthews 1731			Fountain, Shrewsbury	1736	1768	D [1]					
			Mason's Arms, Oswestry	1744	1754						
Sir Robt. de Cornwall 1754			Fox Inn, Prince's St., Shrewsbury	1762	1775				Place unknown, Shrewsbury	1759	l. ?
			Hand & Bottle, Bridgnorth	1771	1783						
			[34th Regt., Quebec, 1788]	1783 (Canada)	1813			113 (Preston)	Crown Inn, Bridgnorth	1767	l. ?
Geo. Durant 1774			Bowling Green, Oswestry	1785	1789						
			White Lion, Whitchurch	1785	1801						
Hon. & Rev. F. H. Egerton 1786	Major Charles Shirreff	262	**Salopian, Shrewsbury**	1788		W	Lodge				
			Egerton, Whitchurch	1789	1801	[2]					
			Wrekin, Wellington	1789	1798	[2]					
			Industry, Bridgnorth	1799	1853	[2]					

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.

[2] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

SOMERSETSHIRE.

			Queen's Head, Bath	1724	1736						
		41	White Bear, Bath	1733		D[1]	Lodge				
			Angel, Shepton Mallet	1737	1768	D[1]					
			Fountain, Taunton	1764	1783				Shakespeare's Head, Sawclose, Bath	1762	l. 1763
John Smith, M.P. 1767		135	Swan, Bridgwater	1764		W	Lodge		Swan Inn, Bridgwater	1767	l. ?
			Shakespeare's Head, Bath	1765	1824						
			Saddlers' Arms, Bath	1769	1831				Nag's Head, Taunton	1771	l. ?
			Union, Taunton	1773	1784			125 (Kent)	Pelican, Walcot St., Bath	1771	1773
			Liberty & Sincerity, Bridgwater	1774	l. 1803						
Thos. Dunckerley 1784	Thos. West 1784	41	Royal Cumberland, Bath (united with White Bear, 1786)	1784		[2]					
			Unanimity, Wells	1785	1809	[3]					
		261 (Taunton)	Unanimity & Sincerity, Ilminster	1788		W	Lodge				
			Royal Clarence, Frome	1790	1838	[3]					
		285	Love and Honour, Shepton Mallet	1792		W	Lodge				
		291 Highbridge	Rural Philanthropic, Huntspill	1793		W	Lodge				
Major John Smith 1796 (son of above)	Charles Phillott 1796		Urbanity, Wincanton	1793	1809	W	in G.L.				
			Prudence and Industry, Chard	1799	1831	W	in G.L.				

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.

[2] Stated in Oliver's "Revelations of a Square" to have met under a "Warrant of Dispensation" by Dunckerley on 11 Aug., 1784. See also Dunckerley's letter of 1 Feb., 1785.

[3] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

STAFFORDSHIRE.

			Bell and Raven, Wolverhampton	1732	1754	D[1]					
			[Swan, High Green, Wolverhampton, 1766]	1736 Warwick	1772						

MODERNS.								ANTIENTS.			
P.G.M.	D.P.G.M.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)
			STAFFORDSHIRE, *continued.*								
			Crown Inn, Newcastle-under-Lyme	1767	1775				Crown Inn, Newcastle-under-Lyme	1763	l. 1766
			Swan, High Green, Wolverhampton (purchased Gateshead Warrant, 1736)	1768	1811			98 (Burslem)	Swan Inn, High Green, Wolverhampton	1764	l. 1765
			Unity, Three Crowns, Lichfield	1787	l. 1809				Scales, Market Lane, Lichfield	1784	?
Rev. the Hon. F. H. Egerton 1791	Major Chas. Shirreff		Union Soho, Handsworth	1793	1794	W	in G.L.				
			Friendly Brothers, Newcastle-under-Lyme	1793	1801	[2]					
			St. Bartholomew's, Fazeley	1795	1828	[3]					
			Harmony, Tamworth	1796	1809	[3]			Roebuck, Newcastle-under-Lyme	1799	1828

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.

[2] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M. Staffordshire.

[3] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M. Warwickshire.

SUFFOLK.

P.G.M.	D.P.G.M.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)
			Fountain, Bury St. Edmunds	1731	1739	D [1]					
			Golden Fleece, Bury St. Edmunds	1731	1754	D [1]					
			White Horse, Ipswich	1732	1754	D [1]					
			Seven Stars, Bury St. Edmunds	1732	1754	D [1]					
			Queen's Head, Lowestoft	1754	1773						
			White Lion, Beccles	1755	1769						
		114	Green Man, Ipswich	1762		W	Lodge				

SUFFOLK, *continued.*

			[Royal Edwin, Bury St. Edmunds, 1789]	1765 (Fakenham)	1829				None		
Rowland Holt 1771			Royal Edmund, Bury St. Edmunds	1772	1853						
		225	**Perfect Friendship, Ipswich** (united with St. Luke's Lodge, 1820)	**1785**		2					
	None		Philanthropic, Milford	1788	1851						
Sir Wm. Middleton 1788			**Prudence, Halesworth**	**1792**	1798	2					
			[Beccles, 1793]	1782 Beverley	1829						
		305	**Apollo, White Swan, Beccles**	**1794**		**D**	Lodge				

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.
[2] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

SURREY.

			Red Lyon, Richmond	1728	1797						
			[Castle Inn, Kingston-on-Thames, 1736]	1733 (London)	1745						
			[Bricklayer's Arms, Croydon, 1784]	1763 (London)	1809						
			[Greyhound Hotel, Croydon, 1783]	1766 (London)	1822				None		
Thos. Parker 1772	None		Castle Inn, Kingston-on-Thames	1768	1775						
			Fox, Epsom	1770	1800						
			Bell Inn, Bell St., Reigate	1784	1798						
Jas. Meyrick 1795			**Pythagorean, Richmond**	**1788**	1794	**W**	in G.L.				

MODERNS.								ANTIENTS.			
P.G.M.	D.P.G.M.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)
SUSSEX.											
			Swan, Chichester	1724	1769	D [1]					
			St. Rook's Hill, nr. Chichester	1730	1754	D [1]					
		56 (Little-hampton)	[Crown Inn, Arundel, 1789]	1736 (London)		C (1860)	Lodge				
			Red Lion, Rye	1765	1784						
			Dolphin, New Shoreham	1766	1775						
Capt. Francis Minshall 1774	James Galloway		White Hart, Lewes	1766	1775						
			White Horse Inn, Brighthelmstone	1789		W	Lodge [2]				
Gen. Samuel Hulse 1788			Harmony, Chichester	1790	1800	[3]			Wilts Militia, Hastings	1794	1834
		311	South Saxon, Lewes	1796		W	Lodge				
		315 (Brighton)	Royal York, Seaford	1797		W	Lodge				
			Harmony, Hastings (united with Derwent (A), 1817)	1799		W	in G.L.				

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.
[2] A spoilt, unissued W. by P.G.M. is also preserved in G.L.
[3] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.M.

P.G.M.	D.P.G.M.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l=lapsed)
WARWICKSHIRE.											
Jas. Prescott 1728			Woolpack, Warwick	1728	1754	D [1]					
		? 43	Swan, Birmingham	1733	?	D [1]					
			King's Arms, Birmingham	1736	1772	D [1]			Place unknown, Coventry	1755	l. 1757
			St. Albans, Birmingham	1762	1829				Place unknown, Coventry (took Moderns Constitution)	1755	1793

WARWICKSHIRE, *continued.*

			Rose & Crown, Coventry	1765	1780						
		43	King's Head, Birmingham	1767		W. C (1824)	W in G.L. C in Lodge		Place unknown, Birmingham	1758	l. 1760
		254	Trinity, Coventry	1785		W	Lodge		Place unknown, Birmingham	1764	?
			St. John's, Henley-in-Arden	1791	1837	W	in G.L.	43	King's Head, Birmingham (took Moderns Constitution, 1767)	1764	l. 1765
Thos. Thompson 1792	Jas. Timmins 1792		[Union, Birmingham, 1795]	1793 (Staffs)	1832	W	in G.L.				
			Shakspeare Stratford-on-Avon	1793	1799	W	284 Warwick		Two Virgins, Kenilworth	1778	
		301	Apollo, Alcester	1794		W	Lodge				

[1] Stated in 1733 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.

WESTMORLAND.

Geo. Charles Braithwaite 1788	None	129	Swan, All Hallows, Kendal	1764		C (1877)	Lodge		None		

WILTSHIRE.

			Three Lions, Salisbury	1732	1801	D [1]					
			Lord Weymouth's Arms, Warminster	1735	1754	D [1]					
			[King's Own Regiment of Foot, 1785]	1755	l. 1789						
			White Hart, Chippenham	1763	1773						
			New Inn, Melksham	1765	1775						
			Castle Inn, Marlborough	1768	1777						
Thos. Fowke 1775			Angel, Warminster	1770	1773						
			White Swan, Devizes	1770	1778						

MODERNS.								ANTIENTS.			
P.G.M.	D.P.G.M.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l = lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l = lapsed)

WILTSHIRE, *continued.*

P.G.M.	D.P.G.M.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l = lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l = lapsed)
Thos. Dunckerley 1777	Hugh Skeats 1777		Science, Salisbury	1782	1801	W [2]		151 (Newport, I. of W.)	Vine Inn, Salisbury (took Moderns Constitution, 1783) [2]	1777	l. 1784
			Apollo, Salisbury (formerly Antient, 1777)	1783	1828	W [3]					
			Black Swan, Devizes	1788	1811				Saracen's Head, Devizes	1792	1827
			Unity & Friendship, Bradford	1794	1832	W [4]					
			Innocence & Morality, Hindon	1798	1832						

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.

[2] Dunckerley's letter states "have been at the expense of a Warrant of Constitution to be under my Authority & Instructions" (see Sadler's "Life of Dunckerley").

[3] Sadler ("Life of Dunckerley," p. 228) states "Dunckerley granted them a Warrant," i.e., A 200, Vine Inn, Salisbury.

[4] Copy published in Goldney's "History of Freemasonry in Wiltshire," p. 162.

WORCESTERSHIRE.

P.G.M.	D.P.G.M.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l = lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l = lapsed)
Sir Robt. de Cornwall 1753	None		Talbot, Stourbridge	1733	1769	D [1]			Stonemason's Arms, Worcester	1757	l. ?
			[Three Tuns, Stourbridge, 1775]	1769 (London)	1828				Wheatsheaf, High St., Bewdley	1763	l. 1788
		252	Harmonic, Dudley	1784		W	Lodge		Talbot, Stourbridge	1768	l. 1768
			St. John's, Golden Cross, Bromsgrove	1786	1811				Raven Inn, Kidderminster	1772	l. 1792
John Dent 1792		280	Reindeer Inn, Worcester	1790		W	Lodge		Lodge of Freedom, Dudley	1788	1828

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.

YORKSHIRE.

William Horton 1738 (W. Riding only)			Three Tuns, Scarborough	1729	1754	D[1]					
		61	Bull's Head, Halifax	1738		D[1]					
			Talbot, Leeds	1754	1776						
Edwd. Rooke (W. Riding only) 1740			Cock, without Mighton's Gate, Hull	1759	1768				The George, Kingston-on-Hull	1759	l. 1761
			Talbot, Crossparish, Leeds	1761	1786	W		139	Swan, King St., Sheffield	1761	l. 1765
			Punchbowl, Stonegate, York	1761	1768	W	in No. 236		The Ship, Harewood Bridge, Harewood	1762	l. 1783
			King's Head, Kingston-on-Hull	1761	1768						
			Half Moon, Westgate, Otley	1762	1769				Ship, Water Lane, Sheffield	1762	l. ?
		123	Bargate, Richmond	1763		W	Lodge		Golden Lion, Whitby	1764	l. ?
		139	Rose & Crown, Sheffield	1765		W	Lodge				
		154	George & Crown, Wakefield	1766		W	Lodge				
			Bacchus, Halifax	1769	1783						
Sir Thomas Tancred 1771			Buck Inn, Whitby	1772	1790				Place unknown, Sheffield	1772	l. ?
	Wm. Spencer 1774		Apollo, York	1773	1836	W	in G.L.		1st Regt. of York Militia, Sheffield	1772	1777
			Wild Man, Middleham	1774	1788	[2]					
			Royal Oak, Ripon	1776	1828	W	in G.L.		Black Bull Inn, Settle	1774	1776
		236	Union, York	1777		W	Lodge		Swan with Two Necks, Dobcross, Saddleworth	1775	1805
Sir Walter Vavasour 1780	Richard Garland 1780	242	St. George's, Doncaster	1780		W	Lodge	68 (Bristol)	Paradise Sq., Sheffield (warrant purchased by Bristol Lodge, 1807)	1776	l. 1788
			Alfred, Wetherby	1780	1797	W	in G.L.	149 (Meltham)	Cock Inn, Barnsley	1777	l. 1778
			Rodney, Kingston-on-Hull	1781	1838	[2]			"Provincial Lodge," Sheffield (No. assigned to L. at Whitehaven, 1813)	1781	
			St. George's, Beverley (Military)	1782	1829						

		MODERNS.						ANTIENTS.			
P.G.M.	D.P.G.M.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution.	Date of Erasure (l = lapsed)	Character of Charter.	Present Location of Charter.	No. if still Working.	Name or Place of Meeting.	Date of Constitution	Date of Erasure (l = lapsed)
			YORKSHIRE, *continued.*								
R. Slater Milnes 1784		250	Minerva, Hull	1783		W [3]	Lodge				
			Newtonian, Knaresborough	1785	1851	W	in G.L.				
			Duke of York's, Doncaster	1788	1828	Disp. [3 4]					
		265	Milnes, Keighley	1788		Disp.	Lodge				
		200	Old Globe, Scarborough (took Ancient Constitution, 1791)	1788		[5]					
			Albion, Skipton	1789	1798						
		275	Harmony, Halifax	1789		Disp. C (1839)	in G.L. Lodge	200	Old Globe, Scarborough (formerly Moderns, 1788)	1791	
	Thos. Thackray 1789		Loyal and Prudent, Leeds	1790	1832	[6]					
		286 (Bacup, Lancs.)	Samaritan, Keighley	1792		Disp.	in G.L.				
			Philanthropic, Skipton	1792	1851	[6]					
			Three Graces, Barnoldswick-in-Craven	1792	1802	[6]					
		289	Fidelity, Briggate, Leeds	1792		Disp. 1792 W (1806)	Lodge				
		290	White Hart, Huddersfield	1793		Disp. C (1822)	in G.L. Lodge				
		294	Constitutional, Beverley	1793		W	Lodge				
	Wm. Spencer as A.D.P.G.M. or P.D.P.G.M. 1793 to 1799	296	Royal Brunswick, Sheffield	1793		W	Lodge				
		302	Lodge of Hope, Bradford	1794		Disp.	Lodge				

YORKSHIRE, *continued.*

		304	Philanthropic, Leeds	1794		{ Disp. 1794 { W 1799	Lodge				
		306	Alfred, Leeds	1795		W	Lodge				
		307 (Hebden Bridge)	Loyal Halifax, Halifax	1796		Disp. [3] [6]	Lodge				
		308	Prince George, Haworth	1796		{ Disp. [3] [6] { C (1818)	Lodge				
			Ebenezer, Pateley Bridge	1796	1832	[6]					
		312	Lion, Whitby	1797		W					
			Alman's, Almonbury	1799	1832	[6]					
			Mariner's, Selby	1799	1822	[6]					

[1] Stated in 1738 B. of C. to have been Constituted by Deputation.

[2] Paid for its Constitution to P.G.L.

[3] Issued by D.P.G.M.

[4] Copy given in Supplement to Delanoy's History of No. 242.

[5] Letters from P.G.S. 9/8/1788 and 22/9/1788 in G.L. indicating that Constitution had been issued by P.G.M.

[6] Stated in G.L. Register to have been Constituted by P.G.L.

APPENDIX II.

List showing the distribution in establishment of new Lodges in the Provinces in each year from 1724 to 1799.

PROVINCIAL issues in HEAVY TYPE.

MODERNS.

Year.	New Lodges in Provinces.		Totals	New Lodges in London.
1724	Carmarthenshire	1		
	Cheshire	3		
	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	1		
	Hampshire	1		
	Norfolk	1		
	Somersetshire	1		
	Sussex	1	9	3
1725			0	6
1726			0	2
1727	Lancashire	1	1	2
1728	Surrey	1		
	Warwickshire	1	2	7
1729	Norfolk	1		
	Oxfordshire	1		
	Yorkshire	1	3	2
1730	Kent	1		
	Lincolnshire	1		
	Northamptonshire	1		
	Sussex	1	4	9
1731	Cheshire	1		
	Suffolk	2	3	5
1732	Derbyshire	1		
	Devonshire	1		
	Lancashire	2		
	Staffordshire	1		
	Suffolk	2		
	Wiltshire	1	8	16
1733	Lancashire	1		
	Somersetshire	1		
	Warwickshire	1		
	Worcestershire	1	4	11
1734			0	1
1735	Devonshire	1		
	Durham	1		
	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	1		
	Wiltshire	1	4	4

MODERNS.

Year.	New Lodges in Provinces.		Totals	New Lodges in London.
1736	Dorsetshire	1		
	Durham	1		
	Essex	1		
	Lancashire	1		
	Norfolk	1		
	Shropshire	1		
	Warwickshire	1	7	7
1737	Essex	1		
	Lincolnshire	1		
	Somersetshire	1	3	11
1738	Gloucestershire	2		
	Herefordshire	1		
	Yorkshire	1	4	8
1739	Cheshire	1		
	Essex	1		
	Hampshire	1		
	Hertfordshire	1		
	Lancashire	1		
	Leicestershire	1	6	7
1740	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	1		
	Oxfordshire	1	2	3
1741	Cumberland	1		
	Pembrokeshire	1	2	0
1742	Herefordshire	1	1	1
1743	Merionethshire	1	1	0
1744	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	1		
	Shropshire	1	2	0
1745			0	0
1746			0	0
1747	Norfolk	1	1	0
1748	Devonshire	2	2	0
1749	Cambridgeshire	1		
	Norfolk	1	2	0
1750	Norfolk	1	1	0

MODERNS.

Year.	New Lodges in Provinces.		Totals	New Lodges in London.
1751	Cornwall	1		
	Norfolk	2		
	Kent	1	4	1
1752	Cornwall	2	2	2
1753	Carmarthenshire	1		
	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	1		
	Lancashire	1		
	Norfolk	1		
	Nottinghamshire	1	5	6
1754	Cornwall	1		
	Glamorganshire	2		
	Kent	1		
	Lancashire	1		
	Leicestershire	1		
	Norfolk	1		
	Suffolk	1		
	Yorkshire	1	9	11
1755	Cheshire	2		
	Cornwall	1		
	Durham	1		
	Kent	1		
	Lancashire	1		
	Norfolk	2		
	Suffolk	1		
	(Military unplaced)	1	10	4
1756			0	4
1757	Durham	1		
	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	1		
	Norfolk	1		
	Northumberland	1	4	5
1758	Devonshire	1		
	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	1		
	Norfolk	1	3	1
1759	Berkshire	1		
	Devonshire	3		
	Durham	1		
	Hampshire	1		
	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	1		
	Norfolk	1		
	Yorkshire	1	9	1
1760	Channel Islands	1		
	Kent	1		
	(H.M.S. Vanguard, unplaced)	1	3	2
1761	Cambridgeshire	1		
	Cumberland	1		
	Durham	1		
	Flintshire	1		
	Hampshire	1		
	Kent	1		
	Yorkshire	3	9	1
1762	Cumberland	1		
	Devonshire	4		
	Hampshire	2		
	Herefordshire	1		
	Kent	1		
	Lancashire	1		
	Norfolk	1		
	Northumberland	1		
	Shropshire	1		
	Suffolk	1		
	Warwickshire	1		
	Yorkshire	1	16	0
1763	Cambridgeshire	1		
	Devonshire	1		
	Durham	1		
	Hampshire	2		
	Kent	2		
	Lancashire	1		

ANTIENTS.

Year.	New Lodges in Provinces.		Totals	New Lodges in London.
1751			0	6
1752			0	9
1753	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	2	2	13
1754			0	8
1755	Lancashire	3		
	Nottinghamshire	1		
	Warwickshire	2	6	2
1756	Lancashire	3	3	10
1757	Nottinghamshire	1		
	Worcestershire	1	2	4
1758	Cheshire	1		
	Hampshire	1		
	Northumberland	1		
	Warwickshire	1	4	0
1759	Berkshire	2		
	Devonshire	1		
	Hampshire	1		
	Shropshire	1		
	Yorkshire	1	6	2
1760	Cheshire	1	1	1
1761	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	1		
	Hampshire	1		
	Leicestershire	2		
	Norfolk	1		
	Yorkshire	1	6	1
1762	Channel Islands	1		
	Derbyshire	1		
	Hampshire	1		
	Kent	1		
	Norfolk	2		
	Somersetshire	1		
	Yorkshire	2	9	2
1763	Channel Islands	1		
	Devonshire	1		
	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	1		
	Hampshire	1		
	Kent	1		

MODERNS.

Year.	New Lodges in Provinces.		Totals	New Lodges in London.
1763	Northumberland	1		
	Nottinghamshire	1		
	Wiltshire	1		
	Yorkshire	1	12	2
1764	Cambridgeshire	1		
	Devonshire	1		
	Dorsetshire	1		
	Essex	2		
	Hampshire	2		
	Herefordshire	1		
	Kent	3		
	Norfolk	1		
	Somersetshire	2		
	Westmorland	1	15	5
1765	Brecknockshire	1		
	Channel Islands	1		
	Cornwall	1		
	Dorsetshire	1		
	Lancashire	1		
	Norfolk	1		
	Norfolk	1		
	Somersetshire	1		
	Sussex	1		
	Warwickshire	1		
	Wiltshire	1		
	Yorkshire	1	12	11
1766	Cheshire	1		
	Cumberland	1		
	Devonshire	2		
	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	1		
	Lancashire	1		
	Northumberland	2		
	Sussex	2		
	Yorkshire	1	11	11
1767	Cornwall	1		
	Devonshire	1		
	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	1		
	Hertfordshire	1		
	Kent	2		
	Staffordshire	1		
	Warwickshire	1	9	15
1768	Anglesey	1		
	Cornwall (Scilly)	1		
	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	1		
	Monmouthshire	1		
	Nottinghamshire	1		
	Staffordshire	1		
	Surrey	1		
	Wiltshire	1	8	12
1769	Cheshire	3		
	Devonshire	1		
	Glamorganshire	1		
	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	1		
	Lancashire	1		
	Oxfordshire	1		
	Somersetshire	1		
	Yorkshire	1	10	7
1770	Durham	1		
	Hampshire	1		
	Lancashire	1		
	Norfolk	1		
	Oxfordshire	1		
	Surrey	1		
	Wiltshire	2	8	3
1771	Cumberland	1		
	Denbighshire	1		
	Devonshire	1		
	Dorsetshire	1		
	Shropshire	1	5	4

ANTIENTS.

Year.	New Lodges in Provinces.		Totals	New Lodges in London.
1763	Northumberland	1		
	Staffordshire	1		
	Worcestershire	1	8	4
1764	Brecknockshire	1		
	Cheshire	1		
	Kent	1		
	Lancashire	1		
	Monmouthshire	1		
	Northumberland	2		
	Staffordshire	1		
	Warwickshire	2		
	Yorkshire	1	11	3
1765	Cambridgeshire	1		
	Cheshire	1		
	Glamorganshire	1		
	Kent	1	4	1
1766	Cheshire	1		
	Lancashire	1		
	Montgomeryshire	1		
	Northumberland	1	4	2
1767	Kent	1		
	Norfolk	1		
	Shropshire	1		
	Somersetshire	1	4	0
1768	Cumberland	1		
	Worcestershire	1	2	0
1769	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	1		
	Kent	1		
	Middlesex	1		
	Norfolk	1	4	4
1770	Cheshire	1		
	Norfolk	2	3	1
1771	Berkshire	1		
	Devonshire	1		
	Lancashire	1		
	Oxfordshire	1		
	Somersetshire	2	6	1

MODERNS.

Year.	New Lodges in Provinces.		Totals	New Lodges in London.
1772	Cambridgeshire	1		
	Devonshire	1		
	Essex	1		
	Kent	1		
	Suffolk	1		
	Yorkshire	1	6	3
1773	Cambridgeshire	1		
	Cheshire	1		
	Durham	1		
	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	1		
	Somersetshire	1		
	Yorkshire	1	6	0
1774	Channel Islands	1		
	Cumberland	1		
	Durham	2		
	Lancashire	1		
	Somersetshire	1		
	Yorkshire	1	7	3
1775	Dorsetshire	1		
	Hampshire	1		
	Kent	1		
	Lancashire	1	4	1
1776	Cumberland	1		
	Dorsetshire	1		
	Essex	1		
	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	1		
	Hertfordshire	1		
	Kent	2		
	Yorkshire	1	8	4
1777	Cornwall	1		
	Essex	1		
	Glamorganshire	1		
	Kent	1		
	Yorkshire	1	5	1
1778			0	2
1779	Cornwall	1		
	Kent	2		
	Northumberland	2	5	3
1780	Cumberland	1		
	Devonshire	1		
	Durham	1		
	Lancashire	1		
	Northumberland	1		
	Yorkshire	2		
	(Military, unplaced)	1	8	1
1781	Yorkshire	1	1	2
1782	Cornwall	2		
	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	1		
	Devonshire	1		
	Wiltshire	1		
	Yorkshire	1	6	0
1783	Devonshire	1		
	Devonshire	1		
	Lancashire	1		
	Wiltshire	1		
	Yorkshire	1	5	0
1784	Devonshire	1		
	Durham	1		
	Somersetshire	1		
	Surrey	1		
	Worcestershire	1	5	5
1785	Berkshire	1		
	Derbyshire	1		
	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	2		
	Kent	1		
	Middlesex	1		

ANTIENTS.

Year.	New Lodges in Provinces.		Totals	New Lodges in London.
1772	Hampshire	1		
	Kent	1		
	Northumberland	1		
	Worcestershire	1		
	Yorkshire	2	6	0
1773	Hampshire	1		
	Oxfordshire	1	2	0
1774	Cheshire	1		
	Kent	1		
	Oxfordshire	1		
	Yorkshire	1	4	1
1775	Lancashire	2		
	Yorkshire	1	3	4
1776	Kent	1		
	Lancashire	1		
	Yorkshire	1	3	0
1777	Kent	1		
	Lancashire	1		
	Wiltshire	1		
	Yorkshire	1	4	2
1778	Kent	1		
	Warwickshire	1	2	1
1779	Cumberland	1	1	0
1780			0	0
1781	Devonshire	1		
	Oxfordshire	1		
	Yorkshire	1	3	0
1782			0	0
1783			0	0
1784	Channel Islands	1		
	Staffordshire	1	2	4
1785			0	1

MODERNS.					ANTIENTS.				
Year.	New Lodges in Provinces.		Totals	New Lodges in London.	Year.	New Lodges in Provinces.		Totals	New Lodges in London.
1785	Shropshire	2			1785				
	Somersetshire	1							
	Suffolk	1							
	Warwickshire	1							
	Yorkshire	1	12	4					
1786	Carnarvon	1			1786	Lancashire	2	2	1
	Cheshire	2							
	Devonshire	1							
	Dorsetshire	2							
	Essex	1							
	Hampshire	1							
	Lancashire	2							
	Worcestershire	1	11	1					
1787	Denbighshire	1			1787	Kent	2		
	Glamorganshire	1				Lancashire	1	3	3
	Hampshire	1							
	Lincolnshire	2							
	Staffordshire	1	6	1					
1788	Channel Islands	1			1788	Kent	2		
	Cumberland	1				Worcestershire	1	3	2
	Lancashire	4							
	Shropshire	1							
	Somersetshire	1							
	Suffolk	1							
	Surrey	1							
	Wiltshire	1							
	Yorkshire	3	14	2					
1789	Brecknockshire	1			1789	Channel Islands	1		
	Cheshire	1				Cumberland	1		
	Cheshire	1				Kent	1	3	4
	Essex	1							
	Gloucestershire (Bristol)	1							
	Lancashire	3							
	Northamptonshire	1							
	Shropshire	2							
	Sussex	1							
	Yorkshire	1							
	Yorkshire	1	14	2					
1790	Cheshire	1			1790	Nottinghamshire	1	1	3
	Leicestershire	1							
	Nottinghamshire	1							
	Somersetshire	1							
	Sussex	1							
	Worcestershire	1							
	Yorkshire	1	7	2					
1791	Cardiganshire	1			1791	Berkshire	1		
	Devonshire	1				Cheshire	1		
	Herefordshire	1				Kent	1		
	Lancashire	1				Yorkshire	1	4	1
	Lincolnshire	1							
	Warwickshire	1	6	0					
1792	Cheshire	2			1792	Lancashire	3		
	Devonshire	1				Oxfordshire	1		
	Hampshire	1				Wiltshire	1	5	1
	Lancashire	1							
	Lincolnshire	1							
	Norfolk	1							
	Northumberland	1							
	Nottinghamshire	1							
	Somersetshire	1							
	Suffolk	1							
	Yorkshire	4	15	0					
1793	Cambridgeshire	1			1793	Cheshire	1		
	Cheshire	2				Lancashire	1	2	1
	Derbyshire	1							
	Herefordshire	1							
	Lancashire	4							
	Lincolnshire	1							
	Norfolk	1							
	Somersetshire	2							
	Staffordshire	2							
	Warwickshire	1							
	Yorkshire	3	19	0					

MODERNS.

Year.	New Lodges in Provinces.		Totals	New Lodges in London.
1794	Cheshire	1		
	Cheshire	1		
	Devonshire	1		
	Kent	1		
	Suffolk	1		
	Warwickshire	1		
	Wiltshire	1		
	Yorkshire	2	9	0
1795	Denbighshire	1		
	Flintshire	1		
	Staffordshire	1		
	Yorkshire	1	4	0
1796	Cumberland	1		
	Hampshire	2		
	Norfolk	1		
	Staffordshire	1		
	Sussex	1		
	Yorkshire	3	9	1
1797	Cambridgeshire	1		
	Essex	1		
	Lancashire	1		
	Norfolk	2		
	Sussex	1		
	Yorkshire	1	7	0
1798	Kent	1		
	Norfolk	1		
	Wiltshire	1	3	0
1799	Cornwall	1		
	Cornwall	1		
	Cheshire	1		
	Hampshire	1		
	Kent	1		
	Lancashire	1		
	Shropshire	1		
	Somersetshire	1		
	Sussex	1		
	Yorkshire	2	11	0

ANTIENTS.

Year.	New Lodges in Provinces.		Totals	New Lodges in London.
1794	Channel Islands	1		
	Cheshire	1		
	Hampshire	1		
	Sussex	1	4	0
1795	Channel Islands	1		
	Cheshire	1		
	Kent	1		
	Norfolk	1		
	Lancashire	2	6	2
1796	Kent	1		
	Lancashire	5		
	Middlesex	1	7	0
1797	Devonshire	1		
	Essex	1		
	Kent	1		
	Lancashire	2	5	3
1798	Lancashire	1		
	Norfolk	1	2	1
1799	Devonshire	1		
	Gloucestershire	1		
	Kent	1		
	Staffordshire	1	4	1

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Carter for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. Norman, seconded by Bro. J. Walter Hobbs, comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. Gilbert W. Daynes, Geo. W. Bullamore, and T. W. Hanson.

Bro. GILBERT W. DAYNES *writes*:—

I have read, with very considerable pleasure, Part I. of the instructive Paper which Bro. Carter has compiled concerning Provincial Warrants. He has brought together, from so many different sources, much information relative to his main subject; and has pieced them together in such a manner as to enable us to focus our attention upon these facts and trace the evolution of the Lodge Charter, or Warrant, from its inception to the present day. In particular, he has shown us how the Lodges outside the Metropolis helped in this process.

With regard to the Charts he has prepared for this Paper, Bro. Carter tells us that the figures for Foreign Lodges are excluded "as not relevant to our enquiry." It is of course open to Bro. Carter to define the scope of his enquiry, and he is no doubt perfectly correct in his statement, so far as the Foreign Lodges would normally affect the numerical strengths, from time to

time, of the two Grand Lodges, which united in 1813. I cannot, however, agree that, even within the limits prescribed by Bro. Carter, the Provincial Lodges outside England can be divorced from the Provincial Lodges within these shores, especially when considering the actual Dispensations, or Warrants, by which Lodges outside London were brought into existence. It must not be forgotten that, both with regard to the premier Grand Lodge and the Grand Lodge of the Antients, no fundamental difference existed as to the method of constituting English as distinct from Foreign Lodges, and that all those outside London for the most part were, either before or after 1813, grouped into Provincial Grand Lodges and treated alike. It was not until many years after the Union in 1813 that Foreign Provinces for the first time became designated as District Grand Lodges. Prior to the Union, whether a Lodge was founded in Suffolk, Gibraltar, or South Carolina, the method by which each one was constituted by the premier Grand Lodge was the same. This method, too, was a natural development from the method of constituting a Lodge in London, where the ceremony was performed by the Grand Master, or his Deputy, assisted by his Grand Officers. Bro. Carter correctly emphasizes the personal act of constitution, and also the fact that no formal document was a necessary part thereof; but he states, with regard to such a document, that "in actual practice it soon became customary for such to be given as future evidence of constitution." I presume the document to which Bro. Carter refers is the Deputation to Constitute that was given by the Grand Master to some local Brother to constitute the Lodge, but the statement is in my opinion far too sweeping. From the scarcity of any such documents in the possession of Lodges—Bro. Carter says that there are only four—it seems probable that the Deputation to Constitute was only retained by the new Lodge if the Brother, to whom the Deputation was directed, and who constituted the Lodge, was a member of and presented the document to that Lodge, or there was some other special reason for the Deputation being handed over. The normal course, apparently, was for the Deputation to be returned to Grand Lodge with a certificate of constitution duly endorsed thereon, or for the Deputation to be retained by the Constituting Officer and a separate Certificate to be sent to Grand Lodge. In my opinion the reason why there are so few of these Deputations to Constitute, of early date, in existence is because, whether they were forwarded to Grand Lodge or retained by the Constituting Officer, they were considered valueless as soon as the entry of the new Lodge had been made in the Grand Lodge Register, and the Lodge had been inserted in the Engraved Lists. For instance, a Deputation to Constitute was given on 1st August, 1738, to John Senior, of Halifax, to constitute a Lodge, which afterwards became known as the Lodge of Probity, No. 61. In the History of the Lodge, by Bro. H. Crossley, there is a statement that in the Treasurer's Accounts for the year 1762, being one of the concluding items, there is an item "for 10/6 paid to Bro. John Senior for the old warrant." It is obvious that this Warrant was the original Deputation to Constitute of 1738, and was his property, and in his possession, until he sold it to the Lodge as above mentioned. In this case, no doubt, the Certificate of Constitution was forwarded to Grand Lodge on a separate piece of paper so as to enable the Lodge to be inserted in the Engraved Lists.

With regard to the Certificate of Constitution, to which we have been referring, Bro. Carter states it was "sometimes given." I think the accurate position is that it had always to be given and was an essential part of the procedure of constituting a new Lodge, being the final act of the Constituting Officer. In the first Grand Lodge Minute Book there are copies of two Deputations to constitute Lodges, one at Fort William, Bengal, and the other at Gibraltar, dated respectively the 6th February and the 9th March, 1729. But for one material exception, and a few verbal alterations of no importance, these two documents are identical with the Deputation to Constitute dated the 11th July, 1732, in the possession of St. John the Baptists Lodge, No. 39, Exeter. The exception referred to is the insertion of an entirely new paragraph in the last-named document. This new paragraph states that, upon "the due

execution" of the Deputation, the Brethren authorized thereby were "required to transmit to us or our said Deputy a Certificate . . . of the time and place of such constitution in order that it may be entred in the Book of Regular Lodges." No doubt it was in consequence of some misunderstanding, as to the necessity of always forwarding such a certificate to Grand Lodge, that this new clause was added to the later Deputations. In the Deputation of 1738 to John Senior, before mentioned, there is the same direction in a slightly different form. That document stated:—

> "And we do hereby will and require you the said John Senior, to send to us or our successors, Grand Masters, an account in writing under your hand, of what shall be done by these presents. And also a List of the Members of the Lodge, together with copies of such Rules, Orders, and Regulations as shall be agreed on for the government thereof."

We may also assume that this Certificate was necessary, even before 1732, because, in the Minutes of the Meeting of Grand Lodge, held on the 11th July, 1729, it is recorded:—

> "Mr. O'Connor the Junior Grand Warden represented that the Lodge he had ordered lately to be constituted at Tunbridge Wells was omitted to be inserted in the printed Book of Lodges and therefore prayed that it might be entred in the next Book as usual.
>
> But the Deputy Grand Master having received no Certificate that they were Constituted according to the Leave given them it was declared that till such Certificate was returned they could not be entred in the Book."

It was only when Masonic Provinces came into being, and Provincial Grand Masters granted their own Deputations, that it became the duty of each Provincial Grand Master to send to Grand Lodge a periodical List of those Lodges, which had been constituted under his authority, with the dates of Constitution, and places and times of meeting. In these cases, while Deputations to Constitute were being used, the certificates would of course be forwarded to the P.G.M. issuing the Deputation. At first the duties of Provincial Grand Masters must have been rather vague, and varied considerably with the activity or otherwise of the various P.G.M.s. It was not until the issue of the Third Edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, published in 1756, that the premier Grand Lodge imposed any definite regulations upon Provincial rulers. The following Articles are to be found in the General Regulations:—

> "Art. I. The Office of PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER was found particularly necessary in the Year 1726: when the extraordinary Increase of the Craftsmen, and their travelling into distant Parts, and convening themselves in LODGES, required an immediate HEAD, to whom they might apply in all Cases, where it was not possible to wait the Decision or Opinion of the GRAND LODGE.
>
> Art. II. The Appointment of this Grand Officer is a Prerogative of the GRAND MASTER: who grants his Deputation to such Brother of Eminence and Ability in the Craft, as he shall think proper: not for Life, but during his good Pleasure.
>
> Art. III. The PROVINCIAL thus deputed, is invested with the Power and Honour of a Deputy Grand Master: and, during the Continuance of his Provincialship, is intitled to wear the Cloathing, to take Rank as the GRAND OFFICERS, in all Publick Assemblies, immediately after the past Deputy Grand Masters; and to constitute Lodges within his own Province.
>
> Art. IV. He is enjoined to correspond with the Grand Lodge, and to transmit a circumstantial Account of his Proceedings, at least

> once in every Year. At which Times, the Provincial is required to send a List of those Lodges he has constituted, their Contributions for the general Fund of Charity: and the usual Demand, as specified in his Deputation, for every Lodge he has constituted by the Grand Master's Authority."

In substance these Regulations remained unaltered up to the date of the Union.

I cannot think that Bro. Carter's statement that the premier Grand Lodge avoided the issue of Warrants properly so called, is correct. We must remember that the system of Deputations to Constitute, developing from the personal act of the Grand Master or his Deputy, did not normally admit of any such Document. Besides, there was no necessity for it as a document of "evidence of their title to privileges." The evidence of the Constitution of a Lodge was not in the Deputation to Constitute, or even in the Certificate of the deputed Brother that the Lodge had been constituted: it was the entry of the Lodge in the "Book of Regular Lodges," and thereafter notified to the other Lodges by means of the Engraved Lists. The Engraved List was the essential document. As we know, Engraved Lists were published yearly from 1723 under the direct authority of the premier Grand Lodge. Regulations, too, were made as to the insertion of New Lodges in these Lists, the alterations of meeting places, dates of meetings, and the erasure of Lodges from the Lists. Each Regular Lodge was provided with one of these Engraved Lists as they were issued, and we read in the Minute Books of Grand Lodge of complaints made because Lodges had not been inserted in such Engraved Lists. No Lodge was inserted unless it had been duly constituted by the Grand Master, his Deputy, or some other Brother by virtue of a Deputation to Constitute. In the last case it was, as before mentioned, also necessary that a Certificate of Constitution should be returned to the Grand Lodge. This system prevented any irregularities consequent upon the theft, loss, or a possible forgery of Warrants, and answered its purpose admirably. What more was necessary once the Lodge had been inserted in the List? I do not think Grand Lodge can correctly be said to have deliberately avoided issuing any documents, because in their case there were no documents to issue. I venture to think that no one would ever have wanted any different procedure but for the advent of the Grand Lodge of the Antients, who copied the practice of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, a practice which had, up to that time, no counterpart in England. It may well have been that the Brethren of Lodges under the premier Grand Lodge had their attention called to the Warrants of Antient Lodges, either when visiting or by some other means, or that the absence of some such document in their own Lodges was commented upon adversely. We know that, in the Second Edition of *Ahiman Rezon* (published 1764), Laurence Dermott in his "Philacteria for such Gentlemen, as may be inclined to become Free-Masons," devotes some little space to the Warrant of the Lodge. He says:—

> "In the first place, when you intend to be made a free mason, go with your friend to the lodge, and desire him to shew you the warrant or dispensation by which the lodge is held: that is to say, an instrument printed or written upon parchment and signed by some noble grand master, his Deputy and grand wardens, and grand secretary, and sealed with their grand lodge seal &c. constituting and appointing particular persons (therein named) as master and wardens, with full power to congregate and hold a lodge at such a place, and therein make and admit free masons, according to the most antient and honourable custom of the royal craft, in all ages and nations throughout the known world, with full power and authority to nominate, chuse and install their successors &c."

In this statement we seem to have the final phase of the whole matter, which, in its earlier stages, influenced the premier Grand Lodge and its Provincial Grand Masters, and induced them gradually to adopt the true Warrant. In effect the

difference between the premier Grand Lodge and the Grand Lodge of the Antients was one of principle—Engraved Lists versus Warrants—and the Antients won because the formal document was more imposing and was there to look at and be handled. We see the same thing to-day in conveyancing: the average person prefers the method whereby he has the deeds of the property to the Land Certificate of the Registered Titles. But, in reality, this divergence was not between the premier Grand Lodge and the Grand Lodge of the Antients, but between the premier Grand Lodge and the Grand Lodge of Ireland. Although Ireland took its original Constitutions from England, it did not apparently adopt the system of Engraved Lists. Also, unlike England, it interpreted the meaning of the term 'warrant' in the Constitutions as a formal document. But, then, when it did this in 1732, Ireland had found itself in a different situation from that which had obtained in England. In the *History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland* by Bros. Heron Lepper and Crosslé we are told that, besides Lodges being plentiful in Dublin, there was not the least doubt that they were also plentiful throughout the Country. The great problem of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, at that time, was to get these remote Lodges to acknowledge her authority. On the other hand, the premier Grand Lodge commenced its activities with all its Lodges in London and Westminster, and no expansion took place until after its methods of constituting Lodges had crystallized. The reference by Bro. Carter to the Irish Advertisement in 1731, in which the Grand Lodge of Ireland intimated that Warrants were essential, if Lodges were to be deemed "true Lodges," indicates clearly that Ireland was endeavouring to get existing Lodges within its fold, who, while naturally objecting to be constituted anew, might be quite willing to receive a formal document, signed by some noble Grand Master, giving them a higher status than they could possibly expect if they remained independent. Thereafter, the practice of constituting by Warrant remained in full force, and applicable to new Lodges, being brought over to England by those Irish Masons who assisted to constitute the Grand Lodge of the Antients in 1751. They probably knew of no other method; and having at first no Grand Master, no other method could well have been adopted, even had they been acquainted with the method in vogue in the premier Grand Lodge. I think these two methods of constituting Lodges show rather well how similar institutions, possessing the same Constitutions, can branch out in different directions, on account of some local peculiarities, or variation of circumstances. The Grand Lodge of the Antients at first adopted the Engraved Lists—we have one for 1753—but soon discontinued their issue for some reason at present unknown. All that one can say is, that with Warrants there was no necessity for them as was the case of the Premier Grand Lodge, and so perhaps no sale for them.

Under the Constitutions of the premier Grand Lodge its Lodges were to be constituted by the Grand Master upon his own authority, an authority which in this and other directions the Grand Masters from time to time were careful to retain. In this connection it is interesting to note that, at a Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge, held on the 24th June, 1741, it was resolved:—

> "That no new Lodge should for the future be constituted within the Bills of Mortality without the consent of the Brethren assembled in Q.C. first obtained for that purpose."

This regulation amounted to an attack upon the privilege of the Grand Master, but it was repealed the following March, and the Grand Master's sole authority to constitute Lodges regained. No further attempt appears ever to have been made by Grand Lodge to vary it. On the other hand, the Grand Lodge of the Antients started in a different manner. It commenced as a Grand Committee, no Grand Master being appointed until 1753, and no noble Grand Master until December, 1756. The Warrant procedure became settled during those first two years, and the Grand Lodge did not subsequently relinquish its control over the constituting of Lodges. We may usefully note the different procedure. With the premier Grand Lodge there was a Deputation to Constitute, clothing the

constituting officer with the power and authority of a Deputy Grand Master, whereas with the Grand Lodge of the Antients there was a Dispensation constituting the Brethren concerned a Grand Lodge for the space of three hours. The Minutes of the Lodge of Antiquity, at Wigan, constituted in 1786, show this clearly. They run as follows:—

> "Grand Lodge held at ye Queen's Head in Wigan, Lancashire on Wednesday, the 21st Day of June, 1786, 5786.
>
> The Right Worshipful Bro. John Watson, Grand Master, appointed in pursuance of a Dispensation sent to them for that purpose, from the Ancient Grand Lodge of England, and ye Masonical Jurisdiction thereof. . . . opened a Grand Lodge in due form upon the Third step of Masonry according to the ancient usage of the craft of Free and Accepted Masons in all ages at 12 o'clock at noon.
>
> . . . .
>
> At one o'clock the Lodge was called to Refreshment and continued while ye Grand Lodge of Antiquity of England was toasted and then called to work again, and continued open until the hour of three, when the same was closed with the greatest Harmony in pursuance of the Grand Lodge Instructions."

Is Bro. Carter correct in assuming that the references in Grand Lodge Minutes to the surrender of the Constitution are to written documents being handed over? Might it not have been the verbal declaration of the Master and Wardens formally made in Grand Lodge, just as in the Manorial Court of the Lord of a Copyhold Manor the Copyhold Tenant, who has sold his copyhold property, comes before the Steward of the Manor, and verbally surrenders the property into the hands of the Lord of the Manor, the purchaser being afterwards admitted by the Steward. I suggest that the surrenders of Constitutions were formal verbal acts, and necessary, so as to prevent the Constitution, as recorded in the Engraved List, being used by the Landlord of the Tavern after the regular members of the Lodge had ceased to meet. The only way to prevent an entirely new set of Masons meeting in the registered Tavern would be for the old Brethren, by their Master and Wardens, formally to renounce the Constitution at a Quarterly Communication, and have the Lodge erased from the Engraved List.

In the course of his paper Bro. Carter refers to the Old Charges and comments upon the word "printed," with reference to the Book of Constitutions, in the Deputations, of 1732. The word "printed" also appears in those Deputations of 1729 to which reference has already been made. It seems probable that, when first inserted, the word was used to distinguish the 1723 Book of Constitutions from the MS. Constitutions or Old Charges—sometimes written in Book form—which had been digested into a new and better method by James Anderson in those Constitutions, although, even at that time, the MS. Constitutions had already appeared in printed book form. At the Meeting of Grand Lodge, on the 24th June, 1721, when the Duke of Montagu became Grand Master, we learn from William Stukeley that George Payne "read over a new sett of articles to be observ'd." Brethren were joining rapidly, and much general interest was being taken in the Craft from that date. We know that a copy of the MS. Constitutions appeared in *The Post Man & the Historical Account*, &c., in August, 1722, to which was prefaced a letter, which set out that one of the reasons for publishing it was that it might "be shown to the World from whence this Worthy Society is deriv'd, how Ancient they are, and of how great Esteem they were in those Days." Almost simultaneously there was published what we now know as the Roberts Print. In the preface to this work, after having extolled the Society of Freemasons and those who were members of it, the following paragraph occurs:—

> "How this Society has been preserv'd; How regularly they have acted: on what wholesome Laws they have been founded, and how carefully

> they have observ'd and regarded those Laws, as the just cement of the Society, that is partly to be seen in this Tract, and it will speak for itself."

Has Bro. Carter considered this Preface in its entirety, for to my mind there is nothing in it to suggest that the Print was intended for use in Lodges for esoteric purposes? Next, in 1724, we have *The Secret History of the Freemasons*, &c., "Printed for Sam Briscoe." Here, too, is a copy of the MS. Constitutions with further matter, certainly not official, or for use by Lodges as the equivalent of a Warrant. A Second Edition of this was published in 1725. In 1729, there was published the MS. Constitutions, engraved by Cole. Even if the first edition of this artistic work might be considered as a document of title for Lodge purposes—a suggestion which personally I doubt—the other editions certainly could not have been, as they were not confined to the MS. Constitutions. All the editions except the first have Francis Drake's oration, given in 1726 at the Meeting of the Grand Lodge of All England, held at York—a separate organization to the premier Grand Lodge—as well as the Speech delivered by Edward Oakley to his Lodge in London in 1728. But, added to this, the Advertisement to the second edition clearly shows the purport of the publication. It states:—

> "The Proprietors of this Book of Antient Constitutions, &c. being desirous to make this Book as universally useful and entertaining as possible, do intend to continue the publishing such valuable Pieces (as shall come to their Hands, and approved) as tend to the Honour and Advancement of the Science of Masonry."

Then, too, we have the Dodd Reprint, published in 1738, before the later editions of Cole, stated to be to assist the Widow of a Mason, Mrs. Dodd. At the period to which Bro. Carter refers the Craft was creating very great interest in the outside world, and the Brethren must have numbered well over 2,000. In 1731, the Editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine* thought the public sufficiently interested to have a long article upon Anderson's first Edition of the Book of Constitutions, stated to be taken from *Grubstreet Journal*, October 21, No. 94. In this connection, generally, I think it is too far fetched to suggest that Cole was influenced by the rise of the Grand Lodge of the Antients when he brought out his edition of 1751. He was the Engraver to the premier Grand Lodge, and certainly was not an Antient Mason. The Engraver to the Grand Lodge of the Antients two years later was a Brother Evans, who brought out an Engraved List for the Antients in that year. I cannot see that there is anything to indicate that any of the printed versions of the MS. Constitutions, to which I have referred, were published with a view to esoteric purposes, or for use as a Lodge Charter.

Another statement by Bro. Carter upon which I desire to comment is that concerning "the production of Pocket Companions as substitutes for the 'Constitutions' for Lodge use." Has Bro. Carter any proof in support of this statement? Anderson, in 1735, objects to Smith's Pocket Companion (*Vade Mecum*, as Anderson terms it): it was not because Lodges were buying it, but because individual brethren were doing so. The *Book of Constitutions* was the private venture of James Anderson: it was a money-making concern, and a second edition was in contemplation. We know that Dr. Rawlinson purchased a copy of Smith's *Free Masons Pocket Companion* for 2/-. What does Smith say about his own Book? He says, in the Preface:—

> "At the Desire of a great many of the Brethren I have compriz'd the History, (which for the most part is extracted from our excellent Constitution Book) Charges, Regulations, Songs, Account of Lodges, and several other Articles in Masonry, not to be found in any one of our Books yet published, in a small Volume easily portable, which will render what was before difficult to come at, and troublesome to

> carry about, of more extensive use. For it has been often remark'd that great Numbers, especially of the younger Masons, (who have been desirous of knowing everything relating to the Craft) have been for a long time frustrated in their Pursuits for want of something of this kind, which they might have recourse to at any time."

Clearly he was catering for a growing demand—in his dedication he refers to "the great Increase of our Society of late"—and produced his Book at a reasonable price.

When Bro. J. Scott published the first Edition of his *Pocket Companion* in 1754, two years before the third edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, he stated in his preface, after referring to the necessity for a new edition of the *Book of Constitutions*:—

> "What has hitherto been spoke of is a Work of Bulk, intended for Lodges, more than for private Use. There yet wanted all the necessary Articles, relating to the Society, to be comprized in a pocket Volume. . . . I trust, my Brethren, for your receiving this Pocket Companion with your accustomed Goodness and Candour, as it is truly intended to promote the real Good and Benefit of our most excellent Society, to make its admirable Principles and worthy Practises more generally known, and, if possible, to silence the sneering Critick, and satisfy the unprejudiced Stranger, that a good Mason and an honest Man are synonymous Terms."

From this time, and even before, Pocket Companions appeared at frequent intervals throughout the remainder of the century in England, Ireland and Scotland; and from a perusal of the various editions published it seems tolerably clear that these Books were designed for individual use only. The miscellaneous contents which made up these Pocket Companions enabled Brethren to increase their individual knowledge of Masonry, by studying the principles and precepts of the Craft outside the Lodge.

At the conclusion of his paper Bro. Carter states that the Grand Lodge of the Antients made one interesting departure from their custom, and issued a Warrant of Constitution for a Provincial Grand Lodge; and he refers to that Document as being unique. It may be so in the sense that it is the only document of that class which has survived to the present day, but Bro. Carter has apparently forgotten that the Antients did not circumscribe their activities in the same manner as he has done his researches in connection with Provincial Warrants. Provinces to the Antients did not mean English Provinces, but world-wide Provinces: and in this wider sense the Grand Lodge of the Antients had, long before 1781, issued Warrants to Provinces. In all, the Antients appear to have issued eleven Warrants for Provincial Grand Lodges: five before 1781, one other with the one quoted by Bro. Carter, and four at subsequent dates. The Warrants were as follows:—

Nova Scotia, to Major Erasmus James Philips in 1757.
Pennsylvania, to William Ball in 1761.
Montserrat and Nevis, to Dr. Thomas Fogarty in 1767.
Minorca, to Alexander Mercer in 1772.
Madras, to a Provincial Grand Committee in 1778.
York, Chester and Lancaster, to Hugh Cheney in 1781.
New York, to Rev. William Walter in 1781.
Andalusia, to a Provincial Grand Lodge in 1786.
Canada (Lower), to H.R.H. The Duke of Kent in 1792.
Canada (Upper), to William Jarvis in 1792.
Jamaica, to Hon. William Blake in 1796.

It may be noted that there was a Warrant for New York in the same year as that for York, &c. As a matter of fact, these two Warrants, as well as one for John Sykes for Madras, were issued on the same day, viz., 5th September,

1781. Hence, probably, the printed form, and a simple explanation of what Bro. Carter has deemed an insoluble puzzle. The system of Provincial Grand Lodges does not, however, seem to have been suitable for English Lodges under the Grand Lodge of the Antients. Perhaps this was on account of the social standing of the members of these Lodges when compared with the Provincial Grand Masters under the premier Grand Lodge. In my opinion, Bro. Carter is wrong in his suggestion that the Warrant of 1781 "was a deliberate move on the part of the Antients to strengthen their hold on that part of the country." If it had been, then certainly other Provinces in England would have been created. Bro. Dermott was not one to leave anything partly done, and he must have known that the system had proved itself capable of expansion under the premier Grand Lodge.

Bro. Geo. W. Bullamore *writes*:—

The Permit that developed into a formal Warrant is of very great interest for it is a distinctive feature of G.L. Masonry as contrasted with the Masonry that drew its authority from the Old Charges. With it there developed the idea of a Lodge with a Master in contrast to the older idea of a Master with a Lodge. Setting aside all irregular makings, the Masonry of the Old Charges and the Masonry of the Lodge Permit or Warrant form a much better basis for classification than the terms "Operative and Speculative." If "Speculative" means ceremonial Masons, then all Operative Masons were Speculatives, as, however skilled a man might be at stone-work, he remained a cowan until he received the Mason secrets by admission to the Guild. As to this Operative Guild, the Trade Guilds usually had power to admit members of the trade *and others*, so it is no more surprising that Ashmole was a Freemason than that Sir Philip Sydney was a grocer. At the time of Ashmole's initiation the Freemasons were the governing body of the London trade and no other organisation of Freemasons is known to have been in existence.

Bro. T. W. Hanson *writes*:—

Bro. Carter's paper on Provincial Warrants provides a standard by which to judge individual Lodge Warrants like the one in the possession of No. 61, The Lodge of Probity, Halifax.

Bro. Carter draws attention to the personal character of the Warrant or 'Deputation' of the pre-1738 period to which No. 61 belongs. Henry, Marquis of Carnarvon, G.M., and John Ward, D.G.M., are the only Grand Officers mentioned. We do not even get the G. Wardens mentioned. The other party to the presents is simply John Senior, and he has no colleague of any description.

John Senior evidently looked upon the document as his personal possession, for on June 24th, 1763, that is twenty-five years later, the Lodge paid him 10/6 for the old Warrant. They sent the original 1738 Deputation to Grand Lodge to be exchanged for a new fair copy. This transaction took two years. The present Warrant, that is the 1765 copy of the 1738 original, the 'renewed Warrant' as the Minutes style it, is inscribed "His gift" of Samuel Spencer, G.S. Born at Halifax, Yorkshire.

Can he be identified with the Samuel Spencer, Saddler, Fenchurch St., who subscribed to Calcott's "Candid Disquisition," 1769?

The G.S. paid the five guineas that Michael Devon, D.G.S., charged for illuminating the Deputation. For, in 1763, the Lodge at Halifax sent £2.2.0 as a gratuity to Bro. Spencer. In 1765, along with their letter of thanks, they "also remit him £2.2.0 as an annual present and £5.5.0 towards purchasing Candlesticks and Chairs for the Grand Lodge."

On this artistic 'Devonian' parchment is the signature CARNARVON in the top left-hand corner. I surmise that this was cut from the 1738 document and neatly inlaid into the renewed Deputation, or else the whole parchment is a palimpsest.

The date that J. Ward, D.C.M., put his hand to the deputation is August 1st, 1738. The Engraved Lists give the date of constitution as 12 July, 1738. Can this discrepancy in dates be explained?

Is it a peculiarity of the Deputation of John Senior's that in convening the Brethren, he had to take special care that the members have been *or shall be* regularly made Masons? Do you think that as there were in the town Brethren of the York Grand Lodge, some of them may have petitioned with the idea of changing their allegiance?

It is hard to say how very valuable the paper is to those like myself who are trying to squeeze out of an old document all the history of the early days of the Lodge that it might contain.

Bro. T. M. Carter *writes*, in reply:—

The approach to this subject was not altogether an easy matter, and materials did not lie ready to hand; of necessity it depended upon much correspondence with, and kind co-operation of, many others. It was soon clear, however, that these Provincial Warrants had a definite part in the general organisation of the Moderns in the latter half of the century, and that their full significance could not be appreciated without some comparison with other forms of "Constitution." But insofar as my secondary thesis came to be the part played by their Provincial activities in retaining the ascendancy of the Moderns up to the time of the Union, it did seem that in this limited regard the Foreign Lodges might be excluded "as not relevant to our enquiry."

I do not deny that these Foreign Provincial Lodges were in just the same relation to Grand Lodge as were the English Lodges, but their number had not quite the same bearing on the fortunes of the rival organisations, and had I attempted to deal thoroughly in detail with those issues, though much interesting matter might have resulted, it must have delayed the completion of my task for many months or perhaps years.

Bro. Daynes has added many interesting items to my own bald narrative, and there is really little of a controversial nature between us; he does not quite like my suggestion of a conscious avoidance of Warrant issues by the Moderns until they felt the pressure of Antients rivalry, and I am quite content to leave the facts to make their own impression on each student's mind.

The fact that the 1723 *Book of Constitutions* had to hold its own against other publications of the "Manuscript Constitutions" or "Old Charges" seems to me to be a sufficient explanation of that avoidance, and I have no great objection to the view that the leaders in Moderns Grand Lodge were simply content with their plan of Deputations and Engraved Lists—and did not deliberately weigh up the disadvantages of the Irish plan: but, on the other hand, I do not think we need deny to them the fullest perspicacity and deliberation in the matter, and a realisation that the issue of a Constituting Warrant in the Irish form might be held to render the *Book of Constitutions* less important.

That the advent of the Antients Grand Lodge was the cause of their changing this plan is my own contention as well as Bro. Daynes'.

I do not state, as Bro. Daynes surmises, that there are only four Deputations still in possession of Lodges—(Bro. Lane himself quotes others in his essay)—my statement is that of the 47 Deputations mentioned in the 1738 B. of C. four are still in existence.

I cannot quite accept the idea that the surrender of Constitutions mentioned in the Grand Lodge Minutes such as I have quoted were "only

formal verbal acts "—and that no document was returned to which (though erroneously) the name "Constitution" was given: the expression "to prevent the Constitution falling into bad hands," used 22 December, 1748, rather implies that some material document was being handled.

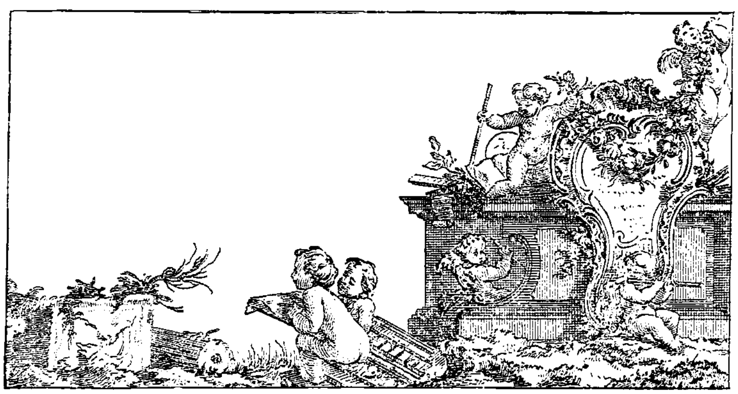
Bro. Daynes goes into further and very interesting detail respecting publications of the Old Charges, relative to my insistence on the significance of the word "printed" in the early Deputations, and admits that the word used there is for distinction from those other publications,—which is my own pivotal argument.

I agree that the actual uses to which the publication of the Constitutions and Charges were put are difficult to prove: it is generally admitted that the Manuscript Charges in early days had esoteric uses in Lodge,—the Sanction of 1738 B. of C. has the warning "against using any other Book *as a Lodge Book*," and the *Pocket Companion* printed the matter of which esoteric use could be made, and commanded a large sale; I do not contend for more than that.

It is gratifying to have Bro. Hanson's kind appreciation of the value of the material I have been able to collect and it is with a view to helping others to squeeze out the interest in the old documents that the concise tabular statements have been prepared.

The copy of the 1738 Deputation re-issued to The Lodge of Probity, Halifax, is more fully dealt with in the part of this paper which is to follow. It had a wide influence in later Yorkshire issues. Bro. Hanson's suggestion that it is a palimpsest is interesting, as one way of accounting for the Carnarvon signature; but it is certainly not that. In 1738 Deputations were not issued on vellum of that size—usually they were hand-written on quite a small piece of paper; much more likely is it for the name to have been copied as nearly as he could in facsimile by Michael Devon: there is nothing more irregular in that than in Samuel Spencer, G.S., signing in 1765 his name as "Witness" to a document dated 1738.

Bro. Hanson will notice that the expression "have been or shall be regularly made Masons" is also used in the Rachdale Warrant which is quoted in full. It is a form very commonly used.



A MODERNS LODGE IN THE HANDS OF THE ANTIENTS.

BY BRO. GEO. S. KNOCKER, P.Pr.G.W., Suffolk and Jersey.

WHEN arranging some Certificates in the Jersey Library, one issued in 1765 by the "Moderns" Lodge No. 1 particularly arrested my attention, as it not only was signed by a Senior and a Junior Deacon but it bore a $\overset{T}{H}$ in ink. This is a copy of the Certificate:—

"And the Darkness Comprehended it not

By the Worshipfull Master, Wardens, Deacons, and Secretary of the Free And Accepted Masons No. 1, of the Registrey of the Islands of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney & Sark, held in the Island of Jersey————

These are to Certify that the Bearer hereof our Worthy Brother Philip Benest was properly prepar'd, Duely Enter'd faithfully past and Honestly Rais'd a Master Mason in the Above Worshipfull Body, has behav'd always very Upright and Conduced as far as his Abilitys and Endeavours would permit towards the Maintenance and Support of the Craft & may be Legally Admitted into any Assembly of Masons wherever held or Congregated.

Given under the hands & Seal of the Lodge this first Day of April Year of Salvation 1765 of Masonry 5765————

To all Masons Wherever held or Congregated	(Seal) $\overset{T}{H}$	Wm. Ellis Sr. Phil. Fall Jr.	Deacons	C. Shirreff Master W. Brown Sr. Alexr. Campbell Jr. Wardens

Am. D'Aubant Secry."

These unusual features on a Moderns Certificate warranted further investigation, but the Lodge having been erased as far back as 1812, and no books having survived, the prospects of success were not promising. Lane shows that the Lodge was erected in Jersey in 1765, the same year as the Certificate was issued, under the name of "Lodge No. 1" and with the original number of 349, which after the usual renumberings became 197 in 1792, and further discoveries showed that the Warrant had been issued by Thomas Dobrée, Provincial Grand Master for the Channel Islands, appointed in 1753 by Lord Carysfort, Grand Master in the Original, or Moderns Grand Lodge. Thomas Dobrée was a Merchant living in Guernsey, and appears to have interfered but little in Masonic affairs in Jersey; in fact, his only recorded activities in the latter Island are the issue of this Warrant and one other in 1788 for a Lodge called "Union No. 2." The Warrant for Union No. 2 is

After founding the Lodge No. 1 at Whitchurch, Shirreff was instrumental in getting four others started in the county, one of which, the Salopian No. 262, is still in existence; he then procured the appointment of a Provincial Grand Master, and was himself invested as Deputy, and in this office established a Provincial organisation, and himself carried out most of the practical business of the Province. During his tenure of office as D.P.G.M. an incident is recorded having a direct bearing on his method of working; while presiding in a Provincial Festival in 1790, an exalted Masonic Visitor, who there is good reason for concluding to have been Bro. Thomas Dunckerley, at that time Provincial Grand Master of the neighbouring Province of Hereford, took occasion to correct several details in Shirreff's working, which naturally started a dispute, which in time was probably the reason that he was not re-appointed to the Deputyship, and caused his retirement from the Province.

One can imagine the pained indignation of Bro. Dunckerley, at that time one of the most prominent men in the Moderns cause, at seeing the practice of Antient ritual and ceremonies, in what was considered a Modern Provincial Assembly, and, on the other hand, it is easy to picture the suppressed wrath of the retired Major, with thirty years of Masonic experience behind him, and his Ne plus Ultra degree, at being openly corrected when presiding in his own Province. There was bound to be trouble when two such personalities met.

A significant comment on the subject in dispute is an entry in the Minutes of the Salopian Lodge, under Shirreff's jurisdiction, eight months after this affair: "Resolved that in future the Lodge be formed with the Wardens "in the West agreeable to the Usage of Grand Lodge—that the office of "Deacons be abolished and Stewards appointed in their stead." This gives us a strong hint of the previous customs introducing into the county, by the D.P.G.M. who, as far as we can see, was at the foundation of the Whitchurch Lodge the only person with a working knowledge of the ceremonies.

When constituting this Lodge, he obtained the help of three Master Masons from Cheshire, and the four of them raised a Fellow Craft of thirteen years' standing in that degree: the five then formed the new Lodge and proceeded to work.

It was no doubt in a somewhat similar manner that he started the Lodge No. 1 in Jersey, and being on virgin ground he would impress his method of working on the newly-made Brethren, and it would become the only possible ritual for the Lodge in the future; and further, the Island being somewhat isolated in those days from the centres of Masonic knowledge, his system would be transmitted to future generations. Of this there are hints in several peculiar details, noticeable in the Island workings to this day, and there is a strong possibility that in them we have survivals of the customs introduced by Bro. Shirreff, fresh from America, in 1765.

In laying the foundations of Lodge No. 1 Jersey, it is evident that Shirreff laid truly and well, for not only did the Lodge last for forty-two years, but it handed on the succession which has never failed to the present day, and be it noted, all the Lodges that followed it, down to the Union, worked the Antient system, but, avoiding the error made by the first Master, obtained their Warrants from the Duke of Atholl.

That Lodge No. 1 continued in the way it started is clearly proved by the evidence that can be produced for the year 1795. About that time the Island of Jersey, and the Lodge, were experiencing a period of great prosperity, owing to the influx of Royalist refugees from France, and a big Military establishment sent over from England, and we find that the Royal Arch and Knight Templar degrees were both being conferred under the sanction of the Craft Warrant. In the Vonberg Collection are two silver seals, one for the Royal Arch and one for the Knight Templar degree, both being inscribed "Lodge No. 1 St. Heliers Jersey," which are obviously intended for the

sealing of certificates of those degrees. As the Lodge took in upwards of forty candidates, mostly Military officers, in the course of less than two years, these degrees were probably well patronized.

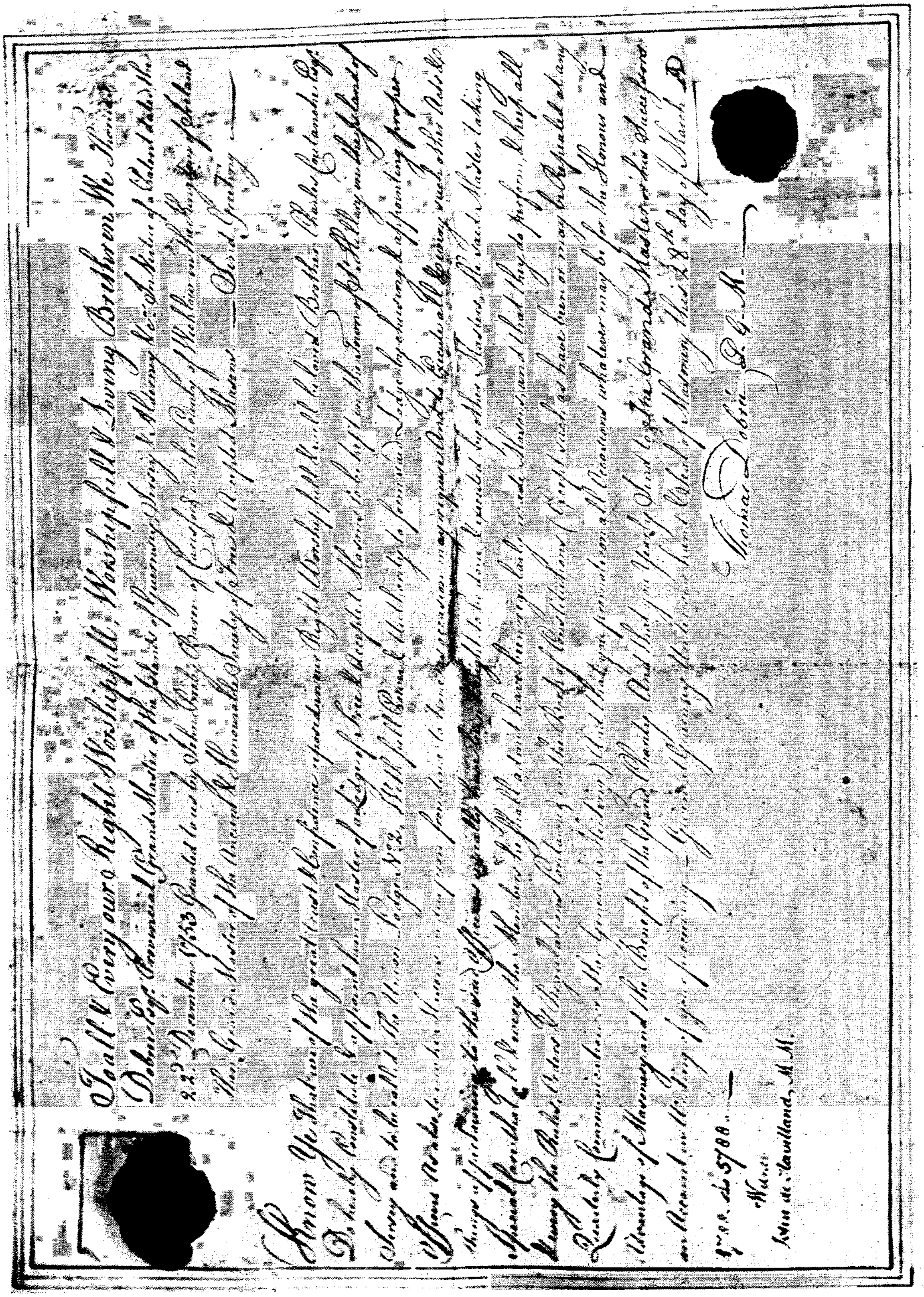
There is also in the Crowe Collection in Grand Lodge a Craft Certificate issued by this Lodge to Francis Lauzan and dated 20th November 1795, and among the members signing it four place R.·.A.·. after their names, one K.·.T.·., one S.·.P.·.R.·.+, while the letters h.·.P.·. occur after one name and •c.·.d.·. after another.

We may, I think, fairly conclude that the Antient working initiated by Bro. Shirreff into this Modern Lodge was so firmly rooted, that it continued until the end, which came in 1812, when No. 197 was erased from the Register. By this time, however, there were four active Antient Lodges established in Jersey, one of them still in existence strong and prosperous, and we may well express our gratitude to the gallant Major, who, notwithstanding his peculiarities and his laughable mistakes, planted a seed in the Island that has since borne good fruit.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE WARRANT OF UNION, No. 2, JERSEY.—The reference to this Lodge by Bro. Knocker in his article on Major C. Shirreff gives the opportunity of printing the following Note by Bro. Charles H. Wilson, the Provincial Grand Secretary, and a reproduction of the Warrant, from a photograph which he has kindly supplied. Bro. Wilson writes:—

> The Warrant herewith reproduced is another example of permission to form a new Lodge being given by a Provincial Grand Master. Rt. Wor. Bro: T. Dobree was appointed, 1753, by the Moderns as the first Provincial Grand Master "for Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, Sarke and Arme, in ye British Channell." Bro. Charles Coutanche, first Master of the Union Lodge, No. 2, was initiated in the Dundee Arms Lodge No. 9, (now Old Dundee, No. 18) 13th September 1781. The Union Lodge No. 2, does not appear in Lane's *Masonic Records*, which only gives Union Lodge *No. 1*, and Bro. Charles Coutanche joined this on 24 July 1794, when the name was returned as Charles Coutainch (*sic*) age 39, Merchant, Jersey.



Warrant of Provincial Grand Master for Union Lodge No. 2, Jersey.

OBITUARY.

IT is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

John Anley, of London, on 10th December, 1927. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.St.B. for Essex, as well as L.R., and L.C.R. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1904.

T. Foley Bache, of West Bromwich, on 15th December, 1927. Bro. Bache held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and P.Pr.G.Sc.E. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in March, 1903.

Arthur George Edward Barnes, of London, on 10th December, 1927. Our Brother was a member of Unity Lodge No. 1637 and joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1921.

Robert Bridge, of Colwyn Bay, N.Wales, on 25th December, 1927. Bro. Bridge held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and P.Pr.G.Treas. (R.A.) for East Lancs. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1908.

William Jones Greer, of Newport, Mon., in August, 1927. Our Brother was a member of Isca Lodge No. 683 and of the R.A. Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1919.

John William Hardy, of Swansea, on 27th June, 1927. Bro. Hardy was a member of Dr. James Griffith Hall Lodge No. 3161 and of Virtue and Hope Chapter No. 237. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1918.

Percy Harrison, I.C.S., of Allahabad, in 1926. Our Brother held the rank of P.Dis.G.R., and P.Dis.G.Sc.N., for Bengal. He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1897.

Henry Humphries, of Bath, on 26th December, 1927. Bro. Humphries held the rank of P.Pr.G.S.B., and P.Pr.A.G.So. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1908.

John Russell Kennedy, of Tokio, on 16th January, 1928. Our Brother was P.M. of Tokio Lodge No. 2015. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1919.

Sir **George Anthony King,** M.A., of London, on 17th January, 1928. Bro. King had attained the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Deputy Grand Registrar (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1908.

William Thomas Knaggs, of Wolsingham, S.O., Co. Durham, on 16th November, 1927. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and P.Pr.G.S.B. (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1908.

Nathaniel Phillips Lardner, of London, on 7th February, 1928. Bro. Lardner held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer, and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1916.

Adolph I. Ludlow, of London, on 15th October, 1927. Our Brother was a member of St. Leonard Lodge No. 1766. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1922.

Duncan Arrol Macfarlane, of Buenos Aires, on 7th October, 1927. Bro. Macfarlane was a member of Excelsior Lodge No. 617 and of the Chapter attached thereto. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in October, 1905.

Charles Montchal, of Geneva, on 20th February, 1928. Bro. Montchal was a member of L'Union des Coeurs Lodge. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1911.

Rev. **Honyel Gough Rosedale,** D.D., F.S.A., F.R.S.L., of London, on 14th January, 1928. Our Brother had attained the rank of Past Grand Chaplain and Past Grand Sojourner. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1906.

Alfred Edwin Sainsbury, of Alnwick, Northumberland. Bro. Sainsbury was a member of Alnwick Lodge No. 1167 and of the Morpeth Chapter No. 636. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1918.

George Sidorow, of Helsingfors, in 1927. Our Brother was a member of Lodge St. Augustin, and joined our Correspondence Circle in 1923.

Samuel Brook Sykes, of Liverpool, on 9th December, 1927. Bro. Sykes had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.D.C. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1919.

The Hon. **George W. Tyler,** of Belton, Texas, on 11th October, 1927. Our Brother had held office as Grand Master, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1920.

Edward D. Vanderleith, of Carson City, Nevada. Bro. Vanderleith was in office as Grand Secretary. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1911.

Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

NO. 2076, LONDON.

FROM THE ISABELLA MISSAL.



BRITISH MUSEUM, ADD. MSS., 18,851,
CIRCA, 1500 A.D.

SECRETARY:

W. J. SONGHURST, *F.C.I.S.*, P.G.D.

OFFICE, LIBRARY AND READING ROOM:

27, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON W.C.2

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON.

FROM THE ISABELLA MISSAL



BRITISH MUSEUM ADD MSS, 18,851
CIRCA 1500 A.D.

EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY W. J. SONGHURST, P.G.D.,
AND LIONEL VIBERT, P.A.G.D.C.

VOLUME XLI. PART 2.

CONTENTS.

W. J. PARRETT, LTD., PRINTERS, MARGATE.

1929

THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

was warranted on the 28th November, 1884, in order

1.—To provide a centre and bond of union for Masonic Students.

2.—To attract intelligent Masons to its meetings, in order to imbue them with a love for Masonic research.

3.—To submit the discoveries or conclusions of students to the judgment and criticism of their fellows by means of papers read in Lodge.

4.—To submit these communications and the discussions arising therefrom to the general body of the Craft by publishing, at proper intervals, the Transactions of the Lodge in their entirety.

5.—To tabulate concisely, in the printed Transactions of the Lodge, the progress of the Craft throughout the World.

6.—To make the English-speaking Craft acquainted with the progress of Masonic study abroad, by translations (in whole or part) of foreign works.

7.—To reprint scarce and valuable works on Freemasonry, and to publish Manuscripts, &c.

8.—To form a Masonic Library and Museum.

9.—To acquire permanent London premises, and open a reading-room for the members.

The membership is limited to forty, in order to prevent the Lodge from becoming unwieldy.

No members are admitted without a high literary, artistic, or scientific qualification.

The annual subscription is one guinea, and the fees for initiation and joining are twenty guineas and five guineas respectively.

The funds are wholly devoted to Lodge and literary purposes, and no portion is spent in refreshment. The members usually dine together after the meetings, but at their own individual cost. Visitors, who are cordially welcome, enjoy the option of partaking—on the same terms—of a meal at the common table.

The stated meetings are the first Friday in January, March, May, and October, St. John's Day (in Harvest), and the 8th November (Feast of the Quatuor Coronati).

At every meeting an original paper is read, which is followed by a discussion.

The *Transactions* of the Lodge, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, are published towards the end of April, July, and December in each year. They contain a summary of the business of the Lodge, the full text of the papers read in Lodge together with the discussions, many essays communicated by the brethren but for which no time can be found at the meetings, biographies, historical notes, reviews of Masonic publications, notes and queries, obituary, and other matter. They are profusely illustrated and handsomely printed.

The Antiquarian Reprints of the Lodge, *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*, appear at undefined intervals, and consist of facsimiles of documents of Masonic interest with commentaries or introductions by brothers well informed on the subjects treated of.

The Library has now been arranged at No. 27, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, where Members of both Circles may consult the books on application to the Secretary.

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers about 3500 members, comprising many of the most distinguished brethren of the Craft, such as Masonic Students and Writers, Grand Masters, Grand Secretaries, and nearly 300 Grand Lodges, Supreme Councils, Private Lodges, Libraries and other corporate bodies.

The members of our Correspondence Circle are placed on the following footing:—

1.—The summonses convoking the meeting are posted to them regularly. They are entitled to attend all the meetings of the Lodge whenever convenient to themselves, but, unlike the members of the Inner Circle, their attendance is not even morally obligatory. When present they are entitled to take part in the discussions on the papers read before the Lodge, and to introduce their personal friends. They are not visitors at our Lodge meetings, but rather associates of the Lodge.

2.—The printed *Transactions* of the Lodge are posted to them as issued.

3.—They are, equally with the full members, entitled to subscribe for the other publications of the Lodge, such as those mentioned under No. 7 above.

4.—Papers from Correspondence Members are gratefully accepted, and as far as possible, recorded in the *Transactions*.

5.—They are accorded free admittance to our Library and Reading Rooms.

A Candidate for Membership in the Correspondence Circle is subject to no literary, artistic, or scientific qualification. His election takes place at the Lodge-meeting following the receipt of his application.

Brethren elected to the Correspondence Circle pay a joining fee of twenty-one shillings, which includes the subscription to the following 30th November.

The annual subscription is only half-a-guinea (10s. 6d.), and is renewable each December for the following year. Brethren joining us late in the year suffer no disadvantage, as they receive all the *Transactions* previously issued in the same year.

It will thus be seen that for only half the annual subscription, the members of the Correspondence Circle enjoy all the advantages of the full members, except the right of voting in Lodge matters and holding office.

Members of both Circles are requested to favour the Secretary with communications to be read in Lodge and subsequently printed. Members of foreign jurisdictions will, we trust, keep us posted from time to time in the current Masonic history of their districts. Foreign members can render still further assistance by furnishing us at intervals with the names of new Masonic Works published abroad, together with any printed reviews of such publications.

Members should also bear in mind that every additional member increases our power of doing good by publishing matter of interest to them. Those, therefore, who have already experienced the advantage of association with us, are urged to advocate our cause to their personal friends, and to induce them to join us. Were each member annually to send us one new member, we should soon be in a position to offer them many more advantages than we already provide. Those who can help us in no other way, can do so in this.

Every Master Mason in good standing throughout the Universe, and all Lodges, Chapers, and Masonic Libraries or other corporate bodies are eligible as Members of the Correspondence Circle.

FRIDAY, 4th MAY, 1928

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. G. Norman, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; Lionel Vibert, A.G.D.C., P.M., as S.W.; J. Walter Hobbs, P.A.G.D.C., J.D., as J.W.; Edward Armitage, P.G.D., Treasurer; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; W. J. Williams, I.G.; Thos. M. Carter, P.Pr.G.St.B., Bristol, Stew.; E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.; and J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Ed. B. Holmes, G. O. Heron, A. I. House, Arthur Heiron, Ivor Grantham, Jas. W. Butler, W. H. Pocklington, P.A.G.Pt., Robert Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., F. C. Stoate, F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., W. Young Hucks, F. B. Box, E. S. M. Perowne, Gilbert S. Foyle, J. W. V. Mason, Chas. H. Bestow, A. W. H. Jones, H. A. Matheson, W. T. J. Gun, H. Johnson, T. H. Thacker, W. Davie, C. A. Austin, E. W. Marson, J. H. Clark, Albert D. Bowl, Lewis Edwards, L. G. Wearing, F. J. Asbury, P.A.G.D.C., Wm. Lewis, P. H. Horley, Ed. M. Phillips, H. Bladon, P.G.St.B., F. Bare, G. C. Williams, W. Francis, R. Cropley Davies, Allan Ramsay, Thos. F. Griggs, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, F. W. Le Tall, A. Regnauld, C. F. Sykes, R. Wheatley, I. Nesteroff, G. W. Richmond, E. D. Side, L. Sykes, A. E. Gurney, B. Ivanoff, W. Brinkworth, W. Emerson, P. T. Leigh, Geo. D. Pooley, and E. F. Adams.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. F. Adams, Cator Lodge No. 2266; F. W. Torrens, S.W., Bond of Friendship Lodge No. 4853; Tom Wood, Stanhope Lodge No. 1269; Ronald H. Gower, S.D., Redwood Lodge No. 3411; A. B. Reavis, B.B. French Lodge No. 15, Washington, D.C.; A. A. Brazier, J.D., Borough of Shoreditch Lodge No. 3064; Chas. Buckingham, Crays' Valley Lodge No. 2147; W. H. Leger, Queen Mary's Lodge No. 3327; and C. W. Hawley, Hygeia Lodge No. 2664.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; Gilbert W. Daynes, S.D.; Rev. H. Poole, P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland & Cumberland, S.W.; Rodk. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; John Stokes, P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., J.W.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, I.P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; and Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.

The Congratulations of the Lodge were offered to the following Members of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle, who had been honoured with appointments and promotions at the recent Festival of Grand Lodge:—Dr. J. H. Earls, Grand Deacon; Major T. G. L. Lumley Smith, C. J. Drummond, F. W. Hancock, Lieut.-Col. G. I. Davys, and George Harvey, Past Grand Deacons; Rev. W. S. Hildesley, Assistant Grand Chaplain; Lieut.-Col. R. F. Moresby White, W. G. A. Edwards, G. Trevelyan Lee, Stanley W. Rodgers, and Herbert Woods, Past Assistant Grand Registrars; A. N. Garrard, Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works; Herbert Dunkerley, Past Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works; Lionel Vibert, Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies; L. F. Dunnett, J. G. Robeson, W. F. Cockrell, F. Fisk, H. J. Goodwin, G. E. Leslie, Peter Lewis, C. A. Loxton, W. A. B. Pailthorpe, and B. Silverston, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; Herbert Broad, Grand Standard Bearer; J. G. Austin and S. W. Heaton, Past Grand Standard Bearers; G. Vere Montague and R. H. Marks, Assistant Grand Standard Bearers; and R. J. Hennings and W. E. Stiffin, Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearers.

Four Lodges, one Lodge of Instruction, one Study Circle and one hundred and fifty-four Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. W. J. Williams read the following paper:—

ARCHBISHOP BECKET AND THE MASONS' COMPANY OF LONDON.

BY BRO. W. J. WILLIAMS.

TOWARDS the end of 1927 I was searching for Wills of Masons and Freemasons registered in the Books kept at the Probate Registry, Somerset House, and came upon the Calendars relating to Wills proved in the Commissary Court of London. Fortunately these Calendars in many cases state the occupations of the Testators and so it was comparatively easy to select such grants of Probate and Administration as related to the Wills and Estates of Masons and Freemasons.

The Calendars consulted go back as far as the year 1374. The Register known as "Courtney" covers the period 1374 to 1400 and the three following are "Broun" 1401 to 1417, "More" 1418 to 1438, "Prowet" 1439 to 1449. Later Registers consulted extend to the year 1603.

Lists of the names and descriptions of Testators who were Masons and Freemasons, found during the period consulted have been accepted for publication in *A.Q.C.*, together with similar lists extracted from the records of the Archdeaconry Court of London during the period 1368 to 1781.

The lists of names and occupations were in themselves interesting to us as Freemasons, but it was questionable whether anything of Masonic interest would be found by consulting the Registers themselves. These Registers are large parchment volumes containing copies of the original Wills, made at the time of Probate being granted.

However, it seemed worth while to look at some of the most anient Wills. By what may seem a strange coincidence the very first Will I looked at proved to be of great interest and importance.

It was the Will of William Hancock in the Courtney Register, dated 12th February 1388/9, and proved in the Commissary Court on 4. April 1389. It may be mentioned that these early Registers are all written in Ecclesiastical Latin sometimes abbreviated and written in the method of that age, so it is not always easy to transliterate the writing.

The following is a full copy of the Will as transcribed for me by an expert in such matters:—

(Extracted from the Register at Probate Registry, Somerset House.)

Commissary Court London 177 Courtney

Will of William Hancock

(N.B.—All abbreviations have been expanded.)

In Dei nomine Amen. Ego Willelmus Hancock mason duo decimo die mensis Februarii in bona memoria Anno Domini millesimo CCC LXXXVIII condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. Imprimis lego animam meam omnipotenti Deo beatae mariae matri ejus et omnibus sanctis et corpus meum ad sepellendium in magno Cimeterio sancti Pauli Londoni. Item lego capellano parrochii ecclesiae Sanctae Fidis ubi sum parrochianus xiid. Item lego

superiori clerico ejusdem ecclesiae viiid. Item lego subclerico dictae ecclesiae iiiid. Item lego fraternitati de masons Londoni fundatae apud sanctum Thomam de Acres xiid. Item lego fratribus ordinis predicatorum et minorum videlicet utrique ordini xxxd. pro uno Trentale missarum. Item Martino Whykham capellano xiid. Residuum omnium bonorum meorum non legatorum do et lego Johannae uxori meae ut debita mea acquietet et pro anima mea et sepulturo corpis mei disponat et ordinet prout videbitur Deo placere et saluti animae meae proficere hujus autem testamenti mei facio et ordino dictam Johannam uxorem meam solam executricem et Thomam Prentys supervisorem hujus autem testamenti mei. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti testamento meo sigillum meum apposui. Datum Londoni die et anno supra dictis.

Probate granted iiij Kals April 1389

It will be noted that William Hancock is described as a Mason and that the Will includes a legacy in the following words:—

"Item lego fraternitati de masons Londoni fundatae apud Sanctum "Thomam de Acres XIId."

This being translated is:—"Item I bequeath to the Fraternity of Masons London "founded at St. Thomas of Acres twelvepence."

Brother Conder, in his very important Records of the *Hole Craft and Felowship of Masons*, London, 1894, had been very much hampered by the fact that the Company had no records earlier than the seventeenth century although the grant of Arms of the Masons' Company of the City of London as granted in 1472 had been discovered and was reproduced in Brother Conder's book.

Bro. Vibert in his work *Freemasonry before the Era of Grand Lodges*, says "Our craft is English when it first comes to light in history about 1400 A.D."

In *A New View of London* (by J. Hatton) published London, 1708, the following occurs at p. 611:—

> Masons Hall, situate in Masons Ally in Bazing hall Street as you pass to Coleman Street. This Company was Incorporated about the year 1410, having been called the *Free Masons*, a Fraternity of great account who have been honoured by several Kings and very many of the Nobility and Gentry being of their Society. They are governed by a Master, 2 Wardens, 25 Assistants and there are 65 on the Livery, the Fine for which is 5*l*. and that for Steward 10*l*. They may take one Apprentice and after chosen Warden 2. Their Armorial Ensigns are, *Azure on a Chevron between 3 Castles argent. a pair of Compasses somewhat extended of the 1st. Crest a Castle of the 2d.*

This has been fully extracted as it indicates the idea prevailing in 1708, which was not long before the formation of Grand Lodge in 1717.

The date of incorporation could not be given precisely or the expression "about 1410" would not have been used.

In Bro. Conder's book (opposite page 250) is a reproduction of a Plate in Le Clerc's Architecture, 1724, with a Dedication beginning:—"To the Master "and Wardens of the Worshipful Comp^a. of **Masons** London. May it please "your Worships. This Company was incorpated in anno 1410 having been "called the Freemasons."

So far as the City of London is concerned several Companies seem to have emerged into something approaching Incorporation towards the end of the fourteenth century. For instance, the Mercers Company which Hatton describes (p. 611) as the first of the twelve Companies is said to have been Incorporated Anno 1393. Perhaps the position as to the Chronology of the Companies under whatever title, Mistery, Craft or otherwise they may have been described, is,

for the present purpose sufficiently summed up in Townsend's *Manual of Dates* (Edn. 1877):—

> Companies (England). Trade guilds are mentioned in *Judica Civitatis Londoniæ* compiled by King Athelstan, and other Anglo-Saxon laws: and they therefore existed as early as in 939. The Company of Steelyard Merchants settled in England before 967, and the original foundation of the Saddlers' Company is referred to the same period. Henry I. (1100-1135) granted a charter to the weavers and is supposed to have established the first Anglo-Norman guild. In the reign of Henry II. trade guilds were common institutions, and their formation was encouraged by that king and his successors John and Henry III. The Chief Companies styled Honourable Incorporated A.D. 1327 Goldsmiths: 1327 Skinners; 1345 Grocers; 1365 Vinters; 1394 Mercers; 1430 Drapers (six others follow).

Townsend then gives a list of the other companies (who are styled Worshipful). 1110-1135 Reign of Henry I. Weavers; 1115 Bakers: 1233 Parish Clerks; 1272 Saddlers: 1383 Leather Sellers; 1410 Cordwainers; 1411 Masons: 1417 Cutlers (and about 70 others).

The reference to King Athelstan and the *Judica Civitatis Londoniæ* is interesting, as it may be the foundation for the statement in the Regius Poem that the Masons Craft came into England in time of good King Athelstone's day and was then regulated as by the said Poem appears.

Resuming in the fourteenth century—the following two items indicate the non-existence at the times mentioned of any definite governing body for the self regulation of the conduct of members of the Craft.

In Letter book C. of the City of London at fol. XXIII. is a record translated at p. 38 of H. T. Riley's *Memorials of London and London Life* (Longman's 1868):—

> Terms of reconciliation of two Master masons
> 26 Edward I. A.D. 1298.
>
> On Monday the morrow of St. Laurence (10 Aug.) in the 26th year of the reign of King Edward there came before Henry le Galeys, Mayor, Thomas Romeyn, William de Leyre, Geoffrey de Nortone, Walter de Feyingfeud and certain other Aldermen, Master Simon de Pabingham and Master Richard de Wetham, masons, who were then reconciled as to certain abusive words which had before passed between them. And the agreement was to this effect:—that the said Simon and Richard did grant each for himself that if either of them should be able to give information against the other that he had by the same abusive words or in deed, committed trespass against the other, and such person should upon the faith of two trustworthy witnesses be found guilty thereof, he should give 100 shillings towards the fabric of London Bridge: and they further agreed that in case such person should not do so the Chamberlain should cause the same amount to be levied &c.

It seems a reasonable inference from this that the old Masonic charge as to refraining from abusive epithets was not (if it were in existence at all) capable of being adjudicated upon by any then existing organised body of Masons. There can be little doubt that an organisation of some sort existed in respect of that and several trades. Dr. Sharpe in his *Introduction to Husting Wills* (Vol. II., p. li.), has a note—"By one of the new articles for the government of the City which received the sanction of the King (Edward II.) in 1319 no inhabitant of the City could be made free of the City except through a 'mistery.'"

The second extract from Riley's book is translated from the Latin and Norman-French of Letter Book G. of the City of London, fol. xli. It is

transcribed in Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, Vol. I., pages 341-3, and consists of Regulations for the trade of Masons:—

30 Edward III. A.D. 1356.

> At a congregation of the Mayor and Aldermen holden on the Monday next before the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (2nd Feb.) in the 30th year of the reign of King Edward III. there being present Simon Fraunceys, and John Little, Symon de Benyngtone and William de Holbeche, Commoners, certain articles were ordained touching the trade of Masons, in these words—'Whereas Simon Fraunceys, Mayor of the City of London, has been given to understand that divers dissensions and disputes have been moved in the said City, between the masons who are hewers on the one hand and the light masons and setters on the other, *because that their trade has not been regulated in due manner by the government of folks of their trade, in such form as other trades are*: therefore the said Mayor for maintaining the peace of our Lord the King, and for allaying such manner of dissensions and disputes, and for nurturing love among all manner of folks, in honour of the said City, and for the profit of the common people, by assent and counsel of the Aldermen and Sheriffs, caused all the good folks of the said trade to be summoned before him, to have from them good and due information how the trade might be best ordered and ruled for the profit of the common people. Whereupon the good folks of the said trade chose from among themselves 12 of the most skilful men of their trade to inform the Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs, as to the acts and articles touching their said trade, that is to say:—
>
> Walter de Sallynge,
> Richard de Sallynge,
> Thomas de Bredone,
> John de Tyringtone,
> Thomas de Gloucestre, and
> Henry de Yeevelee,
>
> on behalf of the masons' hewers.
>
> Richard Joye,
> Simon de Bartone,
> John de Estone,
> John Wylot,
> Thomas Hardegray, and
> Richard de Cornewaylle,
>
> on behalf of the light masons and setters, the which folks were sworn the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, in manners as follows:—' [Here Riley sets forth the Regulations agreed on, but for the sake of brevity I omit them. They are however akin in language to several of the rules laid down in the Operative Old Charges.]

The point I want to indicate is that up to 1356 the Masons of the City of London had not erected a domestic tribunal for the purpose of settling their trade disputes but referred their difficulty to an outside body.

But in the year 1376 the position had been developed, as evidenced by the important entries in Letter Book H. of the City of London, extracts from which I now copy from the printed version edited by Reginald R. Sharpe, D.C.L., published in MCMVII. Letter Book H. covers the years *circa* 1375-1399. The original Letter Book H. however, shows a cancelled entry under the heading Fremasons. This cancelled entry is not reproduced in the printed book. A photograph of the cancelled entry and the final entry is reproduced as part of this paper. Inspection of the original in the Guildhall shows (as does also the photograph) that an attempt has been made at some time to erase the cancelled entry; a knife having probably been used. The Clerk of the records,

Mr. A. H. Thomas, M.A., tells me that he has no doubt the entries referred to were written in the book at the time of the events recorded just as minutes of meetings are kept in our own time. It is curious that at the first time when the word 'Fremasons' is known to occur the word should have been cancelled. The word 'Fremasons' as a consequence does not occur in the Index or text of Letter Book H. as printed.

At pages 273-274 of printed Letter Book H. are lists of Masters of Misteries sworn, and our Craft was thus represented:—

> Masouns, John Clifford, Thomas Mallynge, Simon atte Hoke, John Westcote, Henry Wylot, sworn the 13th August 10 Richard II. (A.D. 1386).

This entry brings us up nearly to the date of William Hancock's Will, 1388, and it is noteworthy that the Masons named and sworn were described as Masters of that Mistery.

The Will of William Hancock tells us where that Mistery or as he describes it the Fraternity of Masons London met or was founded, namely: "fundate apud Sanctam Thomam de Acres."

When I showed Bro. Songhurst the copy of William Hancock's Will he asked me why it was that Masons were associated with St. Thomas of Acres. It is fairly well known that St. Thomas the Apostle is depicted as holding a square. This may have arisen from the fact that he refused to believe unless he personally tried and proved the reality of a certain incident; but the Saint before us was not the Apostle, but St. Thomas of Acres.

The remainder of this paper is mainly the result of that question put to me by Bro. Songhurst.

ST. THOMAS DE ACON (Or Acre).

The Hospital of St. Thomas de Acre stood in Cheapside and has its records for several centuries. The devotion paid to the shrine of Thomas Becket at Canterbury and his alleged but apparently apocryphal connection with the Holy Land are well-known. His mother was said to be the daughter of a Saracen who fell in love with Gilbert Becket, his father, when he was a captive in Palestine and afterwards followed him to London. Thomas was born A.D. 1119 and was slain A.D. 1170.

To this day there is exhibited outside the entrance, at 87, Cheapside, to the Mercer's Hall a tablet thus inscribed:—"Thomas a Becket was born | in a house | near this spot." The building which existed at the time of the fire of 1666 was then practically demolished. The 29th December, 1170, is commemorated as the day of St. Thomas of Canterbury. There was also a Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr on 7th July. The Records of the Mayors Court date certain transactions by reference to that Feast (see *Calendar of Pleas and Memoranda Rolls* by A. H. Thomas, M.A., 1926, p. 255). When the Mayor and Aldermen in the absence of King Edward III. abroad in 1338 presented a scheme for safeguarding the City it was provided that the wickets should be closed all night till prime sounded at St. Thomas of Acre when they shall be open till sunrise at which time the great Gates are opened. (*Calr.* as before, p. 189.)

From the Patent Rolls much information can be gleaned as to this House.

In the printed volume Edward III. 1330-4, references appear to Protections given to the Master of the Brethren of the Hospital there for collecting alms in England, Wales and Ireland. Licenses in Mortmain enabling the Master and Brethren to hold land are at pages 422 and 537 in the same volume. The first, dated 23 April 1337, is for alienation by *Walter de Salynge* to find a Brother as Chaplain, etc.

Passing over many intervening entries we find in 1383 (Patent Rolls 7 Richard II. Septr. 26) Protection from arrest for *Simon atte Hoke* and *Walter Walton*, stonemasons, held by the Master of this Hospital of St. Thomas the

Martyr of Acon London for the work of rebuilding his church from devotion to the Saint who is said to have been born and educated in that Hospital. The above names, Walter de Salynge, Simon atte Hoke, and Walter Walton, are noteworthy.

On 12th February, 1388, William Hancock, Mason, made his Will by which he gave to the Fraternity of Masons London founded at St. Thomas de Acres the sum of XIId. (Calendar of Wills proved in Commissary Court of London Register Courtney, fol. 177.)

The Will of Walter de Salynge, dated 11th December, 1339, is noted in Dr. Sharpe's Husting Wills, part 1, at p. 436. He gave to the Master and Brethren of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acon London a gift charged with maintenance of a charity to the said House of St. Thomas. The names Walter de Sallynge and Richard de Sallynge appear in the Masons Regulations of A.D. 1356 as the first two most skilful men of their trade (hewers) chosen to inform the Mayor, etc., as to the Acts of Articles touching their trade. (See Riley's *Memorials of London*, p. 280.) He is quoted by Gould at Vol. I., p. 342. It would seem a fair inference that the above Walter and Richard de Sallynge were relatives of Walter de Salynge whose Will is above referred to.

Simon atte Hoke above named was sworn on 13th August, 1386, as one of Five Masters of the Misteries under heading "Masouns."

Walter Walton (maceon) was appointed 26th November, 1397, to be chief Surveyor of all stonecutters and masons for the King's works in England with the usual fees (By Bill of Treasurer). (21. Richard II., part 2, m. 27.) He had also been appointed (with others) to arrest the masons, etc., necessary for the repair and fortification of the Castle of Porchestre. (29th April, 1396. Patent Rolls. 19 Richard II., part II., m. 14.)

The Fraternity of St. Thomas of Acres was put an end to in the reign of Henry VIII., who sold the site to the Mercers' Company in 1541 for £969. 17. 6.

Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. 6, part 2, at p. 645-6 gives a precise account concerning the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon or Acres, London. It was founded by Thomas Fitz Theobald de Helles and Agnes his wife, Sister of Thomas Becket Archbishop of Canterbury, in the latter end of King Henry the Second in honour of the Blessed Virgin and the said Archbishop now styled Saint and Martyr. It was built upon houses and land formerly belonging to Gilbert Becket, Father to the Archbishop, and whereon his famous son was born.

This Hospital consisted of a Master and Seven Brethren professing the rule of St. Austin but were of a particular order, *Militiae Hospitalis S. Thomas Martyris Cantuariensis de Acon*, being a branch of the Templars.

An Act of Parliament confirming the Title of the Master and Brethren is at p. 647 in Dugdale (Rot. Parl. 23 Henry VI., n. 20).

Dugdale gives a list of the Masters commencing with Thomas Sallowe who died in 1371.

Annexed to the acknowledgment of Supremacy 1534, which at the time Dugdale wrote was in the Chapter House, Westminster, is an impression of the Common Seal of this Hospital representing two male figures, one an Archbishop seated, the other half length addressing him.

(Legend). SIGILL. COMMUNE. CAPITULI. FRATRV. BEATI. THOME. MARTIRIS. LOND.

This seal is illustrated on the Title page and cover of a book called "Some account of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon in the Cheap, London, and of the plate of the Mercers' Company" by John Watney, F.S.A. Privately printed London 1892. (British Museum, reference 4705 g. 25.) The book has now been added to the Lodge Library.

(Watney says at p. 6.) The order of the Knights of St. Thomas probably very early became merged in that of the Templars with which it was from its beginning intimately connected but did not share the fate of its more opulent brethren. The Preceptories of the Templars were destroyed, of the Knights some suffered death and imprisonment, all were disgraced and the order was

effectively disbanded: but the Hospital in the Chepe continued in honour and prosperity.

(p. 7.) The principal houses or hospitals of the order abroad were in Nicosia in Cyprus and at Acre or Acon. The Hospital at Acre fell after that town was taken.

The great Abbey of St. Thomas the Martyr in Dublin is said to have belonged originally to the order of the Knights of St. Thomas.

(p. 7.) The Hospital of St. Thomas in Cheapside in London with which we have more immediate concern was founded by the sister of St. Thomas a Becket about 20 years after his death.

(p. 9.) The fraternity of Mercers, not yet incorporated, were constituted patrons of the Hospital and their connection with it continued for upwards of 300 years until the Hospital was suppressed at the Reformation.

(p. 16.) The Hospital was the place of meeting of the Livery Companies on many solemn occasions during the civic year.

(p. 46.) Refers to the Will of William Weste, marbeler, dated 20th April, 1453. (See Sharpe's *Hustings Wills*, Vol. II., 562.). By that Will the Testator gave a tenement to the then Master of the Hospital so that prayers might be made for the Testator and his relatives.

(pp. 94 and 95.) By letters patent 1st July II. Henry VIII. (1519) License was granted to the Mercers' Company to retain and hire William Thorne, freemason, then being in their work, and twenty other persons freemasons and also bricklayers, carvers, joiners and other artificers, wheresoever they could get them within the realm, so that the same freemasons and artificers should not be taken from the King's works.

At p. 118 Watney refers to Wriothesly in his Chronicle, vol. 1, p. 87, under the date 1538, as stating that the Image of St. Thomas a Becket which stood at the High Altar of St. Thomas of Acres in London was taken down by Lord Cromwell's commandment, and all the glass windows in the said Church that was of his story were taken down with the image of his putting to death that was at the altar, where the saying was that he was born also, so that there should be no more mention made of him never.

It was also ordered that all images and pictures re Becket were to be plucked down throughout the whole realm. In the *Liber Albus* the name of the Archbishop is crossed out in every place where it appeared. A statue of St. Thomas in his Chapel in Westminster Abbey has, however, survived till now.

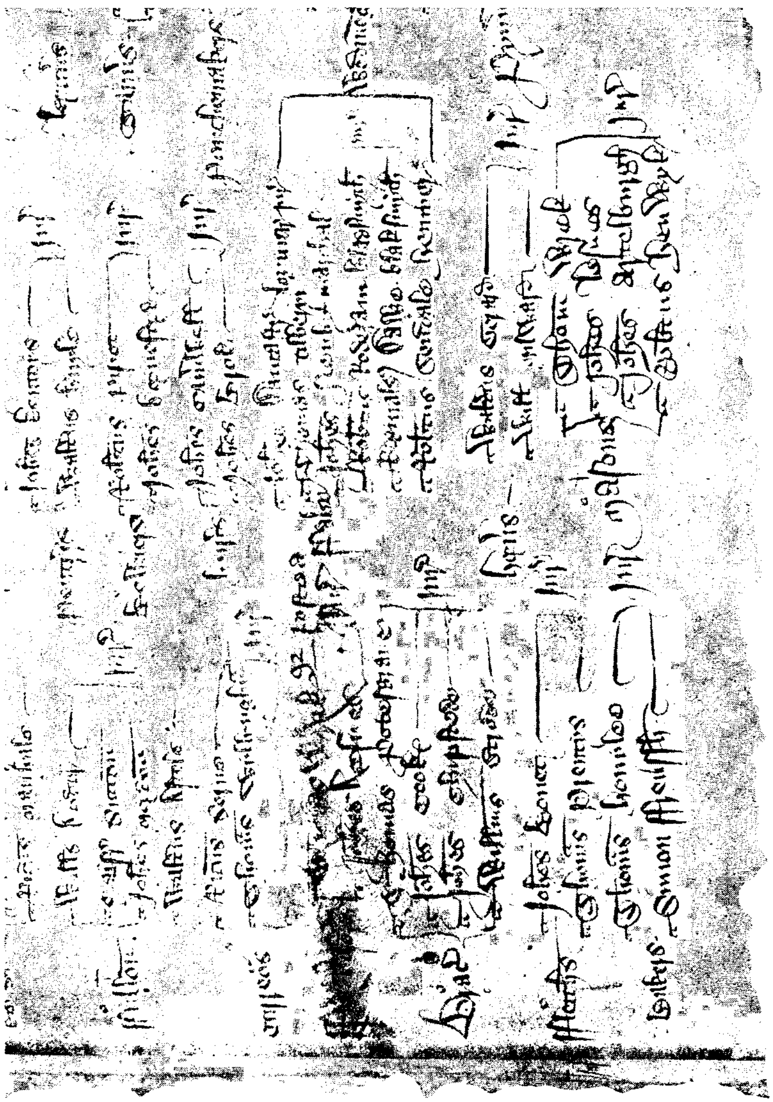
On the 20th October, 1538, the Hospital was surrendered to the King. On the accession of Mary the Image of St. Thomas taken down in 1538 was again set up by order of the Mercers' Company. A new picture of St. Thomas of Canterbury over the street door cost £4. 8. 6. in 1554, but was almost immediately mutilated and thrown down entirely in 1559. (Wriothesly's Chronicle.)

Now that we are aware of the connection of the Masonic Fraternity with St. Thomas of Acon it may be possible to find another explanation of the question raised by Bro. Conder in his paper on "The Masons' Company of London" (*A.Q.C.* xxvii., pp. 83, 84 and 85). Among the ordinances dated 1481 (in Letter Book L.) is one "That freemen of the said craft mistery or "science shall on the Feast of Holy Trinity or within 10 days of the same "assemble together and choose Wardens."

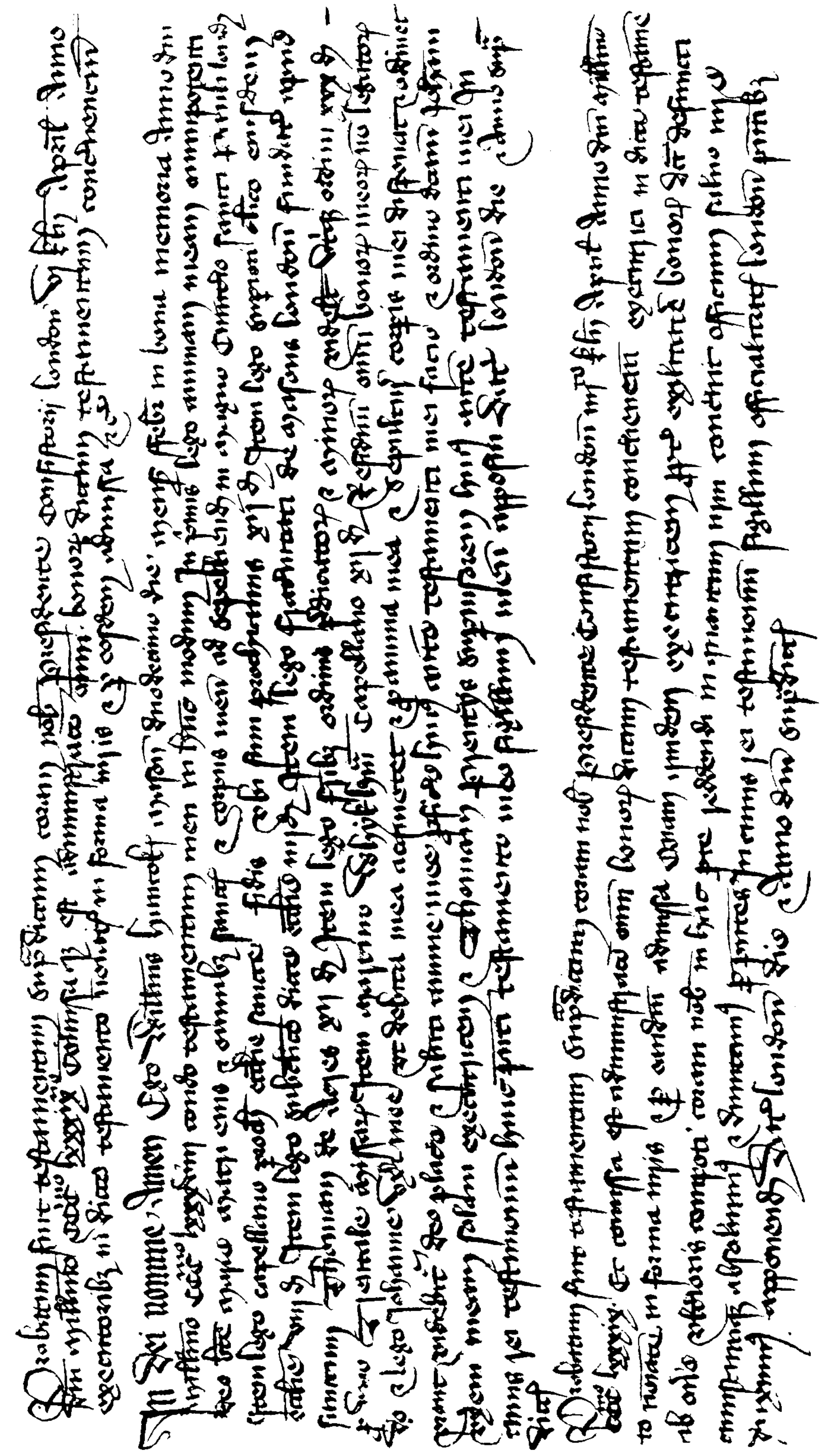
Bro. Conder suggests that this time might have been chosen because in 1463 the Company obtain from the Prior and Convent of the Holy Trinity, Aldgate, a lease of ground, afterwards known as Masons Alley, on which they afterwards erected their Hall.

"That they looked upon the Holy Trinity in place of a Patron Saint is "quite possible as we find so late as 1665 the streamer of the Holy Trinity was "carried by the Company in its processions."

Bro. Gordon Hills in the subsequent discussion at p. 92 says that the earliest formal notice of the Festival of Holy Trinity occurs in England in 1162 under Archbishop Becket.



Letter Book H.: Lists of Masters of Misteries.
The cancelled and final entries for the Masons (Freemasons).



Will of William Hancock, Mason, dated 12 Feb. 1388.

In point of fact that Festival is said to have been originated by Becket. His shrine was in the Chapel of the Holy Trinity at Canterbury.

Seeing that the Fraternity of Masons, London, met at St. Thomas of Acons, which was a building specially associated with Becket it seems not unlikely that the display of the aforesaid Streamers was instituted in honour of Becket the founder of the said Festival. Gervase of Canterbury in his Chronicle printed in the Rolls Series (B.M. 2073 [73]) is authority for the statement that Becket instituted the Feast of the Trinity.

At p. 82 of Bro. Conder's paper (*A.Q.C.* xxvii.) reference is made to the custom of wearing the livery and he quotes authority dating such custom from 21 Edward IV. (1481). Also, at p. 84, "The Masons, however, before "having their Ordinances passed and their right to a Livery accepted, had in "the year 1472 a grant of Arms."

It appears from the Will of the before mentioned Walter Walton, Mason, dated 16th August, 1418, that he bequeathed "to Thomas Poynts mason my livery cloak of my old and free mystery."

It seems therefore clear that the Livery was worn by the Fraternity or mystery as early as 1418 and that the Regulations of 1481 recognised a long existing custom.

The following is a copy (omitting verbiage) of a translation of the Will of the said Walter Walton.

It is taken from the Latin of the Register Marche (fol. 42, p. 332) of Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. The Register is kept in the Probate Registry at Somerset House.

(The original translated extract was made for me by Mr. R. M. Glencross, Trinity College, Cambridge.)

Walter Walton, citizen and mason of London.
Testament dated 16 August 1418, 6 Henry V.
To be buried in the church of St. Andrew of
Barnardes[1]-castell London. To the fabric of
the nave of the said church for my burial there
6s. 8d. To high altar of said Church for
tithes &c. forgotten 4s. On the day of my burial
four torches and two wax tapers to burn round my
body. To every Chaplain at my burial 6d.
To Parish Clerk of said Church 6d. To the new
work of St. Paul 6s. 8d. The 16s. 8d. which
my brother John W. owes me, I leave to the re-
building and sustaining of a certain Chapel called
Lee in co. Glouc. To my wife Joan in name of her
dower, the half of her goods and all hustilments
etc. for chamber and kitchen. To John Oldlond
my prentice at the end of his time one hewing axe
and 6 irens for masonry. For a trental of St.
Gregory in due form 13s. 4d. Immediately after my
death by each order of Friars in London 30 masses.
To each servant of mine 2s.
To the brotherhood [Fraternity] of my art 6s. 8d.
To Ralph Oldlond mason my compass being at Shene.
To Thomas Poynts mason my livery cloak of my old
and free mystery.
To John Croxton mason my best compass.
To Richard Brente my largest compass.
I forgive John Gerard carpenter 6s. 8d. he owes me
and I leave to Joan his wife 6s. 8d.
To John Forester one of my cloaks.
To Walter Gunnyng 40s.

[1] Baynards.

Rest of goods to my executors viz 'my said wife' 'Joan' and Henry Jolypas clerk and to the said Henry 20s. Supervisor Thomas Craddoke clerk and to him 13s. 4d.

Dated at London
Proved 6 Octr. 1418 by Joan relict and executor.
The other executor viz. Henry Jolipas refusing.

The Latin of this Will is given in the Appendix to this paper.

I venture to submit that this Will is very interesting. It contains a bequest of 6s. 8d. to the Fraternity: disposes of his compass; his best compass: and his largest compass as well as the livery cloak of his old and free mystery. Although dated 1418, it is the Will of a man who was actively engaged working as a Mason at St. Thomas of Acons so far back as 1383: a Mason who was, as we have seen, in 1397 appointed Surveyor of all Stonecutters and Masons for the King's works in England.

In Rymer's *Fœdera* vii., 794, a deed is printed dated in 1395 as to the repair of Westminster Hall and as so printed refers to Henri Zeneley (=Yevele) and Watkin Waldon "son Wardein." I have inspected the actual original deed at the Record Office and find the surname is there given as Walton (not *Waldon*, as printed in Rymer). Watkin is a diminutive of Walter. The title of Warden conferred upon him is notable.

By the Will dated 1st October, 1412, of the before mentioned Thomas Cake alias Thomas Malling, Citizen and Cementarius of London (proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Register Marche, fol. 28, p. 217) a legacy of 10s. was given to the fabric of St. Thomas de Acon next the Conduit. Probate was granted by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 25th September, 1413. The Will was also enrolled in the Husting Court, but I think this particular bequest is not in the extracts edited by Dr. Sharpe.

By the Will dated 5th August, 1411, of the before mentioned John Clifford, citizen and cementarius, London, of the Parish of St. Paulinus Olave Southwark, Badulpho Becheford, mason, was a legatee and an Executor.

The Will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 17th September, 1417, and is registered in Register Marche, fol. 38, p. 301.

(These Wills of Thomas Malling and John Clifford are referred to as those persons were mentioned in Letter Book H.)

The Will of John Kent (or John of Kent) dated 23rd June, 1453, was proved in the Commissary Court of London in June, 1453. (Register Sharp, fol. 108.)

He describes himself as "mason of London" and directs that his body is "to be buried wythin that holy place of Seynt Thomas of Akyrs of London."

It would be unwise to rely much upon any inferences drawn from the existence of legacies to the structure of St. Thomas of Acres, or the expression of a desire to be buried in that place. They are, however, part of the circumstances connected with the locality and have some weight as well as interest.

Bishop Hugh Latimer has the following quaint anecdote which may serve to enlighten a somewhat dreary narration. In his Sermons published by the Parker Society the following occurs at p. 201:—

> I had rather ye should come of a naughty mind to hear the word of God for novelty, or for curiosity to hear some pastime, than to be away. I had rather ye should come as the tale is by the gentlewoman of London: one of her neighbours met her in the street, and said, "Mistress whither go ye?" "Marry," said she, "I am going to St. Thomas of Acres to the sermon; I could not sleep all this last night, and I am going now thither: I never fail of a good nap there." And so I had rather ye should go a napping to the sermons, than not to go at all. For with what mind soever ye come, though ye come for an ill purpose, yet peradventure ye may chance

to be caught or ye go; the preacher may chance to catch you on his hook.

Evidently the closing years of the fourteenth century were fruitful years in the development of the Masonic Society, as well as in the general history of England. Geoffrey Chaucer, the great English poet, was active in the period and was writing his Canterbury Tales and so maintaining, or rather recording, the then paramount importance of the cult of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Chaucer himself was London born and for a time was Clerk of the King's Works as appears by the fact that in the Museum of the Record Office in Chancery Lane in a Pedestal is exhibited the following as described on p. 36 of the official catalogue:—

> (3) Bill of Geoffrey Chaucer, Clerk of the King's Works, to the Chancellor, for the issue of a commission under the Great Seal to Hugh Swayn to purvey stone, timber, tiles, shingles, &c. and to take masons, carpenters, and others for the works at Westminster, Sheen, Kennington, Charing Mews, Byfleet, Coldkennington, Clarendon and Hathebergh Lodge; and of similar commissions to three others for the works of the Tower of London, Berkhampstead, Childerne Langley, and Eltham.
>
> (A.D. 1389) *French. Probably Holograph.*
>
> *Signed*:—Par Geffray Chaucer, clerc des oevereines du roy nostre seignur.
>
> *Traces of signet.* (Chancery Warrants I. 1660a No. 26).

The commissions issued by virtue of this warrant are entered on Patent Roll 13. Richard II. part I. membranes 29 and 8, and relate to works at the Palace of Westminster, at Eltham, Berkhamstede, &c., and at the Tower of London. Thus Chaucer had to do with Masons and their work. The Canterbury Tales bear witness to the existence at the time they were published of an atmosphere in which such writings could be created and appreciated.

It might not be too much to say that our ancestors of that period loved a good story teller and showed some considerable inclination towards the encouragement of such authors.

Having regard to the association of fourteenth century Masons with the rebuilding of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acons in Cheapside our attention may for a time be directed to Thomas Becket. He was a Londoner born and the citizens of London were proud of him. We can contemplate them at work on the rebuilding of the Hospital while specially protected from being arrested to do other work.

The various images and windows representing the story of Becket could hardly fail prominently to impress them in a special way even over and above the generality of the people. They could not possibly be ignorant of the accepted versions of the death of Becket, the fact that he was slain in the Temple of Canterbury by blows from three ruffianly knights, that he was hurriedly interred, that there followed a period of confusion and cessation in respect of the services at Canterbury, and that he was afterwards honoured by a magnificent shrine being erected in close proximity to the High Altar of Canterbury. It is true that Becket was no Mason, but if he was not a Mason himself he was the cause of Masonry in others, for as a result of his Martyrdom in 1170 (which was followed by a destructive fire in 1174) the magnificent new building of Canterbury Cathedral came into existence, the funds for its erection and maintenance being forthcoming to a large extent from the offerings made at his shrine. Such a building is still one of the chief glories of the art of Masonry, and in the years when the Becket cult was rife the connection between the two was not avoidable.

We may therefore assume that it will not be irrelevant to place on record in this paper some short account of the death of Becket. The following narrative is confined to the martyrdom in the Cathedral at Canterbury. It would be too

much to bring in the leading events of his life, and the preliminary interview between Becket and the four Knights in the adjacent Palace is also passed over.

THE DEATH OF THOMAS BECKET.

Whatever we may think of the merits of the quarrel between Henry II. and Becket it must be admitted that his stedfastness in the face of threatened death shows an example of fidelity of which our annals hardly afford a more striking instance. He was slain on 29th December, 1170, in Canterbury Cathedral. He was then Archbishop of Canterbury.

He had rendered himself obnoxious to the King and his courtiers by a strict adherence to his obligations as a cleric holding fealty to the Pope of Rome. He refused to speak the word which would revoke a sentence of excommunication upon certain ecclesiastics. He alleged that the co-operation and consent of the Pope was necessary and that he alone could not revoke the sentence.

Four Knights had made this demand of him first in a Palace adjoining the Cathedral. He refused their demand, backed as it was with threats, but at that time the Knights were not armed. They withdrew to arm themselves. Becket then went into the Cathedral where he habitually paid his devotions to the Most High. The time of Vespers had come following after High Noon (or Nones). The Knights having armed themselves with their swords (apparently they also took a carpenter's axe and a hammer with them) followed Becket who himself went to the door of the North transept and opened it. The ruffians then entered and he came boldly forward to them and said he feared them not and was ready to suffer.

They, armed with their weapons, threatened him with death unless he complied with their demand. He however maintained his refusal, and stated the conditions on which alone their demand could be granted.

His answer not proving satisfactory, three of the Knights killed him by three blows on the head, after knocking his cap off. The first actual blow made a gash in the crown of his head but then fell sideways on his left shoulder, being intercepted by the uplifted arm of Grim, who alone had remained to aid his master and whose narrative is extant. The Archbishop received a second blow to the head with the words "Lord into Thy hands I commend my spirit." He stood firm. At a third and more violent blow he fell on his knees and murmuring "for the defence of the Church I am ready to embrace death" dropped face downwards at full length on the floor. One more sword stroke completed the severance of the tonsured crown from the skull.

The four Knights had been accompanied by Hugh of Horsea, a clerk. He, scattering the brains on the pavement, said "Let us begone; this man will rise no more." One of the four Knights struck no blow.

When King Henry II. received news of the death he was deeply moved with grief and consternation and disavowed all connection with the crime.

The ruffians had left the corpse on the pavement where it fell. They threatened to remove the body: to cut it up into small pieces, or to throw it into the sea, or expose it to wild beasts and birds. The monks therefore hurried the burial for fear of these threatened indignities. The corpse was buried the next day hastily and secretly in the crypt in a new marble tomb. No religious service was held and the whole of the Cathedral services were thrown into confusion until after a considerable interval the desecrated Church was formally reconciled and reopened in 1172.

When the Church was reopened in 1172 there was a great rush of pilgrims to the scene of the Martyrdom and to the Tomb. Here Henry II. performed his penance. Many miracles were credited to the power of the Martyr who was canonised by the Pope in 1173 and so became known as St. Thomas the Martyr of Canterbury.

The Church was destroyed by fire in 1174. The Cathedral was rebuilt and a magnificent shrine erected in the East end of the Church behind the High Altar. There in the presence of a vast congregation, including the King

(Henry III.) and all the great men of the land the body was translated from its original burial place to the shrine. The date was the 7th July, 1220, and the day was enrolled amongst the great festivals of the English Church as the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas.

The following illustrative extracts will help to elucidate the subject:—

EXTRACTED FROM LIVES OF EMINENT AND ILLUSTRIOUS ENGLISHMEN. VOLUME I. EDITED BY GEORGE GODFREY CUNNINGHAM. GLASGOW 1836.

Thomas a Becket (pp. 256-8).

The king foresaw that his whole plan of operations was overthrown, and that the dangerous contest between the civil and ecclesiastical powers must come to an immediate and decisive issue. In his indignation, he could not help exclaiming with great warmth, "That he was an unhappy prince, who maintained a number of lazy insignificant persons about him, none of whom had gratitude or spirit enough to revenge him on a single insolent prelate who gave him such disturbance." These words were heard by four gentlemen of the court, Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracy, Richard Britow, and Hugh de Morville, and taking them as a hint, they immediately formed a design against the archibishop's life.

Before leaving France, some expressions which they had dropped gave a suspicion of their design, and the king despatched a messenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing against the person of the primate; but these orders arrived too late to prevent the fatal deed. The four assassins, though they took different roads to England, arrived almost at the same time (29th December, 1170) at Saltwoode, near Canterbury[10]; and being there joined by some assistants, they proceeded in great haste to the archiepiscopal palace and found the primate but very slenderly attended. They told him they came from the king to command him to absolve the bishops under censure. Becket replied that it was not within the authority of an inferior jurisdiction to set aside the sentence of a superior court, and that the pope's censure could not be reversed but by the pope himself. This answer not satisfying them, they charged the monks of Canterbury, in the king's name, to keep the archbishop safe, that he might be forthcoming, and then departed with a menacing air. The same evening they returned to the palace, and leaving a body of soldiers in the court-yard, rushed into the cloister with their swords drawn, and from thence into the church, where the archbishop was at vespers. "Where is the traitor?" they exclaimed, and nobody answering, they asked for the archbishop: upon which Becket moved towards them, without showing the least sign of fear, and told them he was the person. When one of them threatened him with death, he coolly answered he was prepared to die for the cause of God, and in defence of the rights of the church; "but," added he, "if you must have my life, I charge you not to hurt any other person here, either clergy or laity, for none of them have any concern in the late transactions." The assassins immediately laid hands on him, and offered to drag him out of the church, but finding it could not be done without difficulty, they despatched him on the spot. He made no resistance, and though his head was cloven with several wounds, he never gave a groan nor offered to avoid a stroke.[11] He was only in the fifty-third year of his age. One of his attendants, a clergyman belonging to the cathedral, having interposed his arm to ward off a blow, had it nearly cut off. The murderers afraid they had gone too far, durst not return to the king's court in Normandy, but rather chose to withdraw to Knaresborough, to a tower belonging to Hugh de Morville. Here they continued till they found themselves the aversion and contempt of the country, for nobody would hold conversation or eat or drink with them. Justice, we should have thought, would soon have overtaken their crime, but there was no law to inflict capital punishment on any person who had killed a member of the church, the clergy having exempted themselves from the king's jurisdiction. Tired of solitude and public neglect, they took a journey to Rome, and being admitted to penance, they went to Jerusalem, where they spent the remainder of their lives in penitential austerities.

[10] Gervase, 1414.
[11] Gervase, 1414.

The body of Becket, which the assassins had hesitated whether to throw into the sea or cut into small pieces, was buried by the monks and friars in a vault of the cathedral.

The intelligence of the murder threw Henry into the greatest consternation. He was fully sensible of the dangerous consequences which he had reason to apprehend from so unexpected an event, and as it was extremely his interest to clear himself from all suspicion, he took no care to conceal the depth of his affliction. He shut himself up in his chamber, suspended all intercourse with his servants, and even refused, during three days, food or sustenance of any kind. But the point of chief importance was to convince the pope of his innocence, and for this purpose he immediately despatched an embassy to Rome. Alexander was highly incensed at the king, and stimulated to revenge by the letters he received from the partisans of Becket. The king of France wrote to his holiness 'to draw St. Peter's sword against Henry, and to study some new and exemplary justice': others were equally urgent, and moved for an interdict upon his dominions. But the ambassadors found means so far to appease the pontiff, as to avoid the terrible blow of excommunication, having made oath before the whole consistory that their prince was innocent, and that he would stand to the pope's judgment in the affair, and make every submission that should be required of him. Accordingly, on returning to England next year, Henry repaired to Canterbury, where he did penance, and underwent a voluntary discipline in testimony of his regret for the murder. When he came within sight of the cathedral where the body was buried, he alighted from his horse and walked barefoot in the habit of a pilgrim till he came to Becket's tomb, where, after he had prostrated himself and prayed for a considerable time, he submitted to be scourged by the monks, and passed all that day and night kneeling on the bare stones without any refreshment. For nearly a year after Becket's death, all divine offices ceased in the church of Canterbury until it was re-consecrated by order of the pope. In 1173 he was canonized by a papal bull, and a particular collect was appointed to be used in all the churches within the province for expiating the guilt of the murder of that 'blessed martyr and bishop!' In 1221, the body was taken up in presence of Henry III. and a great concourse of the nobility and others, and deposited in a rich shrine on the east side of the church, erected at the expense of Stephen Langton, then archbishop of Canterbury. His shrine was visited from all parts, and enriched with the most costly offerings. Pilgrimages were performed to obtain his intercession with heaven, and in one year it was computed that above 100,000 of these pious devotees visited Canterbury. The miracles said to have been wrought at his tomb were so numerous that Gervase of Canterbury tells us there were two large volumes filled with them kept in that church.

From Becket (under *Thomas* in *Dictionary of National Biography*).

The first blow made a gash in the crown of his head and then fell sideways on his left shoulder being intercepted by the uplifted arm of Grim . . .

He received another blow on the head with the words "Lord into Thy hands I commend my spirit."

At a third he fell on his knees and then turned towards the altar of St. Benedict on his right hand and murmuring "For the name of Jesus and for the defence of the Church I am ready to embrace death," dropped face downwards at full length on the floor.

One more sword stroke completed the severance of the tonsured crown from the skull.

Let us begone cried Hugh of Horsea, scattering the brains on the pavement, this man will rise up no more.

The corpse was buried next day in the crypt without any religious service as none could be held in the desecrated Church till it was formally reconciled.

Becket was canonised 1173.

12th July, 1174, the King did public penance at the Martyr's Tomb.

The Cathedral was burnt down 1174.

When it was rebuilt the body of St. Thomas was translated on 7th July, 1220, to a shrine in the Trinity Chapel behind the High Altar.

Henry VIII. had the Shrine completely obliterated.

Thomas Becket (Makers of National History Series). W. H. Hutton. (1910).

(p. 258.) "I wonder at you who are bound to me" (for FitzUrse, Tracy, and Morville had been his men).

Then they rose angrily to their feet and said "You have spoken on peril of your head."

"Come you to kill me?" he answered. "I have committed my cause to the Judge of all: I am not moved by threats, and as your swords are ready so is my soul for martyrdom. Seek him who flies: I stand firm in the Lord's battle." . . .

He went calmly . . . to vespers in the Cathedral church. He went along the north side of the cloisters, then the east . . . and so by the door of the north transept.

(p. 262.) Grim thus continues: "Then the unconquered martyr seeing the hour at hand which should put an end to this miserable life . . . inclined his neck as one why prays and joining his hands he lifted them up and commended his cause and that of the Church to God, to St. Mary, and to the blessed Martyr Denys. Scarce had he said the words than the wicked knight, fearing lest he should be rescued by the people and escape alive, leapt upon him suddenly and wounded this lamb who was sacrificed to God on the head, cutting off the top of the crown which the sacred unction of the chrism had dedicated to God and by the same blow he wounded the arm of him who tells this. For he, when the others, both monks and clerks, fled, stuck close to the sainted Archbishop and held him in his arms till the one he interposed was almost severed . . . Then he received a second blow on the head but still stood firm. At the third blow he fell on his knees and elbows, offering himself a living victim and saying in a low voice, 'For the name of Jesus and the protection of the Church I am ready to embrace death.' Then the third knight inflicted a terrible wound as he lay, by which the sword was broken against the pavement, and the crown which was large was separated from the head: . . .

The fourth knight prevented any from interfering so that the others might freely perpetrate the murder: As to the fifth (no knight but that clerk who had entered with the knights), that a fifth blow might not be wanting to the martyr who was in other things like unto Christ, put his foot on the neck of the holy priest and precious martyr, and horrible to tell, scattered his brains and blood over the pavement, calling out to the rest, 'Let us away Knights: he will rise no more.'"

(Hutton, p. 276.) After destruction of Becket's shrine September, 1538, of the destruction of the body there seems to be little doubt. The Consistorial Acts of Rome announce the destruction of the shrine and the order that the body should be burnt and the ashes scattered to the winds. Stow in his annals (1558) records that this was done.

The best authority is *Materials for the Life of Archbishop Becket*, in seven volumes (Rolls Series) by James Cragie Robertson, canon of Canterbury, who first wrote the Archbishop's life in 1859. It includes the original narrations given by contemporaries and eyewitnesses. These narrations are in Latin and are the bases of later histories.

The following further quotation from Hutton at p. 54 is interesting in view of the fact that Quatuor Coronati Lodge recognises the two St. Johns by meeting on the 24th June, the day of St. John the Baptist, and (when we can afford it) issuing a St. John's Card on 27th December, the day of St. John the Evangelist. It is not long ago that Masonic Lodges were dedicated to those two Saints who were described as "The two grand parallels in Masonry":—

"Beneath was the crypt containing on the South side an altar dedicated to St. Augustine the Apostle of England, and on the North side the altar of St. John the Baptist. Between these two altars in the crypt S. Thomas was buried the day after his martyrdom and there his body lay until the site of the chapel he had loved best in life was prepared to receive his shrine. The altar stone was prized on which the Saint had said his first Mass and of it an altar was made that was dedicated to S. John the Evangelist." (Hutton quotes from Fr. Morris.)

In Higden's Polychronicon (Rolls Series), Vol. VIII., p. 44, the following lines are recorded concerning Becket:—

Per Christi sponsa: Christi sub tempore: Christi In templo, Christi verus amator obit.

The History of Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury by Revd. Mr. J. Dart, London. Printed and sold by J. Cole engraver at the Crown in Great Kirby Street, Hatton Garden, and J. Hoddle, Engraver. MDCCXXVI.

In the first part of this folio volume there are several sheets of small engravings giving the names and arms (many on a page) of the subscribers to the work. Several of these were Freemasons.

One shield, "Elias Sydall, D.D.," has three gallows shaped squares on the shield.

Other subscribers include: Christopher Wren Esq.
The Most Noble Philip Wharton, Duke of Wharton, etc.
Robert Churchill Mason (Mason may be the name or occupation).
Alexander Chocke Esq.
Mr. Papillon Ball, Merchant in London.
John Woodward, M.D.
His Grace James Duke of Chandos.
Mr. Benjamin Cole, Engraver. (His coat of arms shows a Bull on a shield divided from top to bottom by an indented line).
Mr. Edward Stanton Mason (Query as before).
Mr. Robert Kidwell Mason (Query as before).
Hon. Charles Bertie.
David Papillon Esq. M.P.
Earl of Dalkeith.

Notes from the Book as to Becket.

(p. 10.) Becket "whom they buried obscurely in the Undercroft lest his body as the assassins had threatened should be exposed to wild beasts and birds."

(p. 18.) They went and armed themselves bringing soldiers with them and following him into the Church, whither he was then gone to even song, began to cry out "Where is this rebel, where is this Archbishop?" He was at that time about the 3rd or 4th step going up into the Presbytery or Choir on hearing them he turned back telling them if they sought him he was there. Upon which they fell upon him while he in the meantime was expostulating with Reginald to whom he had done great favours. In short after many wounds he fell down at the foot of St. Bennets' Altar where while recommending the cause of the Church to God, to the Blessed Virgin, to the Patrons of the Church and St. Denys he expired. These inhuman wretches are said to have cut off the corona or top of the skull and stirr'd his brains about and sprinkled them and his blood upon the pavement after which they stripped him of his upper vestments. In this fray was cut off the arm of one of the monks by interposing . . .

The Archbishop thus murthered, his body lay for some time upon the pavement where he fell till when the armed forces were gone the monks carried him and laid him before the high altar, but hearing that those soldiers intended to return and drag his body out of the church and city and give it to the dogs and birds, the Abbot of Boxley and Prior buried him that night in the furthest part of the crypt.

(p. 19.) We shall just speak of the form and manner of the shrine in which he lay.

It was built about a man's height all of stone then upward of timber plain, within which was a chest of iron containing the bones of Thomas Becket skull and all with the wound of his death and the piece cut out of the skull laid in the same wound. The timber work of this shrine on the outside was covered with plates of gold damasked and embossed with wires of gold garnished with broches, images, angels, chains, precious stones, and great orient pearls.

Dart also describes a separate shrine for the severed crown. (He makes reference to Gervase de comb. Eccl. Christi. Cant.)

(p. 29.) Over the South door. The figures of the *three* Murtherers of Archbishop Becket.

Handbooks to Cathedrals of England. Southern Division. 3rd. Impression. London (J. Murray) 1903.

(p. 403.) After a fierce dispute in which the Archbishops language was at least as violent as that of the Knights, Fitzurse roused to frenzy, struck off Becket's cap with his sword. The Archbishop then covered his eyes with his hands and commended himself to God, to St. Denys of France, to St. Alphege, and the other saints of the Church.

Tracy sprang forward and struck more decidedly. Grim, whose arm was still round the Archbishop, threw it up to avert the blow; his arm was nearly severed, and Grim fled to the Altar of St. Benedict close by. The stroke also wounded Becket who after two others, also from Tracy, fell flat on his face before the corner wall. In this position, Richard le Bret crying "Take this for the love of my lord William, the King's brother," struck him so violently, that the scalp or crown was severed from the skull, and the sword snapped in two on the pavement. Hugh of Horsea, the Chaplain of Robert de Broc, who was with the knights, then thrust his sword into the wound, and scattered the brains over the floor. This was the final act. Hugh de Moreville was the only one of the knights who had struck no blow. He had been holding the entrance of the transept. The four knights then rushed from the church through the cloisters, and re-entered the palace which they plundered, carrying off from the stable the horses, on which Becket had always greatly prided himself.

(p. 406.) (The sword worn by Hugh de Moreville was preserved in Carlisle Cathedral and is still to be seen at Brayton-hall in Cumberland.)

The same book depicts the shrine at p. 417 (from the Cottonian MS.)

(p. 416. XXVII.) Some account of the *translation* of the relics of Becket to this part of the Cathedral, of the *shrine itself*, and of its later *history*, may here be given.

On the morning after the murder, the body of the Archbishop for fear of the Knights, who threatened yet further to dishonour it, was hastily buried at the east end of the crypt.

Here it remained after the solemn canonisation by Pope Alexander III. in 1173, and after the fire of 1174, until the new choir and chapels had for some time been completed, and everything was duly prepared for its translation.

This took place on Tuesday July 7, 1220, after two years notice circulated throughout Europe, and before such an assemblage as had never been collected in any part of England before . . .

(p. 419.) The Vigil of the Translation July 6th had always been kept as a solemn fast in the English Church until 1537.

The Colloquies of Erasmus. (Translated by N. Bailey and published in London in 1725.) The Religious Pilgrimage.

(Page 1 in Vol. II. of Edition published by Reeves and Turner 1878.)

(Erasmus thus describes a visit he paid to Becket's shrine at Canterbury in 1512 in company with Dean Colet.)

(p. 26.) In the south Porch of the Church stand three Stone Statutes of Men in Armour, who with wicked hands murdered the holy Man, with the names of their Countries, *Tusci*, *Fusci*, and *Berti*.

Men. Why have such wicked Men so much honour done them?

Ogy. They have the same Honour done to them that is done to *Judas*, *Pilate*, *Caiaphas*, and the Band of wicked Soldiers, whose images you may see carved upon stately Altars: and their names are added: that none after them might arrogate to themselves the Glory of the Fact. They are set there in open Sight to be a Warning to wicked Courtiers, that no one may hereafter presume to lay his Hand on either Bishops or the possessions of the Church. For these three Ruffians ran mad with Horror of the Fact they had committed; nor had they come to themselves again had not holy *Thomas* been implored in Favour of them.

(p. 27, etc.) Here is a full account of the Relics and the Shrine. Among the Relics it is said—"There also is shown you a leaden Plate with this Inscription, Thomas Acrensis."

Copy of Letter to W. J. Williams.

40, Murray Road,
Wimbledon.

Dear Sir, 26.1.28.

The only reference I can find to a Thomas a Becket Miracle Play is on p. 164 of Vol. 2 of Sr. Edmund Chambers' *The Medieval Stage*:—"More interesting is the pageant of St. Thomas the Martyr on December 29 at Canterbury with the Saint on a cart and Knights played by children and an altar and a Device of an angel with a 'leder bag for the blode.'" Even this (some accounts of which are printed on p. 345 of the same volume) seems to have been a pageant in dumb show rather than a proper miracle play, and as there is no other reference to 'Thomas the Martyr,' *i.e.* Becket, in the index, I think you may take it that Chambers knew of no other. It is possible that speaking plays about Becket were not encouraged as raising awkward questions as to the relations of Church and State.

Faithfully yours,
(Signed) A. W. POLLARD.

Letter addressed to W. J. Williams.

Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.
Chapter Library,
The Precincts,
Canterbury.

Dictated. January 30, 1928.

My dear Sir,

Re Darts History, p. 29.

The reference to the three figures of the Murderers of Archbishop Becket is quite correct. The fourth, as he struck no blow, came to be called, the "good murderer," and was not thus held up in stone to the judgment of posterity. The three figures however were removed long ago from the south porch, though the canopy can still be discerned.

In re Miracle Plays.

Miracle plays, as you assume, took place at Canterbury Cathedral, but my research is unable to find any reference to a play dealing with Archbishop Becket's death. Two experts I have consulted have never heard of such a play being performed here.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) SAMUEL BICKERSTETH,
Librarian.

APPENDIX.

(N.B.—All abbreviations have been expanded.)

P.C.C. 42 Marche (f. 332).

Testamentum Walteri Waltone.

In dei Nomine Amen xvj° die mensis Augusti Anno Domini M°CCCC^mo^ xviij°. Ego Walterus Waltone Civis et Mason London' compos mentis et in bona memoria mea existens condo et ordino presens testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis lego et commendo animam meam deo omnipotenti creatori meo beateque Marie Virgini Matri eins et omnibus sanctis suis corpusque meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia sancti Andree de Baynardescastell' London' et lego fabrice naius eiusdem ecclesie pro sepultura mea ibidem habenda vjs. viijd. Item lego summo Altari eiusdem ecclesie pro decimis et oblacionibus meis oblitis et retractis iiijs. Et volo quod habeam die sepulture mee quatuor torcheos et duos Cereos ardentes circa corpus meum et post humacionem meam factum lego predictos duos cereos ad deseruiendos et expendendos in predicta ecclesia tamdiu . . . valeant. Item lego cuilibet Capellano eiusdem ecclesie interessenti ad exequias meas vjd.

Item lego Cuilibet parochiali Clerico eiusdem ecclesie vjd. Item lego novo operi sancti Pauli vjs. viijd. Item lego xvjs. viijd. quos Johannes Walton' frater meus michi debet ad releuacionem et sustentacionem cuiusdam Capelle vocate Lee in Comitatu Gloucestrie. Item lego Johanne vxori mee nomine dotis sue omnium bonorum meorum sibi de me contingentis medietatem omnium bonorum meorum post debita mea persoluta et omnia hustilmenta vtensilia et neecessaria Aule Camere et Coquine mee quouismodo pertinentia tam in Jocalibus quam in omnibus alijs rebus quibuscumque. Item lego Johanne [*sic*] Oldlond apprintic[io] meo ad finem termini apprinticietatis sue vnum Hewyng' Axe et vj Irens pro Masonry. Item lego ad habendum vnum Trentale sancti Gregorij in debita forma celebrandum xiijs. iiijd. Item volo quod habeam statim post decessum meum de quolibet ordine fratrum London' xxx missas Item lego Alicie seruienti mee ijs. Item lego fraternitati artis mee vjs. viijd. Item lego Radulfo Oldlond Mason' meum Compas essens apud Shene. Item lego Thome Perpoynts Mason meum capucium de vetere liberata mistere mee. Item lego Johanni Croxton Mason optimum Compas. Item lego Ricardo Brente meum Maximum Compas. Item pardono Johanni Gerarde Carpenterio vjs. viijd. quos michi debet et lego Johanne vxori eiusdem Johannis Gerarde vjs. viijd. Item . . . Johanni Forest[er] vnam de togis meis ad disposicionem executorum meorum. Item lego Waltero Ermynger xls. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum mobilium vbicumque existencium post debita mea soluta et legata mea perimpleta do et lego integre Executoribus meis ad disponendum pro anima mea secundum eorum discrecionem prout eis melius videbatur deo placere et saluti anime mee proficere. Huius autem testamenti mei meos facio et constituo fideles Executores . . . predictam Johannam vxorem meam et Henricum Jolypas Clericum et lego eidem Henrico pro labore suo circa premissa faciendo xxs. et constituo superuisorem istius testamenti mei Thomam Coaddoke Clericum et lego eidem Thome pro labore suo circa premissa faciendo xiijs. iiijd. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti testamento meo sigillum meum apposui. Datum Londonie die et Anno supradictis etcetera. Probatum fuit hoc testamentum Coram Magistro Johanne Estcourt vj. die Mensis Octobris Anno domini M°cccc°xviij° etcetera. Commissa est administracio cuidam Johanne relicte et executori dicti defuncti etcetera et alter Executor videlicet Henricus Jolipas penitus recusauit et predicta Johanna habet.

By the Will of Henry de Yevele as translated in the London and Middlesex Archæological *Transactions*, vol ii., p. 266, a reversionary interest was given "in aid of the rebuilding of the old aisle where the sick poor lie within the church of the Hospital of Saint Thomas the Martyr of Southwark."

Yevele was the Keeper of London Bridge. A main feature of that Bridge was a Chapel in honour of Becket. By his Will he made a bequest in connection with that Chapel. On page 186 of Westlake's Parish Guilds of Mediæval England (London 1919) particulars are given of a Gild named after St. Thomas the Marytr, which met in that Chapel. That Fraternity was associated with one which met in the neighbouring Church of St. Magnus in which Church Yevele was buried and where his monument stood until the Great Fire destroyed it. The particulars given by Westlake are taken from the Gild returns made in 1399. The same book (Appendix item 465) records a Gild of the Carpenters meeting at St. Thomas of Acon and refers to their Craft statutes which were dated 1st September, 1333, and are printed in *A.Q.C.* xxvii., 8.

A Church at Bristol and numerous other Churches and Fraternities were named after Becket. The Abbey of Arbroath, in Scotland, was founded not long after his death in his honour. So also was another great Abbey in Dublin. The seal of the Archbishop of Canterbury as used for many years depicted his death. So, according to Sir W. Besant, did one of the City of London seals. So also did the Arbroath Seals, as to which see the *Masonic Magazine* for May, 1882, where one of such seals is shown and much interesting information is given as to a local Lodge and their use of a particular seal.

We take our own Q.C. Lodge emblem from the Isabella Missal. The same Missal shows on another page the Martyrdom of Becket. In the British Museum (MS. 17012) is an illuminated Horal presented by Henry VII. to his Queen with a request in his writing for her prayers. This contains a beautiful and highly finished illustration of Becket's martyrdom. Grim is shown with arm uplifted trying to avert the sword stroke which is being given by one of three armed knights. (This drawing shows no trace of the fourth knight.) A telephotograph of the Becket Boss in Exeter Cathedral is at p. 172 of *Bosses and Corbels of Exeter Cathedral*, by E. K. Prideaux and G. R. Holt Shafto (Exeter and London, 1910). This boss is also a remarkable work of art and is said to be "in many respects the most finished and careful work in "the whole nave vault, and its execution was evidently a matter of considerable "importance to which much care and thought were devoted."

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Williams on the proposition of Bro. G. Norman, seconded by Bro. Lionel Vibert; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. J. Heron Lepper, E. H. Dring, J. Walter Hobbs, W. W. Covey-Crump, R. H. Baxter, G. W. Daynes, H. C. de Lafontaine, and G. W. Bullamore.

Bro. G. W. DAYNES *writes*:—

Bro. Williams is, I consider, to be congratulated on his paper upon Mediæval Masonry, and for at least two reasons: first, because he has once more dug up for us a number of very interesting facts concerning operative Masons, and, secondly, because he has pointed out certain suggestive aspects from which some of these facts may be viewed. For even if we cannot go the whole way with him in regard to such suggestions, that does not in any way detract from the value of the facts he has unearthed.

The success that has already attended Bro. Williams' efforts will, I trust, induce him to persevere amongst the Registers of Wills and ascertain for us whether there are any further matters of interest to be gleaned from these ancient testaments of mediæval craftsmen. The Wills cited by him clearly demonstrate how even these very prosaic documents may add substantially to our knowledge, although many might think that this line of research was an unprofitable one.

In the Will of Walter Walton (1418) we have the words "in due form" and "my old and free mystery"; and surely the latter expression should give food for thought to everyone endeavouring to ascertain the exact meaning of the term "Freemason." In the Will of William Hancock (1388) we have the word "Mason" not latinized in any way, although in the Wills of Thomas Cake *alias* Thomas Malling (1412) and John Clifford (1411) the term is "cementarius." It may also be noted that none of the Wills cited by Bro. Williams use the term 'freemason.' Again, the reference to the Livery Cloak shows that even before 1418 the right of the London Company of Masons to a Livery must have been recognized.

Bro. Williams gives two quotations to show that up to 1356 there was in London no "definite governing body for the self regulation of the conduct of members of the Craft." This, however, cannot, I think, be construed as conclusive evidence that there was at that time no body of Masons in London with a definite organization. There are records to testify that London, as well as many other cities and towns, although permitting trade gilds or companies, was very loth to give these organizations the self-governing powers which they all acquired at a later period. The reason why, in 1356, "the Masons of the City of London had not erected a domestic tribunal for the purpose of settling their trade disputes" may have been because, at that date, the City Officials were

still in a position to insist upon all matters in dispute coming before the City Courts, and not because the Craft was but informally organized. The question raised by Bro. Williams involves a consideration of the general development of Craft Gilds; for I believe it will be found that, in London, as elsewhere, those Crafts that had, in the early stages of the Gild movement, erected tribunals for settling their own disputes had done so in spite of the City Authorities, and that, therefore, it was only those Crafts that could by their strength defy the City Authorities that had at that period their own tribunal. In Norwich—a City which modelled itself in many respects upon London—the Authorities had complete control over its Gilds. In Henry III.'s Charter of 1256 it was ordained that no Gild should be "held in the City to the detriment of the City," and we find that at the close of that century Craftsmen are still being fined for having Gilds without licence, although the City gave formal recognition to the Gild system in 1286. Even as late as 1531 it was ordained by the Assembly "that no Gilds of Crafts, fraternities or Companies shall make or assess any manner of fines for any manner of default within themselves, but all such defaults shall be presented unto the Mayor." (*The Records of the City of Norwich*, ii., 114.) Apparently, the Gilds in Norwich had this power to some extent in 1449, but it was thus taken away because of the abuse of that power. Bristol was another City which jealously scrutinized the Ordinances of its Gilds. E. Lipson tells us that "In Bristol as in Norwich the Authorities refused to allow the Gild the right to coercive jurisdiction over its members in matters of trade." (*Economic History of England*, p. 330.)

The Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon was, we are told, the meeting place of Livery Companies from time to time, and we also know that in addition to the Masons Company another Company—the Mercers—were intimately connected with it until its suppression, when that Company purchased the property. Clearly, if more than one Company used the Hospital at which to meet they would have to fix different days for their Annual Assembly. It may even be that the days for these Annual Assemblies were regulated by the City Officials in London, either by the approval of each Craft Ordinance, or by direct Orders. If so, the date of the Annual Assembly of each Craft had nothing to do with the Company itself. In Norwich the Ordinances for Crafts, passed in 1449, provided that "the electiones of wardeynes of craftis of euery crafte in the cite and suburbes thereof" should be at a general assembly of each craft "what day them liketh betwix the first day of Maii and the Monenday nexte after the masse of the Fest of Corporis Christi." This latter date was the second Thursday after Trinity Sunday. In 1543 a new set of Ordinances were made by the City under which certain days were appointed for the several Gilds respectively to keep their Annual Assembly. The day fixed for the "Masons, tylers, lymebrenners and smythes" was the 5th Sunday after Trinity.

In 1481, although the Masons Company of London had by their Ordinances to meet "on the Feast of Holy Trinity or within 10 days of the same," yet they had for some years ceased to meet at the Hospital, having erected a Hall of their own. At that time their Patron Saints appear to have been the Quatuor Coronati, for by the above mentioned Ordinances it was directed "that every freeman of the Craft shall attend at Christchurch on the Feast of Quatuor Coronati to hear Mass under the penalty of 12 pence." Then again the Church they attended was not the Church of St. Thomas of Acre, in Cheapside, but Christchurch, in Aldgate, the Church of the Priory of the Holy Trinity at Aldgate. Unless, therefore, it can be shown that the Annual Assembly of Masons did actually take place on the Feast of Trinity before their association with the Priory of Holy Trinity, it would seem far more likely that the day of the Annual Assembly was fixed by the Masons—if indeed it was fixed by them and not by the City Authorities—on account of this association rather than because St. Thomas of Acre had introduced the Feast of Holy Trinity into England in 1162. If the Masons had wanted to perpetuate the memory of St. Thomas in such a manner, surely they would have selected either the day

of his martyrdom—29th December—or the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas—7th July. Both days would be well-known, and were in the English Calendar until erased by Henry VIII.

Evidence, however, is still wanting that the Annual Assembly of the Masons ever was held on the Feast of Holy Trinity. We are only told that it was to be held on Trinity Sunday or within ten days thereof. But that latitude would enable the Meeting to be held on or near to Corpus Christi Day, the first Thursday after Trinity Sunday, a day which became of far greater importance in the Church than Trinity Sunday. This Festival was made obligatory on the whole Church by a Papal Bull, first promulgated in 1264. In due course it became the principal Feast of the Church. On that day there was the procession of the Sacrament in which the Members of all trade and Craft Gilds took part. At the date of the Ordinances under discussion it was nearly universal for the procession to be followed by the performance of mystery or miracle plays, arranged and acted by the members of such Gilds as had taken part in the earlier pageant. City and Town Records tell of Corpus Christi pageants at Norwich, Ipswich, Beverley, York, Coventry, Hereford, Bristol, and many other places. The popularity of the feast continued until its suppression after the Reformation.

While noting the bequest of legacies by Masons towards the structure of St. Thomas of Acre, and the expression of a desire to be buried in that place, Bro. Williams wisely remarks that it would be unwise to rely much upon any inferences to be drawn therefrom. Whilst meeting at the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acre what would be more likely than that Masons should make such gifts, or express such desire as to burial. One can hardly assume that it was for any esoteric reason. If Bro. Williams would continue his researches amongst the Wills of Masons he might be able to tell us whether the custom above referred to was continued by Masons after they had left the Hospital, and were meeting in their own Hall and attending at Christchurch in Aldgate. On the other hand, it might be found that, from such a period, gifts were being made to the Priory, or for the upkeep of Christchurch.

Bro. Williams refers to a Book upon the History of Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, and gives the names of a few of the subscribers to that work who were Freemasons. Does Bro. Williams suggest that this Book was purchased by these Freemasons because its contents had any esoteric or other special interest for these Brethren? Such a suggestion would seem rather far fetched. Bro. Williams does not tell us how many subscribers there were to this Book, nor how many of them he has traced as being Masons. We cannot, therefore, learn whether the proportion was a substantial one or not. It is more than probable that both the Publishers were Freemasons, and this alone might account for the support received from the Craft. John Cole was probably some relative—perhaps Father—of Benjamin Cole, the Freemason. At this date there seem to have been at least two Engravers of the name of John Cole. (*A.Q.C.* xx., 9.) It would almost look as if the John Cole of the Crown in Great Kirby Street, Hatton Garden, was the same as the John Cole who etched 136 plates for a *History of Canterbury Cathedral and Westminster Abbey*, published in 1727. J. Hoddle, the other Publisher, might well be John Hoddle who was S.W. (1723), and W.M. (1725), of the Lodge at the Greyhound, Fleet Street, in 1723, moved to the Globe Tavern, Fleet Street, by 1725.

I have purposely abstained from commenting upon, or otherwise referring to, the quotations in the paper dealing with the death of Thomas à Becket as I shall not have the opportunity of hearing the interpretations placed upon them by Bro. Williams when giving his paper. I much regret my absence, as I am sure that such additions as Bro. Williams may make to this paper when reading it will be of considerable interest, whether we can accept his interpretations or not.

Bro. J. Heron Lepper *writes*:—

In joining in the congratulations and thanks which Brother Williams will receive for his valuable and erudite paper, I intend to confine my remarks to that portion of it in which, with commendable discretion, he hints that certain faint echoes from mediæval legends of the Saints are still audible to-day in our Masonic ceremonies.

With this suggestion I am in entire agreement, and I offer the extracts that follow by way of further illustration to his argument.

In *The Golden Legend*, a compilation which popularized the lives of the Saints before the year 1255, though additions were made to the main text of Jacobus de Voragine at later periods, we find that the exposure of the corpse after death was looked upon as a very great punishment. (I quote from the French edition by Teodor de Wyzewa, Paris, 1902.)

Thus after Saint Vincent's martyrdom, Dacien "caused the body of the Saint to be exposed in a field, to be devoured there by the beasts and birds of prey" (p. 103). After the murderers of Saint Julienne had been drowned, "their bodies which the sea had cast up on the shore were devoured by beasts and birds of prey" (p. 157). The Prefects who martyred Saints Prime and Felicien ordered that "their bodies should be thrown out as food for the dogs and birds" (p. 287).

I have another instance of the same kind to offer from another source, but, before passing from *The Golden Legend*, will give one other extract showing a connection between the Masons Mystery and Saint Thomas, though it is not the Saint Thomas of Canterbury with which this paper is chiefly concerned:— "While Thomas the Apostle was at Cæsarea the Lord appeared to him and said: 'Gondofer the King of India has sent his provost Abbanes to look for a man skilled in architecture. Come, and I will present you to him' . . . Then as the provost was walking about the Forum the Lord said to him: 'What are you looking for, young man?' Abbanes replied: 'My master has sent me here to engage skilful architects in his service, for he wishes to build for himself a palace in the Roman style.' Then the Lord presented Thomas to him, with the assurance that he was very skilled in the art of architecture" (p. 31).

My next extracts come from *The Gentle Craft* by Thomas Deloney (London 1648, reprint edited by Francis Oscar Mann, Oxford Press, 1912, from which my quotations are taken). This book, compiled by a famous Elizabethan ballad-writer and pamphleteer, has preserved the contemporary traditions of the Brotherhood of Shoemakers. As comparative evidence of moribund Gild customs they will, I think, be found to contain some matter of interest to us even to-day. It will be for every Brother to read between the lines for himself.

Saint Hugh, the patron of shoemakers, was martyred by being made to drink the blood of his beloved, Saint Winifred, mingled with poison in three draughts. "The third being delivered him, he took the cup into his hand, and, looking about, he said: 'Lo here I drink to all the Kind Yeomen of the *Gentle Craft*. I drink to you all (quoth he) but I cannot spare you one drop to pledge me. Had I any good thing to give, you should soon receive it: but my selfe the Tyrant doth take and my flesh is bequeathed to the fowls, so that nothing is left but onely my bones to pleasure you withall; and those, if they will do you any good, take them: and so I humbly take my leave, bidding you all farewell.' Then with the last draught, he finished his life, whose dead carkasse after hanged up where the fowls devoured his flesh . . ." (p. 87). The shoemakers afterwards rescued his bones from the gallows, and carried them away in a bag, from which time their working tools have been known as "Saint Hugh's bones." One of the tests of having been admitted to their Gild was an ability to reckon up the tools in *rhyme*, as follows (p. 89):—

"My friends, I pray you list to me
And mark what *S. Hughes* bones shall be.
First a Drawer and a Dresser, two wedges, a more and a lesser:
A pretty block three inches high, in fashion squared like a Die,
Which shall be called by proper name, a Heel-block, the very same.
A Hand-leather and a Thumb-leather likewise,
to pull out shoo-thread we must devise:
The Needle and the Thimble, shall not be left alone,
The Pincers and the pricking Aule, and the rubbing stone.
The Aule steele and tackes, the Sow-haires beside,
The Stirrop holding fast, while we sowe the Cow-hide,
The whetstone, the stopping-stick, and the paring knife:
All this doth belong to a Journeymans life,
Our Apron is the Shrine, to wrap these bones in:
Thus shrowded we Saint *Hugh* in gentle Lambs skin."

After that we get: "And it shall be concluded, that what journey-man soever he be here after, that cannot handle his sword and buckler, his long sword or a Quarter-staffe, sound the Trumpet, or a play upon the Flute, and bear his part in a three mans Song, and readily reckon up his Tools in Rime: except he have born colours in the field, being a Lieutenant, a Sergeant or Corporall, shall forfeit and pay a pottle of wine, or be counted for a colt."

Deloney later (p. 177 *et seq.*) describes some incidents in the career of a young shoemaker which may be a fictional presentation of what actually did take place in his own day in real life. Two wayfarers meet and enter into conversation:—

"But tell me what pack is that thou bearest at thy back?
Marry they be Saint *Hughes* bones:
Saint *Hughes* bones (quoth Harrie) what is that?
A kind of commodity (said *Tom*) which I cannot misse, for they be my working tooles . . .
Tush (quoth *Tom*) shoomakers will not see one another lacke, for it is our use if wee know of a good fellow that comes to towne, wanting either meat or money, and that he make himselfe knowne, he shall neede to take no further care, for he shall be sure that the jorneyman of that place will not onely give him kinde welcome, but also provide him all things necessary of free cost: And if he be disposed to worke among them, he shall have a Master provided by their meanes, without any sute made by himselfe at all . . .
And coming in this sort to *Gilford*, they were both taken for shoomakers and very hartely welcomed by the jorneymen of that place, especially *Harry*, because they never saw him before: And at their meeting they askt him and [if] he could sing, or sound the Trumpet, or play on the Flute, or recon up his tooles in rime, or manfully handle his pike staffe, or fight with a sword and buckler?
Beleeve me (quoth *Harry*) I can neither sound the Trumpet, nor play on the Flute: and beshroe his nose that made me to recon up my tooles in rime nor in prose.
Tom hearing him say so: told them that he had made him of an old serving man a new shoomaker."

These excerpts may help to bear out what Brother Williams's paper has suggested, that in studying the origin of some of our esoteric ceremonial, we shall do well not to neglect all we can learn about those Saints whose memories were held in high honour by our mediæval Brethren. I would like to thank Brother Williams for a piece of work that has been excellently carried out.

Bro. C. F. Sykes *writes*:—

Brother Williams is to be congratulated on his discovery of the Will of Walter Hancock and the distinctly interesting fact that the Fraternity of Masons in London was founded at the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acres. Is the word 'founded' to be understood in the sense of 'originated,' or in the more restricted sense of 'meeting' or 'then established'? The first interpretation would imply that the Fraternity came into being after the building of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acres: the latter interpretation does not preclude the existence of a Fraternity of Masons in London before the latter part of the reign of Henry II.

The circumstances which Brother Williams quotes relating to 1298 and 1356 indicate that there was no self governing Craft body at those times, but there had been immense building activities throughout the realm long prior to these dates, and it does not seem improbable that future research may yet disclose a Craft governing body of an earlier date than that meeting at St. Thomas of Acres.

It is worth noting with respect to the life of Thomas à Becket that he is said to have been baptised in St. Mary Colechurch, which stood at the South-West corner of Old Jewry, the site adjoining the East end of Mercers' Hall and Chapel, and thus the parish in which his father resided.

Later in the twelfth century, Peter, the Chaplain of this Church, was the architect of Old London Bridge, commenced 1176 and completed 1209. At the centre pier of the Bridge a Chapel dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury was erected, styled in the *Liber Custumorum* i., 228, "Capella beati Thomae Martyris super Pontem." It was a beautiful little structure, singular among bridge chapels, inasmuch as it was not built *on* but *into the* pier, for it possessed a crypt constructed in the body of the pier. The crypt was paved with black and white marble. Becket was thus directly associated with Old London Bridge, one of the architectural glories of Old London.

St. Thomas's Hospital, Southwark, sometimes styled Becket's Hospital, originated soon after the building of the Chapel on the Bridge.

The construction and dedication of these buildings so soon after Becket's death was an expression of the deep veneration in which Londoners held their fellow citizen. He was considered their own special saint, and Roger of Wendover tells us how, when the fleet of Richard I. was on a voyage to Lisbon in 1190 and in danger of wreck, St. Thomas of Canterbury appeared to three different persons on the Londoners' ship to give them comfort, as though the citizens of London were to be regarded as especially under his protection.

Bro. G. W. Bullamore *writes*:—

The association of a Fraternity of Masons with St. Thomas à Becket would be of great interest. But there seems no evidence that St. Thomas was the Patron Saint of the Fraternity. There were more Fraternities than Churches, and the former were often associated with a shrine within the Church. The underlying reason for the connection, therefore, might have been that the Masons, like the Old Charges, invoked the Trinity and found a suitable shrine at St. Thomas of Acres.

The reconciliation of 1298 does not show that the Fraternity had no control over its members, but that the dispute was tactfully terminated without the humiliation of either of these Masters of the Craft.

I do not think it correct to look upon the Fraternity of Masons as the Mistery of Masons. A Fraternity was a religious body which often acted as a Sick Benefit Society and as a Co-operative Chantry. The Mistery was the Craft and might contain more than one Fraternity or Fellowship. To be of the Mistery was to be of that Craft; to be of the Fraternity had less significance. The

Trade Fraternities could, and did, accept members of no Mistery and of other Misteries. The limits of the Mistery might alter, and the Old Charges suggest that at one period the Mistery of hewing or stone preparation was apart from the Craft or Mistery of laying. Included in the Mistery of the hewers would be the master men who made the effigies in incised slabs of the period. When the rank and file of the hewers and layers were brought under joint control in 1356 as of one Mistery, the sculptors would continue to be free. I look upon this branch of the hewers or Masons as the Guild which, as Free Masons, sent two representatives to the Common Council in 1376-7. As master hewers with partial control of the new Mistery of Masons the same representatives acted with two others for these Masons. At a later date the sculptors had their own Coat of Arms, which suggests that they became firmly established as a separate Craft or Mistery. Their identity was afterwards lost in the Company or Mistery of Freemasons which superseded or evolved from the Masons Company *circa* 1536.

Bro. E. W. Marson *writes*:—

Bro. Williams mentions the Will of a 'cementarius' of the Parish of St. Paulinus Olave Southwark. Is it a coincidence that the St. Thomas's Hospital, now in Lambeth, originated in connection with the Priory of St. Mary Overy (the Church there being the present Southwark Cathedral)? In a little book entitled *The Story of Southwark Cathedral*, by the Rev. T. P. Stevens (Succentor and Sacrist of the Cathedral), we are told that this Hospital was dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury in 1228 A.D., and was known "throughout the Middle Ages as Becket's Spyttell." The Author of this book goes on to say that "the Priory was suppressed in 1540, and the Master, Brethren and Sisters turned adrift." And further that "when Henry VIII. suppressed the institution, he promised to refound it as the Hospital of the Holy Trinity." But Henry failed to keep his word, and it was not until the reign of Edward VI. (the date was 1552) that the Hospital was re-opened, still under the name of St. Thomas's, but not the same St. Thomas, Reformation fervour causing the person of the Saint to be changed to St. Thomas the Apostle. The Hospital was moved in 1862 to Walworth, and in 1871 to its present site. The significant coincidences (if coincidences they are) are the associations of the names of St. Thomas and Holy Trinity. Mr. Stevens also states that "the Chapter House of Southwark Cathedral, in St. Thomas's Street, was originally a parish church dedicated to St. Thomas." It will be remembered that Bro. Williams quotes from a document in the name of Chaucer; and it will also be recollected that Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrims started from Southwark, after hearing Mass in the Church there.

Bro. Cart de Lafontaine *writes*:—

Bro. Williams certainly contributes a very interesting paper, full of information and thoroughly mediæval in flavour.

What I especially value in the paper is the enthusiasm he puts into this and any subject which attracts his attention, and I think the line of reasoning he has evolved from the discovery of a Will (the Will specially mentioned in the commencement of his paper) is most ingenious and painstaking. It also has a certain value with regard to the early history of Operative Masonry.

Bro. Songhurst is mentioned as making a request—he wants to know why Masons are associated with St. Thomas of Acres. I hope Bro. Williams's array of facts will provide a partial, but perhaps not convincing, answer. There is an allusion made to St. Thomas the Apostle and to the fact of his being depicted as holding a square. The reason for his holding a square may be

found by reference to Mrs. Jameson's works, where, under the heading of St. Thomas the Apostle, a very interesting legend is recounted. I had thought of transcribing the same, but it really does not belong to the subject now before us, though it has a direct bearing on Masonry in the original acceptance of that term.

And now some few references to passages quoted by Bro. Williams from Mr. Watney's book. On p. 46 reference is made to the Will of William Weste. The whole intent of the same would be made clearer by fuller quotation, as, for instance: "William Weste bequeathed to Friar John Neel, master of the hospital, and the brethren of the same, a tenement in Bowyer Rowe, so that they prayed for the souls of the said John Neel, after his death, of William and Lucy, his parents, and of Cristina Neel and others." This straightens out the somewhat confused statement in the paper.

In the reference to pp. 94 and 95, it should, I think, have been made clear that the King himself granted the licence.

The allusion to the destruction of the new picture of St. Thomas, mentioned in Wriothesly's Chronicle, leads to a confusion of ideas. It was the image, and not the picture, that was mutilated. "The image of S. Thomas, which stood over the great gate of the hospital, was taken down by order of secretary Cromwell, and a maidenhead of stone was set up in its place. In 1553 the image of S. Thomas, which had been taken down in 1538, was again set up by order of the Company." Wriothesley, under date January 9th, 1559, says that the image was that day found broken, and cast down; and an Italian, writing to the Castellan of Mantua on January 23rd, says that the statue was stoned, beheaded, and thrown down entirely, and the stucco statue of a little girl placed in its stead. This must be the "maidenhead" to which allusion has just been made.

I notice that in an earlier part of the paper we have the words "not the Apostle, but St. Thomas of Acres." However correct the latter denomination may be, when applied to an ecclesiastical foundation, it is certainly not right, and it never can be right, to speak of St. Thomas à Becket as St. Thomas of Acres.

As I am away (and I must express to Bro. Williams my regret at not being able to hear him read his paper) I have no books or documents with me which enable me to make any further remarks. I think a subject of great interest has been opened up to us, and I consider that the writer of the paper deserves our thanks for the erudition displayed.

Bro. R. H. Baxter *writes*:—

Our Brother W. J. Williams is certainly to be congratulated heartily on his indefatigable researches into all sorts of out of the way subjects, which from time to time have added interesting facts to our stock of knowledge.

His latest discovery of particulars of the Will of Walter Hancock, Mason, has afforded him the opportunity of presenting to the Lodge a most suggestive paper which cannot fail to evoke expressions of appreciation.

True, it is so successfully camouflaged—even in the title—as to conceal much of the argument, and still in its printed form it makes us rub our eyes with astonishment. It is probable that much may be said in open Lodge, which it would not be prudent to print, that may carry conviction to those who have the privilege of being present—a pleasure I am unfortunately denied—but, so far, I have to regret inability, in the lack of something more substantial, to accept the ingenious hypothesis of our Author.

That the circumstances surrounding the death of Becket had no connection whatever with anything Masonic could be got over by a naive suggestion that some confusion had arisen between St. Thomas the Apostle, a Patron Saint of Masonry, and St. Thomas of Canterbury, which is not impossible. But I have

heard so many other explanations of a possible origin of the source of a certain ceremony that I hope I may not be unduly accused of being a third Thomas—and a doubting one at that.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS *writes*, in reply:—

I am indebted to the Brethren who have favoured me with comments on this essay of mine. It is consoling to find that in no single particular does any of them question the accuracy of my allegations of fact or of the quotations made by me. This does not mean that every Brother deduced the same result from the facts.

I much regret that Bro. Dring and Bro. Hobbs, who contributed to the discussion in Lodge, are no longer with us. Bro. Heron Lepper has presented us with some interesting sidelights on the topics under consideration. Bro. de Lafontaine extends the quotation made by me as to the Will of William Weste. I do not see any confusion in my quotation, but if there is any it is now "straightened out" by his welcome aid.

The letters patent granted in the time of Henry VIII. were, as our Brother states, granted by the King. Such letters patent always emanated from the Sovereign, so far as I am aware.

I quote Wriothesly correctly as in Watney's book. "Picture" did not in those days mean a drawing or painting merely, but included a sculptured image as depicting its subject.

Bro. de Lafontaine says that it never can be right to speak of St. Thomas à Becket as St. Thomas of Acres. If so, why was the Order meeting there known as *Militiae Hospitalis S. Thomas Martyris Cantuariensis de Acon*, as in my quotation from Dugdale; and why was the leaden plate (shown as a relic at Canterbury and referred to by Erasmus) inscribed "Thomas Acrensis"?

The fact is that it was the custom in those days to commemorate any deliverance given, or thought to be given, in answer to prayers offered to a Saint or in connection with a particular place, or in connection with any manifestation of saintly power, by adding to the name of the Saint the name of the place concerned. So we have such titles as Our Lady of Walsingham, Our Lady of Lourdes, St. James of Compostella, and many other such instances. The origin of the addition appears to be that St. Thomas the Martyr was called upon for help when the Knights were in danger at Acre, and deeming their prayers answered they gratefully recorded the fact in the customary way. This, however, is merely an incidental point, and I gratefully recognise the appreciative and corrective remarks in Bro. de Lafontaine's contribution.

If I pass over certain observations in that and other contributions to the discussion I do so because they might lead me into realms where caution is imperative.

Bro. Daynes draws certain interesting inferences from the facts it has been my good fortune to discover.

It is an interesting fact that, although I have discovered the Wills of more than twenty-eight Masons in and between the years 1388 to 1457, not one of them calls himself a Freemason. The earliest Will known to me in which the Testator is called Freemason is that of Hugh Wortley, Citizen and Freemason of St. Mary at Hill, proved in the Commissary Court of London 20th October 1456. After that date, in London Wills, the description of 'Freemason' for many years is used to the exclusion of the words 'Mason,' 'latomus' or 'cementarius.'

Lists of Wills beyond those already printed have been prepared by me and will in due course be recorded in *A.Q.C.*

Bro. Daynes raises the very important and interesting question as to Craft Gilds. I have seen no evidence in London of a conflict between the City Authorities and the Craft Gilds. The Carpenters had their Gild Craft statutes

going back to 1333 (see *A.Q.C.*, xxvii., 8). These were among the Gild returns made in 1389, and several other Craft Gilds made similar returns, as may be seen in the Appendix to Westlake's book. It would seem that the Masons of London, knowing of the Carpenters' statutes made in 1333, and realizing in 1356 that they lacked similar statutes, made their petition to the City Authorities to be placed on a similar footing to that and other Trade Gilds.

There are many other tempting passages in Bro. Daynes's contributions on which I must refrain from commenting. It is a singular fact that, although in the Regius Poem the Quatuor Coronati are prominent, and although later on the Masons Company observed the Feast of the Quatuor Coronati, there is not a single reference made in any one of the Old Charges to those Saints, but in lieu thereof another person is substituted whose name is spelled with a delightful, but perplexing and perhaps significant want of uniformity.

As to Dart's book on Canterbury, I have made no suggestion that any esoteric interest prompted the Brethren to subscribe to that work. That book was not the only one issued in the early years of Grand Lodge and dealing with Architectural subjects, as to which the Author or his publishers very properly touted for subscribers amongst the gentlemen and others who were then Freemasons.

Bro. Bullamore's notes also open questions which must be considered by the Brethren without lengthy comment by me. I must not be regarded as assenting to all his propositions or allegations. The fact remains that the two men whose names were put down in the 1376 list as Freemasons had their names and title struck out because they were grouped together in the same list with two others as Masons. The Marblers undoubtedly had their own organization and their own special work distinct from the Masons until they were at their own request incorporated with the Masons in the year 1585. But further particulars of this must, so far as I am concerned, await a paper I hope to prepare before very long by way of supplement to Bro. Conder's invaluable book and articles in *A.Q.C.* on the Masons Company.

My thanks are due to Bro. Sykes for his interesting additions to my paper.

It has been very delightful to me that the discovery of the Will of Hancock and of the existence in 1388 of the Fraternity of Masons, London, has led me to the writing of a paper which has aroused so much interest among my Brethren.

By the indulgence of the Brethren I was able to deliver another address on the same evening in the Lodge, and this also came in for an adequate amount of appreciation and criticism. As the subjects dealt with in that address had to do with matters of ritual, our obligations rightly prevent the publication either of the address or the comments thereon.

In conclusion, I must heartily thank Brothers Songhurst, Vibert, Lepper and Tuckett for their helpful suggestions and advice during the preparation and after the delivery of my venturous contribution to these *Transactions*. This in no sense indicates that they adopt all my inferences, but my readers will perceive that inferences have for the most part been left entirely to themselves and that I have contented myself with the presentation of facts and documents.

ENGRAVINGS OF THE PORTRAIT OF ANTHONY SAYER.

IT is generally understood that there are two versions of the famous portrait of Anthony Sayer by Highmore, an engraving with letters "L. Highmore pinxit. Faber fecit," and the title "Anthony Sayer, Gent^{n}. GRAND MASTER of the MASONS"; and another engraving with the same lettering and title but with the addition "Published by W. Richardson Antient and Modern Print Warehouse 174 Strand." To this there is no date but the engraving was catalogued by Richardson in 1791. In his *Catalogue*, which was published in 1793, Bromley dates the Highmore and Faber print 1750, and he probably had good authority for so doing.

But these are two different engravings; it is not the case that Richardson simply re-issued the engraving of 1750 with additional letterpress. The letterpress is quite clearly from a different plate. The tail of the y in *Anthony*, which in 1750 only reaches to the h, in 1790 comes up to the A. In 1790 the tail of the f of *of* curls up to the T in MASTER, in a continuous curve; in 1750 it stops abruptly and there is a separate flourish under MASTER. The words *Faber fecit* are closer up to the actual engraved surface in 1750. These differences alone are sufficient to indicate a re-engraving of the whole plate rather than a re-issue. But in the engraving itself there are also minute differences discernible in the position of the eyes and thumb, and in the shading of the buttons.

But the two engravings agree in showing the apron. Its flap is up, and is under the hand, and it is also visible below the hand and sleeve. Its form is, of course, of considerable interest as it shows us what was being worn in 1750 or earlier.

That the portrait is that of Anthony Sayer himself can hardly be doubted. He died in 1742 in very poor circumstances; but by 1750, if not earlier, it may well have been the case that Highmore, a Grand Lodge Officer, was commissioned to paint the portrait of the first Grand Master, and we know that this artist was specially remarkable for his ability to paint portraits from memory. Faber also was a Mason, being Grand Steward in 1739/40. He died in 1756, and Highmore retired from the practice of his profession in 1761. In 1750, at all events, it would not have been possible to pass off on the Craft, as a portrait of Sayer, anything that was not a recognisable likeness.

But the District Grand Lodge of the Punjab possesses, in its Library at Lahore, an engraving of which, through the courtesy of the District G. Secretary, W. Bro. G. Reeves-Brown, I am enabled to give a reproduction. It is cut off at the foot so that it cannot be determined if it is or is not a proof before letters. But, except for one important detail, it corresponds in every particular with the 1750 engraving and not with that of 1790. That detail, as will at once be noticed, is that there is no apron. We have here, to all appearance, a hitherto unrecorded state of this engraving, presumably a proof before letters, to which, with the lettering, the apron was also added before publication by Faber. This indicates that in Highmore's painting, now lost, there was no apron. Even so, it can hardly be the case that Faber took some painting by Highmore, touched

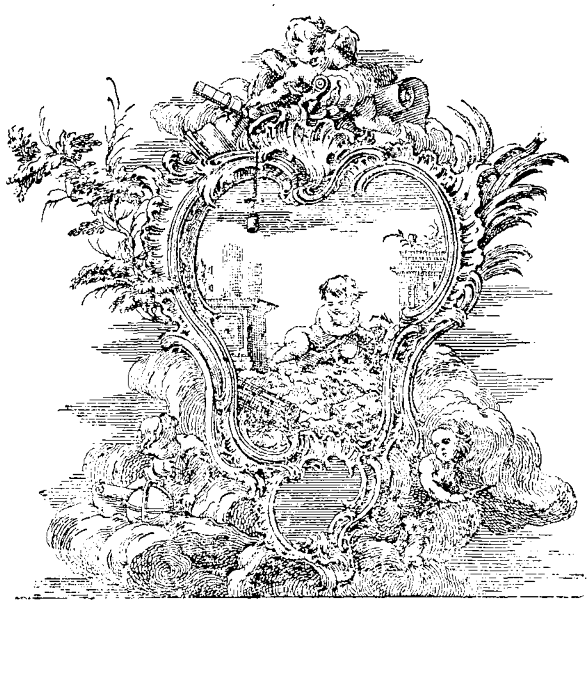


Engraved Portrait of Anthony Sayer,
in the possession of
the District Grand Lodge of the Punjab.

it up, and issued it as a portrait of Sayer, adding in the title on his own responsibility. Highmore was still there and was a prominent painter and Freemason. What appears to have happened was that he painted Sayer's portrait, at some period between 1742 and 1750, no doubt, and that after Faber had engraved the plate and taken proofs before letters it was decided to add in the apron, which the engraver did skilfully enough.

In all probability the District Grand Lodge owes this and several other Masonic treasures that it possesses to the late Bro. Whymper. It can hardly be the case that no other copy of this engraving is extant, but certainly none seems hitherto to have been reported: at all events, none has been referred to in which the all-important apron is wanting.

L.V.



A MASONIC FOUNDATION STONE AT THE BANK OF ENGLAND.

IN the March, 1929, Number of *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street* (vol. v., No. 33), at page 8, there is an exceedingly interesting article by Mr. W. Marston Acres concerning a foundation stone that has been discovered during the alterations now being carried out at the Bank of England. From that article the following may be quoted:—

> In the course of the excavations on the site of the Pay Hall there was brought to light, on the 28th November last, a relic of more than usual interest, the existence of which was quite unsuspected. Beneath the circular base of the most easterly pier in the front elevation of the Hall a block of stone was discovered inscribed:—
>
> Mr. THOMAS DUNN } MASONS
> Mr. JOHN TOWNSEND }
> ANNO MASONRY 5732
> Ld. MONTACUTE G. MASTER
> V
>
> the stone being so placed that the arrow-head pointed eastward. The measurements of the stone are 4ft. 4ins. by 3ft. 9ins. by 1ft. 9ins.
>
> Messrs. Dunn and Townsend were the contractors for the first buildings of the Bank, which were erected on the site of Sir John Houblon's house and garden between 1732 and 1734 from the designs of George Sampson. The decision to build an office for the Bank was made at a meeting of the General Court of Proprietors held on the 20th January 1732, and on the 24th February following, the Committee for Building reported to the Court of Directors: "That they had agreed with Messrs. Thomas Dunn and Co. to undertake the whole work of building a New Publick Office for the Bank for £13,153 7s. 9d., and the Undertakers to have the benefit of the old materials: but that the Bank are to be at the charge of piling and planking the Foundation." This "piling and planking" was necessary in consequence of the marshy nature of the soil, due to the proximity of the Walbrook, and Maitland, in his "History of London," states that "when the foundations of the principal front were laid, oyster shells were dug up in a moorish soil at a depth of 30 feet."
>
> It is improbable that the laying of this stone was attended by any public ceremony: indeed, it is likely that the contractors for the building placed it in position without the knowledge of the Bank authorities. Perhaps they resented the omission of their names from the stone which was laid by the Governor, Sir Edward Bellamy, on the 3rd August 1732, and so determined to have another stone prepared to perpetuate their association with the building.



Inscription on Stone forming the base of a column at the Bank of England.

By the courtesy of the photographers, Humphrey and Vera Joel, of Radlett, the Editor of the Bankers' Magazine, and Messrs. Waterlow & Sons, Ltd.

Interesting as this discovery is, some disappointment must be felt at the failure to bring to light the original "foundation stone" which was generally supposed to lie beneath one of the columns of the Hall. A newspaper of 1732 records that on Thursday, the 3rd August,

> About one o'clock the Governor, Sub-Governor and several of the Directors of the Bank, came to their new Building in Threadneedle Street to see the first stone laid: and after they had viewed the stone, on which His Majesty's and their several names were engrav'd, the same was cover'd with a Plate of Lead, and that with the Base of a Pillar. They then gave 20 Guineas to be distributed among the workmen,

and the event is mentioned in other journals. As the greatest care has been taken during the excavations to prevent the destruction of anything of interest, it must be surmised that the "foundation stone" was placed beneath one of the pillars of the facade in Threadneedle Street, and as these pillars are not to be removed during the re-building any hope of finding the stone must be abandoned.

The Bankers', Insurance Managers' and Agents' Magazine for March, 1929 (vol. cxxvii.), at page 380, also has a short article upon this interesting discovery, but does not give the same detail as is to be found in the article just quoted. The writer, however, points out that the date on the stone is at variance with the dedication upon a statue of William III. which is or was at the Bank of England. In Dodsley's *Guide to London* in 1761 there is a description of the old Bank Hall, adorned with a statue of William III., with a translation of part of the Latin dedication, which states that the statue was erected "In the year of our Lord MDCCXXXIV., And the first year of this Building."

As is well known, the Right Honourable Anthony Browne, Lord Viscount Montague, was installed as Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England, at a Meeting of Grand Lodge held at Merchant Taylors Hall on Wednesday, 19th April, 1732, and remained in that high Office until his successor was installed, by proxy, on the 7th June, 1733.

An interesting speculation arises upon this part of the inscription upon the stone. The Grand Master's name is inscribed upon the stone as 'Montacute,' whereas Grand Lodge Records refer to him as 'Mountague' and Anderson, in his *Constitutions* of 1738, calls him 'Montagu.' Actually, the Grand Master signed his name as 'Montague G.Mr.' We have it thus on the Deputation to Constitute the St. John the Baptist's Lodge at Exeter. I cannot find the name as 'Montacute' until the publication of Scott's *Pocket Companion* in 1754. It also appears thus in the *Constitutions* of 1756, as well as in the next, or fourth, Edition. R. F. Gould, in his *History of Freemasonry*, mentions the spelling 'Montacute' as a mistake of J. Entick. If this is correct, how is it that we have the same error occurring in the inscription upon the stone? In an Edition of Debrett, published in the early years of the nineteenth century, I find amongst the extinct English Peerages the two following:—

> "Montacute, 1. Montacute. 1361.
> Montague, v. Browne. 1800."

The latter one is obviously the Peerage in question, but was apparently confused by some with the earlier one.

With regard to the other two names a search through the three MS. Lists of Grand Lodge reveals "Mr. Thos. Dunn" and "Mr. John Townsend" as members of the Lodge meeting at the Ship behind the Royal Exchange at the time that the 1731 MS. List was prepared. This List shows the Lodge as having forty members at that date. All the members have the prefix "Mr." excepting one, John Dean, who is styled "Esqr." There is little doubt that

the two Brethren above mentioned are the same as those whose names are inscribed upon the stone: they both belonged to the same Lodge and the names do not occur anywhere else in any of the MS. Lists. It is doubtful whether these two Brethren could have been termed Operative Masons in 1732, but there is every probability that originally they had been. However, if the stone had any Masonic significance, then we have yet another piece of evidence showing that in 1732 there was a sufficiently close connection between the Mason's Craft and the Society of Free and Accepted Masons of England to induce these Masonic Contractors (both Members of a Lodge of Freemasons) to add the name of the Grand Master of the latter Society to the inscription of their own names. If, as has been suggested, the stone was placed there in consequence of any resentment on the part of these contractors, I suggest that the resentment was not because their names had been omitted from the Foundation stone laid by Sir Edward Bellamy, on the 3rd August, 1732, but because the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England had not been asked to perform the ceremony. In this connection I may mention that I cannot find the names of either the Architect, George Sampson, or the Governor of the Bank, Sir Edward Bellamy, in any of the three Grand Lodge MS. Lists.

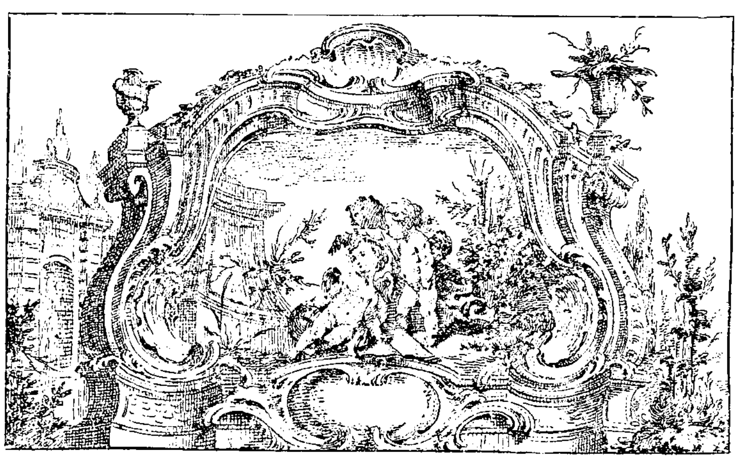
The *London Magazine* (which is the paper referred to in the article quoted above from *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*), has an obituary notice of Mr. John Townsend in its Monthly Chronologer for April, 1742 (p. 205), which runs:—

> Mr. John Townsend, Mason, one of the Common Council men for Castle-Baynard Ward, and Brother to the late Mr. Townsend of Oxford, well known for his many noble structures in that place.

But nothing further seems to be known of this Brother, and of Mr. Thos. Dunn so far no particulars have been ascertained.

It would be most interesting if any further information could be gleaned as to these two Masons, or as to the reason for the stone and its inscription. In the meantime, I think that the facts above set out are of sufficient interest to find a place in our *Transactions*.

Gilbert W. Daynes.



THE PRESTONIAN LECTURE, 1927.

BROTHER WILLIAM PRESTON: AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE MAN, HIS METHODS AND HIS WORK.

BY BRO. GORDON P. G. HILLS,
P.M. Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076; P.A.G.Supt. Works.,
Librarian to Grand Lodge.

LET me preface my address by an Illustration of Brother Preston's character:—

At the most hopeless hour of his Masonic career, then, as a consequence of his championship of the immemorial rights of the Lodge of Antiquity, Brother Preston had been expelled by Grand Lodge, yet all the same he wrote:—

> "To the institution of Masonry, I shall ever bear a warm and unfeigned attachment; I know its value, and I am convinced of its utility. To the Society of Free Masons I profess myself a true and stedfast friend."

Ten years later came a reinstatement equally honourable to all parties concerned, and when at last after many more years happily devoted to the service of the Craft that useful life was closed, it was found that Brother Preston had left handsome legacies as pledges of his lasting attachment to the institution, including the foundation of the Prestonian Lectureship, in perpetuation of which I have the honour to address you this evening.

So Brethren I now claim your attention whilst I endeavour to outline, within the limits of a lecture, what the personality of Brother William Preston means for the Craft by an attempt to illustrate the Man, his Methods, and his Work.

Our chief sources of information are Brother Preston's own writings, and the biographical notes of that sincere friend and admirer, Brother Stephen Jones, from both of which sources I shall quote at length.

We have besides much information made readily accessible in two handsome volumes of history of the Lodge of Antiquity, in which Brother Capt. Firebrace has furnished a worthy sequel to Brother Rylands' labours. To researches bearing on the subject by Brothers Hextall and Wonnacott, both now lost to us as all Masonic Students must deplore, I feel special obligation. To Brother Songhurst, whose ever ready help enabled me to borrow so many and rare volumes from our Quatuor Coronati Library, and to my collegue Brother Makins, who so readily helped me to the treasures of the Grand Lodge Library, I am also much indebted and grateful thanks must be offered.

William Preston was born at Edinburgh on July 20th, 1742 (O.S.), the second son and only surviving child of William Preston, Writer to the Signet, in practice in that City. The father, blessed with the advantage of a liberal

education, a good Greek and Latin scholar, and credited by his friends with some poetical facility, had attained a recognized position in his profession. As one might expect, special care was devoted to the education of the son. We are told that "in order to improve his memory (a faculty which has been of infinite advantage to him through life) the boy was taught when only in his fourth year, some lines of Anacreon in the original Greek, which he was encouraged to recite for the amusement of his father's friends, when the novelty of this performance was enhanced by the fact that it did not imply that the young genius understood what with wonderful accuracy he uttered."

At the early age of six young Preston is said to have made such progress in his English education as enabled him to be entered at the Edinburgh High School, where he made considerable progress in the Latin tongue. Thence he proceeded to College and was taught the rudiments of Greek.

Whilst at the University his studious habits and aptitude attracted the attention of Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, then looked upon as Scotland's representative scholar, who owing to blindness needed an assistant in his work, and he left College to take up the duties of an amanuensis to this gentleman, to whose guardianship he was consigned on the death of his father in 1751. The loss of considerable property in Edinburgh through the mismanagement of Trustees, and becoming involved in difficulties through his attachment to friends who had espoused the Stuart Cause in 1745, brought about reverses of fortune and ill-health which led to the death of the elder William Preston. Ruddiman, too, had similar political leanings, but he satisfactorily weathered the stress of that crisis.

Young Preston was apprenticed to his patron's brother, Walter Ruddiman, partner in their printing firm in Edinburgh, but spent the greater part of his term of articles in assisting Mr. Thomas Ruddiman. This was a great advantage and extension of his educational opportunities, as he was employed in reading to the blind scholar, transcribing works not yet complete and correcting those in the press. These occupations prevented him from making great proficiency in the practical branch of his calling, but after Mr. Ruddiman's death he went into the office and worked as a compositor for about twelve months, during which time he finished a neat Latin edition of Thomas à Kempis (in 18mo), and an edition of Ruddiman's standard work, the "Rudiments of the Latin Tongue," whilst his literary abilities were further exhibited in a catalogue which he prepared of his friend's library under the title "Bibliotheca Romana."

Thus equipped by birth and education William Preston proceeded to London in 1760 furnished with letters of recommendation and introduction from his master and other friends to those who would be likely to help him to start a career in the Southern Metropolis. Here good fortune attended him, for on presenting his credentials to his compatriot Mr. William Strahan, the King's Printer, he promptly found employment in that printing firm, a connection maintained to the end of his life. Dr. Johnson, who maintained a cordial friendship with Strahan, said that his was the best printing house in London.

A biographical note in the *Freemason's Magazine*, March, 1795, refers to him thus:—

> "The uninterrupted health and happiness which accompanied him for half a century in the capital, proves honesty to be the best policy, temperance the greatest luxury, and the essential duties of life its most agreeable amusement."

Soon after Preston's arrival in London, a number of Masonic Brethren from Edinburgh desired to found a Lodge under a Constitution from the Grand Lodge of Scotland. They were informed that this could not be done, as it would be an infringement of the rights of the English Grand Lodge, but the petitioners were referred to the Antients' Grand Lodge in London. This body granted the Brethren a dispensation to meet as a Lodge, and William Preston was their second initiate, probably at a Meeting on April 20th, 1763, held at the White Hart in the Strand, when the Lodge was formally constituted by the Grand

Officers and became No. 111 on the roll of the Antients. Brother Preston and some other members, dissatisfied with the status of their governing body, soon became members of a Lodge meeting at the Talbot Inn, in the Strand, under the other Grand Lodge of England, and prevailed on their friends of No. 111 of the Antients to transfer their allegiance to the older Grand Lodge. So, under the Grand Mastership of Lord Blaney and for a second time, on November 15th, 1764, the Lodge was constituted in ample form as No. 325 "the Caledonian Lodge," under which name it flourishes as No. 134 on the roll of Grand Lodge to this day.

Brother Stephen Jones tells us that circumstances combined to lead Brother Preston to turn his attention to the Masonic Lectures; and explains how to arrive at the depths of the Science, short of which he did not mean to stop, he spared neither pains nor expense. "Wherever instruction could be acquired, thither he directed his course, and with the advantage of a retentive memory, and an extensive Masonic connection, added to a diligent literary research, he so far succeeded in his purpose as to become a competent Master of the subject. To increase the knowledge he had acquired, he solicited the company and conversation of the most experienced Masons from foreign countries, and in the course of a literary correspondence with the Fraternity at home and abroad, made such progress in the Mysteries of the Art, as to become very useful in the connections he had formed. He has frequently been heard to say that, in the ardour of his enquiries he has explored the abodes of poverty and wretchedness, and, when it might have been least expected, acquired very valuable scraps of informtion. The poor Brother in return, we are assured, had no cause to think his time or talents ill bestowed."

Brother Preston used to meet with his friends once or twice a week, in order to illustrate his version of the lectures: on which occasions objections were started, and explanations given for the purpose of mutual improvement. At last, with the assistance of some zealous friends, he was enabled to arrange and digest to his satisfaction the whole of the First Lecture.

Arrived at this stage in 1772 he organized a Gala Meeting in order to submit the work to the approbation of the Grand Officers and leaders of the Craft. An Oration which he delivered on this occasion was so well received that he determined to print it, and with a description of the proceedings and other matter this formed the first edition of his "Illustrations of Masonry," which was published the same year. Encouraged by the successful reception of this first venture our Brother proceeded with his plans to complete the Lectures for the three Degrees.

Having accomplished this, proposals were issued for their delivery as public Lectures to the Craft, which took place at the Mitre Tavern, Fleet Street, during 1774. In further support of these revised workings a pamphlet was issued, entitled "Private Lectures on Masonry by William Preston," giving an account of the Three Lectures which, very slightly elaborated, formed the leading matter of the Second Edition of the "Illustrations of Masonry" published the next year (1775). Meanwhile in this prospectus, through the medium of the preliminary remarks addressed to the

Encouragers and Promoters of Free Masonry,

he presented his ideals and objects to the following effect:—

> "No Society ever subsisted which was raised on a better principle or more solid foundation than Free-Masonry . . . It is indeed true, that in some Lodges the Work of Masonry is much neglected, and little or no regard shown to the fundamental principles of the Society; arising partly from the inexperience and partly from the inability of those Brethren who have the honour to preside over them . . . Thus men of letters have been discouraged from pursuing a study which might otherwise have proved of public utility; by giving sanction to the Society, and employing their genius in the elucidation

of Mysteries, the greatest Monarchs have not been ashamed to countenance. As the neglect is owing, in a great measure to a want of method, which a little application might easily remedy Brother Preston is induced to offer his assistance to all regular masons desirous of making a progress in the Art . . If Brother Preston succeeds in his expectations of giving his Brethren a just idea of Masonry, or promoting a uniformity in the Lodges under the English Constitution, he will be perfectly happy in the attempt he has made, and will spare no pains faithfully to fulfil his engagements with every gentleman who is inclined to encourage his design."

Annexed were the following

CONDITIONS.

I. Every Degree to consist of Twelve Courses.

II. One guinea to be paid on admission into every Degree.

III. Any Brother not perfect in any one Degree at the expiration of the Twelve Courses, shall have the privilege of attending six more without any additional expense.

IV. Books of the Courses will be given to every brother at the commencement of his instructions.

V. Instructions will be given Three times a week at an appointed hour.

I have already explained that Brother Preston's book "Illustrations of Masonry" took its rise from the Grand Gala Performance of the First Lecture on May 21st, 1772.

The first edition of the book differs very considerably from its many successors and is now a very rare volume. The title page bears the following lines by Dr. Blacklock:—

The Man whose mind on virtue bent
Pursues some greatly good intent,
With undiverted aim;
Serene beholds the angry croud
Nor can their clamours fierce and loud,
His stubborn honor tame.

The quotation is wonderfully apt under the circumstances for already, as Preston himself wrote, the methods adopted had excited in some "an absolute dislike" of what they considered as innovations, and in others "a jealousy" which the principles of Masonry ought to have checked.

The volume bore the *imprimatur* of Grand Lodge over the signatures of the Grand Master Lord Petre, Deputy Grand Master, Wardens and Secretary.

In the Preface it is explained that the first design was only to publish the Oration delivered at the Gala, but the entertainment being to be *annually repeated*, certain particulars were put on record to serve as a precedent for future exhibitions of the same kind. The plan being thus extended beyond the bounds of a pamphlet, Preston explains: "I resolved to select some of the best pieces on the subject I could find: and to annex a few commentaries to answer the end in view. To this was added an Appendix containing many articles never before published, compiled from the most authentic records, and the best authorities I could procure."

The Second Edition of the "Illustrations of Masonry" appeared in 1775, again with the *imprimatur* of the Grand Master and his Officers.

In this Edition the particulars of the proceedings at the Grand Gala in 1772 "are entirely omitted to make room for more useful matter," so runs the preface, and from being denominated an "*entertainment to be annually repeated.*" it is put aside "*as it was a temporary affair.*"

The book now commences with "A vindication of Masonry including a Demonstration of its Excellency," which in later editions came to be headed "The Excellency of Masonry displayed": then follow "Remarks on Masonry including an Illustration of the Lectures," and a great deal of fresh matter especially under the heading of "History of Masonry in England," which carries it from the days of the Druids to the reigning G.M. Lord Petre. Special stress was laid on the Hall building project in which Brother Preston took great interest. Contrary to the usage of Masonic publications of those days, no songs except those sung at the Gala accompanied the First Edition, but "as the description of that performance was now omitted several others which are usually sung in the course of the ceremonies were explained in this Work."

In the form thus arrived at Brother Preston's book achieved its success, and did a great work for the Craft by bringing together scattered matter in a harmonious whole and making it generally available, and by presenting the institution in a dignified and worthy manner rendered it acceptable even to those who were not members of the Society. There is no doubt it did much to raise the general estimation of Freemasonry, and whilst we must differ from some of its presentments of history and theory, many useful lessons are inculcated equally applicable to our days. There remains, too, above all an engaging enthusiasm,—and genuine love for the order and the Brethren, as the spirit pervading it, which is at the very roots of our institution, and must ever insure among Masons an affectionate feeling of gratitude to our worthy Brother for his labours.

The Book ran through twelve English Editions during its author's lifetime, and then, under the Editorship of Brother Stephen Jones and finally of Dr. Oliver, reached the seventeenth English issue in 1861. There were published also from 1776 onwards German Translations, American re-issues (1801, etc.) and a Dutch translation as late as 1848, but no French Edition seems to have been called for. In the English Craft it was frequently given to initiates, and became an almost indispensable Lodge possession, ranking only after the V.S.L. and the Book of Constitutions. Old copies evidence by their well thumbed condition their constant use for reading the ancient charges at the opening and closing of the Lodge.

During the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Beaufort (1767-1771) Brother Preston was employed by the Grand Secretary to assist in arranging the general Regulations of the Craft, and in revising the foreign and country correspondence. This led later on to his being appointed Assistant or Deputy Grand Secretary at a salary of £20 per annum under Brother Heseltine in 1769. This post did not amount to Grand Office, but Preston's name was associated with those of the Grand Officers as "Printer to the Society": all the same, *he* carried on the chief part of the Secretarial correspondence, entered Minutes, attended Committees, completed and corrected the Calendars with the History of Remarkable Occurrences, and prepared an Historical Appendix to the Book of Constitutions as issued in 1776. All this work gave him access to special sources of information which he was able to turn to good account in historical matter introduced in the later editions of his Illustrations.

Brother Preston took an active part in proceedings as a member of the Hall Committee of Grand Lodge, and to this period belong his subscriptions of £20 to the Hall Fund and the like amount to the Masonic Charity for Girls.

He resigned his Secretarial appointment at Christmas, 1777.

Outside the Craft, Brother Preston prospered in his business as a printer and corrector of the press in connection with Mr. William Strahan's firm, on whose death in 1785 he became recipient of an annuity of £30 for life and took the position of chief reader and superintendent to the son, Mr. Andrew Strahan, who succeeded to the business. That his literary capacity was considerable is clear. We are told:—

> "His critical skill as a corrector of the press led literary men to submit to the correction of style: and such was the success of William Preston in the construction of language, that the most distinguished among them honoured him with their friendship as presentation copies in his library including such names as Robertson, Hume, Gibbon, Johnson and Blair bore testimony."

Within the Craft, as we have seen, Brother Preston had now reached an honoured, or what he would have called a 'truly respectable' position, and was known by his various activities to a wide circle as the Order then existed. He attended various Lodges of Instruction to propagate his system. He had already been Master of several Lodges when circumstances, which we must consider in some detail, led him to the Chair of the Lodge of Antiquity.

Among those taking a leading part in assisting Brother Preston at his Gala Performance of the First Degree Lecture in 1772 was Brother John Bottomley, Master of the Grand Stewards Lodge at that time, who was Master of the Lodge of Antiquity from 1771 to 1774, when attendance was very poor and the Lodge in flagging condition. Another member was Brother John Noorthouck, who joining in 1771 was Senior Warden from 1772 to 1774. Brother Bottomley's membership dated back to 1768.

Brother Noorthouck, the son of a well known London bookseller of Dutch origin, was in a very similar walk of life to Brother Preston, in fact, like him largely in the employment of the Strahans, and a few years later to be the recipient of an annuity of £20 on the elder Strahan's death, when £30 a year was left to "my present Overseer" William Preston.

These two Brethren, Bottomley and Noorthouck, conceived the idea of introducing Brother Preston into the Lodge of Antiquity to retrieve its fortunes by his activities and zeal.

Brother Preston appears already to have attended a Meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity in February, 1772, as a Visitor hailing from the Lodge of Prosperity, when on March 2nd, 1774, he was proposed as a joining Member. He was duly elected a Member on June 1st, when he was not, however, present, and so was not, as often stated, elected a member and the Master of the Lodge on the same day. It was at the following Meeting of Antiquity on June the 15th that he made his first attendance as a Member and was honoured by election to the Chair.

Under Preston's Mastership the prosperity of the Lodge was rapidly restored. He was greatly impressed with the importance of his position as Master of the first Lodge under the English Constitution and threw himself heart and soul into the work in what he conceived to be the best interests of the Lodge. He studied its past records and tried to establish a position by which the fullest prerogatives of a Lodge acting by immemorial constitution might be preserved intact under its allegiance to Grand Lodge. Unfortunately, the activities of this new member did not meet with the approbation of the very men who had been responsible for his introduction, and when the discontent of their party within and without the Lodge had developed into an attack upon Brother Preston, we find Brother Noorthouck writing to complain that

> "Brother Preston after being not only admitted but honour'd with the Master's Chair, crouded in such a succession of young masons, as totally transferred all the power of the Lodge to him and his new acquaintance and enabled him to keep possession of the Master's Chair for three years and a half. . . . During this time Bror. Preston kept up private weekly meetings of these young Bretheren, under the name of a Lodge of Instruction, in which meetings, he occasionally as your memorialists have been informed propagated matters of peculiar original powers residing in their Lodge, exempt from the authority of the Grand Lodge, pretensions of which your Memorialists and the other Old Members of the Lodge never before entertain'd any idea . . ."

It strikes one as less than generous that Brother Preston should be blamed for holding the Mastership during a period of three and a half happy and prosperous years when his predecessor, Brother Bottomley, had occupied the Chair for an exactly similar period under the depressed circumstances then prevailing in the Lodge. Brother Noorthouck's version of the proceedings speaks for itself, and it is amusing to note that he evidently did not attend the Lodge of Instruction as its procedure was only hearsay to him and his friends. That the lectures were not to his taste may be clearly illustrated from his letter to the Master, Brother Preston's successor, at this crisis, in which he wrote: "I am but a dull and awkward schoolboy in my responses, but nevertheless I claim *some* LITTLE *acquaintance with the* PRINCIPLES *of the Order*: and these reach beyond the meer catechisms, which require only a *disengaged mind* with a retentive memory."

Evidently Brother Preston's working of the lectures and powers of memory annoyed Brother Noorthouck.

At a Meeting in October, 1776, Preston received the thanks of the Lodge because he had maintained the precedence of the Lodge of Antiquity No. 1 at a Lodge he had visited, where it had been challenged by a Member of the Stewards Lodge, then No. 60. Brother Bottomley's opinion as a P.G.Stwd. does not appear.

We can gather, then, there was a current of dissension inside and outside the Lodge waiting only for an opportunity to get vent. The pretext arose when some of the Brethren of the Lodge went to St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet Street, to celebrate St. John's Day, December 27th, 1777, by hearing a sermon by their Chaplain. They put on their Masonic Clothing in the Vestry and sat together in the same pew; one, at any rate, Preston by his own account, arrived late, and put on his Masonic Clothing when he had entered the reserved pew. It was only a few steps across the street to the quarters of the Lodge at the Mitre Tavern, as the Church then projected into the road considerably to the South of its present position, and so, after the service, the Master queried should they take off their clothing or wear it across to the tavern? Preston tells us that he said, "I should certainly, I was not ashamed of it, I was then invested and should not divest myself till the business of the day was finished . . . We accordingly returned to the tavern in jewels and clothing as representatives of the Lodge, preceded by the Beadles but without any formal procession as Masons."

Brothers Noorthouck and Bottomley were not present, but they and their friends alleged that the proceedings constituted a public procession of Masons in their Clothing, and made this the subject of complaint to Grand Lodge. Unfortunately, Brother Preston attempted to justify what at the worst was a mere error of judgment by pleading inherent rights peculiar to the Lodge of Antiquity. I must not now attempt to set out the history of what followed; to do it adequately and to do justice to all concerned makes a long story and by no means a pleasant one, and has quite as much to do with the history of the Lodge, in whose records it may be followed, as with our Brother. It is with Brother Preston that we are now dealing, and to put the matter *briefly* I would say that there is no room for doubt that he was *very hardly and unfairly treated*. It was for his championship of the *Lodge rights*, as he conceived them, that he suffered: for *himself* he had no consideration, he was simply determined that he would not be a party to betraying the trust of those immemorial privileges. All the same, his theory was incompatible with allegiance to the Grand Lodge, as the sequel clearly demonstrated.

Procedure and forms were strained against Preston and his supporters, and at last, on January 29th, 1779, they were expelled by Grand Lodge. Yet worse was to follow, for by their action in carrying on the Lodge independently and in alliance with the Grand Lodge of All England at York, and yet further by forming themselves into a new Grand Lodge for England South of the River

Trent, the offenders seemed to have put themselves hopelessly beyond any chance of future reconciliation.

The two parties of the Lodge of Antiquity pursued their several ways, and Brother Preston summed up his version of the affair in a pamphlet dated June 3rd, 1778, and entitled,

"State of Facts,"

in which, despite his recent harsh treatment, occur those memorable words which I quoted at the commencement of my lecture:—

> "To the institution of Masonry, I shall ever bear a warm and unfeigned attachment. I know its value and I am convinced of its utility. To the Society of Freemasons I profess myself a true and stedfast friend."

In his statement Brother Preston claims to have introduced as many as three hundred initiates into the Order, and proceeds: "I have been employed upwards of fourteen years in establishing a system for the honour of the Society, in the course of which I have consulted the best authors, ancient and modern. I have now in my possession extracts from above two thousand volumes on the subject. These I intend to arrange under the title *Adversaria*, and publish under sanction, with a few cursory observations; but the present dispute I believe has effectually baffled my intention." Another "work I have long had in contemplation" was "A Digest of all the laws which have subsisted since the establishment of the Grand Lodge." A very unfriendly pamphlet on the other side, "Masonic Anecdotes of little Solomon: a Caution to the Fraternity," appeared about 1788.

Our Brother took part in the activities of his section of the Lodge of Antiquity and in the brief existence of the newly constituted Grand Lodge for the South, yet evidently the turn of affairs had come as a heavy blow and disappointment. In fact, at one time he even determined to bid "a complete *Adieu* to the Society." Hence we find that he had not attended the Lodge for over a year when on October 17th, 1781, his resignation was tendered, and in other respects his Masonic activities were in abeyance, so that, as his biographer quaintly comments, he was enabled "to direct his attention to his other literary pursuits which may fairly be supposed to have contributed more to the advantage of his fortune."

Meanwhile, the Lodge got into very low water, but at length the earnest entreaties of his friends and doubtless the warm interest he had felt in the Lodge prevailed on him to rejoin. This was on October 23rd, 1786, and for a second time Antiquity was revived by the accession of Brother Preston to its ranks.

This renewed interest in the Craft led to the organization of a special scheme by which Brother Preston determined to propagate his System of Lectures—the so-called "revival" of the *Antient and Venerable Order of Harodim*, which was, in effect, a dignified Lodge of Instruction to render his Lectures, inaugurated by a Meeting at the Mitre Tavern, Fleet Street, on January 4th, 1787.

The Lodge of Antiquity adhering to the Grand Lodge passed through its vicissitudes, but when, at a Meeting on December 2nd, 1789, we find Brother Preston attending as a Visitor, a happy ending to the division was in view, for Preston and his friends, having made an apology to Grand Lodge "signifying their concern that through misrepresentation they should have incurred the displeasure of Grand Lodge . . . to the Laws of which they were ready to conform" had only a month since been reinstated and restored to their privileges in Masonry, as Preston himself acknowledged, "in the most handsome manner." Following this, in November, 1790, the reunion of the two Sections of the Lodge of Antiquity was most auspiciously accomplished.

In our survey of Brother Preston's career to this point we have reviewed some of his work and touched upon many of his methods in general, but I will now consider a little further in detail what is recorded of his own presentation of the lectures and their matter.

From his own account of the manner in which the first Lecture was rendered at the Grand Gala in 1772 we can see that he spared no trouble to make the ceremony as impressive as he could, and the musical accessories—both vocal and instrumental—are particularly worthy of attention. The first edition of the Illustrations gives full particulars with a plan of the room which indicates besides the ceremonial arrangements an ample table accommodation for the liquid refreshment wherewith the toasts were duly honoured.

The Lodge was opened in due form by command of the G.M. in the Chair, Brother Preston officiating as Master.

The S.W. rehearsed the Antient Charges on the Management of the Craft in Working and then read Laws for the Government of the Craft, followed by the Toast

> "*The King and the Craft*," which was honoured by a "*Flourish of Horns*."

Brother Preston delivered his Oration, thus laying the foundation stone of his future "Illustrations of Masonry."

> Toast. The G.M.—flourish with Horns.

The Six Sections of the first Lecture were then rehearsed accompanied by songs and duets and instrumental music with the appropriate toasts.

At the Close of Section VI.,

The Charge on the Behaviour of Masons was rehearsed by Brother Preston, and then came the

> Toast. May the Cardinal Virtues with the grand principles of Masonry always distinguish us: may we be happy to meet, happy to part, and happy to meet again,

followed by the Entered Apprentice's Song, the first verse, altered to a rather more dignified form for the occasion:—

> Come let us prepare,
> We brothers that are
> Assembled on noble occasion:
> Let's be happy and sing,
> For Life is a Spring
> To a Free and an Accepted Mason.

Then, Brother Preston records, "the Grand Master in the Chair expressed his great approbation of the regularity of the whole proceedings."

"The Lodge was closed and the Grand Officers preceded by the Stewards for the occasion, and attended by several respectable personages adjourned to supper, an elegant entertainment being provided at the expense of the Stewards, and the evening was concluded with the greatest joy and festivity."

There was, of course, no novelty in Lectures or the use of catechism, which in days before books were available had been the only means for imparting general instruction in the Arts and Sciences. The old methods by which the Speculative or theoretical side of the Craft had been taught, survived in the Lodge "Work," though, as the exposures demonstrate, much degenerated and fast approaching a mere residuum of tests and catch words. There were also addresses, charges, eulogies such as were connected with the names of Bros.

Oakley, Martin Clare, Dunckerley, Edmondes, Wellins Calcott and many others. Lectures on Architecture and Geometry, Science and other interesting subjects, were given in Lodges in which there were members of intellectual attainments.

The prevalence of such customs is confirmed by strictures of the pugnacious Grand Secretary of the Antients in his *Ahiman Rezon* (1764) at this date, where he complains that, amongst the degenerate Moderns, the old custom of studying Geometry in the Lodge was likely to give way to the use over proper materials of a good knife and fork in the hands of a dextrous brother, and the use of the globes might be taught and explained, amongst the degenerate Moderns, as clearly and briefly upon two bottles as upon Mr. Senex's globes of 28 inches diameter.

The Minutes of the Lodge of Antiquity from 1756 onwards record Lectures in various Degrees as when (1757) "the Mr. gave an Extraordinary joyous lecture" or (1762) when "the R.W.M. was pleased to favour us with a Noble Lecture on the Third Degree" or that of the First (1763) "was given in a most excellent and explicit manner" which might be paralleled by extracts from many other old Minute Books.

Brother Preston did not invent lectures, but he carried on the old traditions, endeavouring to correct, refine and amplify the old workings, welding together lectures, addresses, eulogies, in a complete system according to his method.

The Minutes of the Lodge of Antiquity record a performance of the Lecture of the Third Degree with musical accompaniments on a scale similar to the setting of the first Lecture. In this case, however, Brother Preston officiated as Chief Ruler and was supported by his S. and J. Wardens as Senior and Junior Rulers.

To Brethren who have not studied the subject the names of the leading Officers may suggest a further step beyond the Third Degree, but in the ancient working as carried on by the Lodge of Antiquity and exemplified at the Lodge of Promulgation and by its propaganda, so soon as the Brethren have proved themselves Craftsmen the principal officers become for that, and for the higher Dedree, a Chief Ruler and Senior and Junior Assistant Rulers instead of Master and Wardens. These usages disappeared under the workings of the Lodge of Reconciliation.

This is the only record of this elaborated ceremony being worked that occurs in the Minutes of Antiquity.

Neither Brother Bottomley nor Brother Noorthouck were present.

It was when, encouraged by his friends, Brother Preston determined to resume his Masonic activity that his Lectures received the full elaboration of their setting in the Harodim Chapter method. Our Brother is said to have "revived" the Antient and Venerable Order of Harodim, that is of Harods or Rulers, but we have yet to determine its origin, possibly the ceremony of being "made free from Harodim," still nominally in existence, may point to a sonrce, but I must leave that issue aside for the present, nor can I dwell upon the details of its organization, which are set out in full detail in the Plan and Regulations of the Grand Order of Harodim printed in 1791. It was described by an ardent supporter as "an institution which certainly claims respect and deserves encouragement; inasmuch as, while it preserves all the ancient purity of the Science, it refines the vehicle by which it is conveyed to the ear: as a diamond is not less a diamond but is enhanced in its value, by being polished."

The Harodim Chapter died out about 1801, having served its purpose as a means of propagating Brother Preston's version of the Lectures which at that period were regularly worked in the Lodge of Instruction attached to the Lodge of Antiquity and illustrated at the Lodge Meetings.

It remains for me briefly to cutline what these famous lectures were.

The Prestonian Lectures necessarily cover very much the ground of those with which we are familiar to-day, but there is a good deal of difference in

the verbiage and the order of the matter, and there are besides considerable portions which have no exact counterparts to-day.

The *First Lecture* consists of *Six Sections*, the *Second* of *Four*, and the *Third Lecture* is prolonged to no less than *Twelve Sections*. Each *Section* is further sub-divided into *Clauses*.

The *three Lectures* are each of them prefaced by preliminary dissertations—paragraphs which were published in the "Illustrations" and which appear in print in connection with workings of the lectures in vogue to-day.

After such introduction the *first lecture* starts in the usual method of question and answer, and we are taught:—

That a Mason is never too wise to learn—that the wise seek knowledge and more travel to find it from West to East.

> The Master is placed in the East
>
> Because it ever has been, and continues to be, and always shall be the situation of the Master when he acts in that capacity.

"Why is he placed there?" and further questions elicit:—

> Because Man was there created in the Image of his Maker; there also knowledge and learning originated, and there the arts and Sciences began to flourish . . . Other men may gain knowledge by chance or accident but Masons must acquire it, otherwise they cannot obtain preferment . . . the best use is made by Masons because the knowledge they have acquired they will improve to the best advantage, and thence once improved they will evidently dispense it for the general good.

Clauses 2, 3 and 4 deal with familiar matter and the last enlarges on the symbolism of the Sun at its various stations:—

> The J.W. "placed in the South at high 12 invites the Brethren to the cool shade, there to enjoy rest and refreshment."
>
> In the West the Third Grand Natural Object is "still the Sun in a scene equally pleasing setting in the West, closing the day, and lulling as it were all nature to repose."
>
> The Senior Warden renders to every brother the just reward of his merit to enable him to enjoy a comfortable repose, the best effects of honest industry when they are properly applied.

Each *Clause* ends with *a summary* such as is appended to this:—

> Thus we define the friendly salutations we intrust amongst Masons, and thus we demonstrate this truth—That from the eyes of Masons the beauties of Heaven are never screened.

Clause 5 defines the key which opens our Treasures and which every faithful Brother bears with him.

SECTION II. in six *Clauses* carries the Initiate from preparation to the end of the Obligation:—

> Thus we demonstrate our regular possession of the invaluable and inestimable secrets of Freemasonry and the advantages to be derived from the faithful observance of them.

SECTION III. in six *Clauses* continues the Ceremony.

In *Clause* 3:—

> The Ancient Clothing of a Mason is described as white gloves and white leather apron, the first denoting Purity and the second Innocence, both considered as the badge of Innocence and the bond of Friendship.

In the next *Clause* the advantage of laying a foundation stone is explained:—

> That should the ravages of time or violence destroy the whole superstructure, this stone when discovered will prove that such building did exist, the name of its founder, and the purpose of its being erected.
>
> How can this apply to the N.E. corner?
>
> Because should the influence of virtue cease to operate amidst the corruption of men and the depravity of manners, the original principles which were impressed on his mind on that spot, will never be obliterated, but will guard him from the dangers of infection and preserve his heart untainted in the general corruption of the world.

Clauses 5 and 6 traverse the Master's address to the Candidate and the Charge:—

> Masons live to improve and improve to enjoy. Thus the admiration which is excited by the display of talents and virtues is a pleasing sensation; curiosity is gratified by marking the steps of fortune: the views of men are enlarged by tracing the effects of conduct and the heart is meliorated when it contemplates the principles whence good actions proceed.

In SECTION IV.

Clause 1 refers to the methods of the Egyptians, the great lights. In *Clause* 2, the form of the Lodge, a parallelogram, is explained.

Clauses 3, 4 and 5 deal with the Site, the situation of the building and its construction, the covering of the building and its supports, leading up to the description of the Mystical Ladder in *Clause* 6.

In SECTION V.

The first three *Clauses* explain the internal ornaments, the furniture and jewels, the fourth the Dedication of the Lodge, and the two final divisions exemplify matter in the nature of charges.

In SECTION VI.

Clause 1, we learn that we *meet* on the *level* and *part* on the *square*, and where to find a brother.

Clauses 2, 3 and 4 deal with Brotherly Love, Relief and Truth, the Cardinal Virtues, and in the final *Clause*, Day, Night and the Wind in Freemasonry are considered.

The dissertations on Brotherly Love, Relief and Truth which appeared on the "Illustrations" are familiar to workers of the lectures to-day.

We are taught with regard to the Master that:—

> The Master should be hailed with homage and respect as Master of the Art, clothed in Royal Robes of blue purple and scarlet, that by this testimony he might display his skill and talent before the world . . . With becoming grace he would receive all this . . . but the Lodge no sooner formed than he would lay all aside for the Badge of Innocence and Friendship.

THE SECOND LECTURE is divided into FOUR SECTIONS.

The Five *Clauses* of the First SECTION deal with the Fellow Craft's progress from his preparation till his charge at the S.E. corner of the Lodge.

In the *Second* SECTION, *Clause* 1 treats of the number of Degrees, the establishment of the Order, qualifications and service.

In the *Second Clause* "we define the lodge held and the number of which it was originally composed," and some interesting points arise:—

The Lodge in the 1st degree is said to be assembled because there is an assembly of all the degrees of the order virtually represented.

The Lodge in the 2nd degree is said to be held because only a deputation from the General Lodge can be authorized to hold such a Lodge, and no Entered Apprentice is there permitted to assemble.

Five are necessary to hold a F.C. Lodge, three M.Ms. and two F.Cs. who represent all the absentees of the 2nd and 3rd Degrees and allude to the division of the Science into five branches and the five years employed in learning the rudiments of these Sciences, which was the time fixed to constitute a F.C.: there is also an allusion to the five senses (seeing, hearing, feeling, smelling and tasting) for they are the channels by which external objects are obtained and, like signs in the natural language, have the same significance in all climates, and in all nations.

The Master's place is in the East where he denotes that Wisdom, represented by the column having the light in the East, was before all things and is over all the works of the Creation.

Clause 3 deals with Geometry.
Clause 4 with The Rise of the Orders;
and the concluding *Clause* exemplifies the "Five Senses."

The THIRD SECTION includes five *Clauses* devoted to:—

1. Classes at the Temple.
2. Periods of labour and division of Time.
3. The two great pillars.
4. The staircase and foundation of the system.
5. The Sacred Symbol at the centre of the Lodge.

The FOURTH SECTION is intended to exemplify the Sciences as symbolized in the Temple: and the five *Clauses* illustrate:—

1. The general description of the Temple.
2. The Temple religiously considered.
3. The Temple morally considered.
4. The Temple scientifically considered leading up to the origin of the present establishment at its building.

Several of these Sections contain a large amount of unfamiliar matter which only quotation at large could do justice to.

The THIRD LECTURE according to Brother Preston's 2nd Edition of the "Illustrations" consisted of Twelve Sections. Later on its matter seems to have been re-arranged so as to be comprised under seven Sections. The length of the lecture is to be accounted for by the inclusion of the Installation Ceremony, Consecration of a Lodge and public functions beyond the Legendary History and actual ceremonies of the Degree.

The *Working* is very ceremonious and slow in development: the main headings must suffice for our present purpose. An introductory Section is succeeded by

THE SECOND SECTION, which contains a History of the Order, in seven *Clauses*, of a very speculative character:—

1. History of the corruption of Mankind.
2. Progress of the Institution to remedy or prevent that corruption.
3. Remedies adapted to each of those evils.
4. What types were adopted to teach the nature of our Soul.

5. How (the) System of Society was purified at the building of the Temple.
6. Now Organization of the Society at the building of the Temple.
7. Explains how the System has been adulterated since that period.

In SECTIONS III. and IV., each of seven *Clauses*, the History of the Degree is set forth in a method which, while it considerably lengthens the recital, does not materially add to the information.

SECTION V., in seven *Clauses*, again deals with the Mystery of the Third Degree, the Lodge, Ornaments, Tracing Board, Steps, Circumambulations, fall and raising.

SECTION VI. treats of the Government of the Society in the Constitution and Consecration of a new Lodge, explanation of the Jewels, and Installation of Masters.

SECTION VII. relates to public Ceremonies, the Laying of a Foundation Stone, Dedication of a Masonic Hall, Burial Service of a Mason, with the conclusion of the History on the Third Degree.

And now, with a few more words about our Brother himself, I must bring my remarks to a close.

Brother Preston was for many years Editor of the *London Chronicle*, and, as has been mentioned, since 1804 a partner in the firm he had served so well. It was said that he might be designated a "pioneer in literature," having conducted through the Press of the house of Strahan some of the most celebrated works of the Eighteenth Century writers. He certainly was a pioneer in his Masonic Work.

An excellent Portrait of Brother Preston in the prime of life was painted by Samuel Drummond and engraved more than once. It appeared in the *Freemasons' Magazine* of 1795 to illustrate the biographical note by Brother Stephen Jones. This engraving omits the Past Master's Jewel of 1778 which appeared in the original: it shows a fine intellectual face with a determined mouth. Another portrait in crayons, which hung in his parlour at the time of his death, depicts him a lttle softened by time, with a very happy expression, and there is yet another oil painting by Drummond, of which engravings were published—a very pleasant picture of his later days—showing him as an old gentleman full of vigour and alertness, of which engravings appeared in the *European Magazine*, 1811, and in subsequent editions of the "Illustrations of Masonry." The originals in the last two cases are in the possession of the Lodge of Antiquity at Freemasons' Hall.

The Lodge also has there a plaster bust founded on a death mask, taken two days after death by Giannelli, of Snow Hill, under the supervision of Brother Sir F. C. Daniel.

Brother Preston's later years in Masonry were bound up with the history of Antiquity which he served so diligently until ill-health limited his powers. From 1790 he was annually elected Deputy Master, except when another took his place on account of illness in 1802 and 1807, and when in 1809 the Duke of Sussex accepted the Mastership he appointed him his Deputy Master.

It was in 1813 that William Preston, Citizen and Stationer, made his Will, when his Masonic bequests of £500 Consols to the Girls' School, the same amount to the General Charity Fund, and £300 to found the Prestonian Lectureship, showed him, as he had professed, the true and steadfast friend of the Craft to the end of his life.

His last attendance at the Lodge of Antiquity was at the Installation Meeting, January 17th, 1816.

After an illness of nearly five years Brother Preston passed away at his residence, No. 3, Dean Street, Fetter Lane, on April 1st, 1818. The funeral took place at St. Paul's Cathedral, where he was buried on April 10th. An appreciative notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* ends by describing the funeral as "of the most handsome description . . . In consequence of the rain the Female Orphans belonging to the Freemasons' Charity in St. George's Fields were not able to follow in procession but mustered at the Church under the care of the Treasurer . . . and returned to the house of the deceased where they partook of wine and cake."

Let us close with a quotation from a letter which the M.W.G.M. of those days, H.R.H. The Duke of Sussex, addressed to the Lodge of Antiquity in 1813, conveying an appreciation of Brother Preston and a commendation of his example equally applicable for us to-day:—

> "Long has the Lodge of Antiquity been remarkable for its zeal in Masonry, and greatly is that Lodge and the Craft indebted to the diligence and example of my worthy Brother your Past Master Preston, whose name must be dear to every admirer and well wisher of our ancient Order. I have therefore only to recommend your following his steps, when I may anticipate the most glorious Result."

APPENDIX A.

DETAILS OF THE RENDERINGS OF THE FIRST AND THIRD LECTURES.

As regards the First Lecture we have the account of the occasion several times referred to of the "*Grand Gala in honour of Free Masonry held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern* . . . on Tuesday the 21st Day of May 1772" fully set out in the First Edition of the "Illustrations" with a plan of the room, which we may take as situated East and West, which was arranged as follows:—

An oblong room, nearly twice its width in length had a passage way reserved across the West and entered at the South West corner of the room, two L. or square shaped tables ranged with their long arms parallel to the Western portions of the North and South walls, and their shorter lengths running across and only leaving room at the centre for a passage way between the ends of the tables—"The Grand Entrance for the Procession" to the Lodge enclosure. At these tables the rank and file of the Brethren were seated on both sides of the boards. At the further end of the Hall in the East sat the Grand Master "on a Throne, elevated 1½ Foot," his Deputy and the Past Grand Master to his left and right with two seats beyond on either side for Past Grand Officers. Opposite the three principal Chairs was "a rich carpet" on which stood "the Pedestal, with the Furniture, Regalia, etc., on a crimson velvet cushion with Gold Tassels."

On either side about in a line with the Pedestal approaching the centre archwise were the Grand Wardens' Chairs supported in each case by six seats, three on either hand for "Respectable Personages." Further Westward the walls were lined with a table on each side North and South with six seats at each for the Stewards for the Gala distinguished by their white rods. The centre of the floor space was occupied by the Lodge—the Lodge Board—the Master of the Lodge sitting at the centre of the end furthest from the Grand Master—the West end apparently—and two Assistants at either of the sides North and South. The East end of the Lodge Board was unoccupied, but along the South side were placed "The Three Great Lights properly elevated," one

at the centre and the others at the angles of the Board, South East and South West.

To minister to creature comforts, tables were provided in front of the Wardens and their supporters, and there were stands before the three chief seats specified to be covered like the various tables already mentioned with green baize; there were two side tables "properly furnished" in the North East and South East corners of the room, and an enclosure described, "Repository for Wine," occupied the North West corner opposite the entrance. A gallery for Musicians was placed at the South East of the room.

The Lodge was opened in due form by command of the Grand Master in the Chair, Brother W. Preston as W.M., Bros. Gliddon and Pugh as S. and J. Wardens.

The Senior Warden rehearsed the *Antient Charges on the Management of the Craft in working*:—

> Masons employ themselves honestly on working days, live creditably on holydays; and the times appointed by the law of the land, as confirmed by custom are carefully observed;

seven clauses which the ten clauses to-day in our Book of Constitutions elaborate with additions.

The Senior Warden then read:—

> *Laws for the Government of the Lodge.*
>
> You are to salute one another in a cautious manner—
> No private Committees are to be allowed.
> These Laws are to be strictly observed
> and so on.
>
> Amen. So mote it be.

Clauses represented under "Behaviour" in our present version of the Antient Charges.

Toast. The King and the Craft—
Flourish with Horns.

Brother Preston delivered his Oration,

thus laying the foundation stone of his future "Illustrations of Masonry."

Toast. The Grand Master—
Flourish with Horns.

Ode, sung by three Brethren accompanied with the instruments:—

> Wake the lute and quiv'ring strings,
> Mystic truths Urania brings:

This was succeeded by the

Toast. The Deputy Grand Master and the Grand Wardens.

The six SECTIONS of the *FIRST LECTURE* were then rehearsed accompanied by vocal and instrumental music with the appropriate toasts.

SECTION I.

> Song (duet).
> Hail Masonry Divine
> Glory of ages thine
> Long may'st thou reign, etc.

Toast. All Masons, both ancient and young,
Who govern their passions and bridle their tongue.

SECTION II.

Solemn Air.

Toast. The heart that conceals, and the tongue that never reveals any of the Secrets of Masonry.

SECTION III.

Anthem.

Grant us Kind Heav'n what we request
In Memory let us be blest. etc.

Toast. All Masons who honour the Order by conforming to its rules.

SECTION IV.

Trio. Clarionets and Bassoon.

Toast. May we arrive at the summit of Masonry, and may the just never fail of their reward.

SECTION V.

Song.

Arise and blow thy trumpet Fame!
Free Masonry aloud proclaim,
To realms and worlds unknown, etc.

Toast. To the memory of the Holy Lodge of St. John.

SECTION VI.

Air (sprightly).

The Charge on the Behaviour of Masons was rehearsed by Brother Preston, leading up to the final toast "May the Cardinal Virtues, etc.," as recorded in my lecture.

During Brother Preston's Mastership of Antiquity in 1777 it was decided "that a Chapter of the Order should be held," and the Minutes record as follows:—

Lodge opened in the *Third Degree* in an adjacent Room. Procession entered the Lodge Room, and the usual ceremonies being observed, the Three Rulers were seated. A piece of Music was then performed, and the 12 Assistants entered in procession, and after repairing to their stations the Chapter was opened in solemn form.

Bro. Barker then rehearsed the *Second Section.* A piece of Music was then performed by the instruments. *Brother Preston* then rehearsed the *Third Section.* An Ode on Masonry was then sung by three voices. *Bro. Hill* rehearsed the *4th Section*, after which a piece of solemn music was performed. *Bro. Brearley* rehearsed the *5th Section*, and the funeral procession was formed during which a solemn dirge was played and this ceremony concluded with a Grand Chorus.

Bro. Berkley rehearsed the *6th Section*, after which an anthem was sung. *Bro. Preston* then rehearsed the *7th Section*, after a song in honour of masonry, accompanied by the instruments, was sung. The Chapter was then closed with the usual solemnity, and the Rulers and twelve Assistants made the procession round the Lodge, and then withdrew to an adjacent Room where the *Masters' Lodge* was closed in due form.

APPENDIX B.

THE ORDER OF HARODIM.

A copy of the advertisement of the inauguration of the Order of Harodim preserved in the Grand Lodge Library is as follows:—

PLAN
of the
ANTIENT and VENERABLE
ORDER of HARODIM
To be INSTITUTED at the
MITRE-TAVERN, FLEET-STREET
Under the GENERAL DIRECTION of
BROTHER WILLIAM PRESTON
PAST MASTER of the LODGE OF ANTIQUITY
Acting by IMMEMORIAL CONSTITUTION.

This Order is to be under the management of a Chief Ruler and two Assistants, with a Council of twelve Companions to be elected annually, on the Festival of St. John the Evangelist.

The Order to be composed of five Classes:—

First Class	to include Masons in the	First Degree
Second Class		Second Degree
Third Class		Third Degree
Fourth Class		Master of Arts
Fifth Class		Royal Arch

Each Class to be under the direction of skilful Companions, selected from Brethren of established reputation in the Literary, Moral, and Philosophical World.

The first Meeting to be on *Thursday*, the 4th of *January*, 1787, at Six in the Evening when a preliminary Lecture will be delivered by Bro. Preston; after which the Meetings to be regularly continued every *Thursday* during the Months of January, February, March, April, October, November, and December, at Seven in the Evening, in a private Room engaged for that purpose, at the *Mitre*-Tavern.

As Bro. PRESTON'S intention is to promote the general good purposes of Masonry throughout the World, on the Genuine, Original, and Constitutional Principles of that truly Antient and Honourable Institution without interfering with the Government of the Society either at home or abroad: and, if possible, to unite all Classes of his Brethren in one universal System, he flatters himself his Plan will be approved: And as nothing can tend more effectually to promote the intended design, than the proper application of such sums of Money as may be received on the admission of Brethren into the Separate Classes of the Order, Brother PRESTON engages that all such Sums, with the surplus of Accounts that may be settled by the Council, shall be deposited in the hands of an eminent Banker in the City of London, to be at the disposal of the General Meeting on the Festival of St. John the Evangelist, for the relief of poor and distressed Companions of the Order: and that the proceedings of the different Weekly Meetings, with the Names of the Companions as they are Enrolled, and the State of the Accounts, shall be regularly printed and distributed among the Members on the first *Thursday* of every Month, for which each Member shall pay one Shilling annually

SUCH Brethren as are willing to encourage the Plan, and to be enrolled as Companions of this Venerable Order, are requested to favour Brother PRESTON with their Names, Professions, and Places of Residence, at his house, No. 3, DEAN-STREET, *Fetter-Lane*: or inclosed in a Letter, addressed to Mr. THOMAS CHAPMAN, Secretary to the Committee of the ORDER OF HARODIM, at the *Mitre-Tavern*, *Fleet-Street*, where the Committee Meet every *Thursday*, from Seven to Nine in the Evening; and if the said Brethren are approved by the Committee, they shall be enrolled, on paying Half-a-Crown, which will entitle them to attend all future Meetings in the First Class, free of Expence, and to rank as Companions of the Order for Life.

When the reunion of the two bodies claiming the title of the Lodge of Antiquity had been happily accomplished, the Harodim Lodge was warranted by Grand Lodge on March 25th, 1790, designed by the petitioners to enable the Chapter to preserve a correspondence with Grand Lodge and to authorize it to practise the rites of Masonry under the auspices of this Lodge.

The Plan and Regulations of the Grand Order of Harodim printed in 1791 supply full particulars of its constitution and relationship with the Lodge.

We are told:—

> The Order of Harodim is totally independent being established on its own basis: and as a Chapter, is no otherwise connected with the Society of Free Masons, than by having its members selected from that Fraternity. The Mysteries of the Order are peculiar to the Institution itself, while the Lectures of the Chapter include every branch of the Masonic System, and represent the Art of Masonry in a finished and complete form.

There are different classes in the Order, and particular Lectures restricted to each. The Lectures are divided into Sections, and the Sections into Clauses. The Sections are assigned to Companions in each Class who are denominated Sectionists: who distribute the Clauses of their respective Sections to Companions who are then denominated Clause-holders. Such Companions as by assiduity become possessed of all the Sections in the Lecture, are called Lecturers . . . In the case of death, sickness, or non-residence in London, of any Lecturer, Sectionist or Clause-holder, a Companion is immediately appointed to fill up the vacancy. Thus the Lectures are always complete: and once in every month during the Session they are regularly delivered in open Chapter.

The Chapter was composed of a Grand Patron, who must be a Nobleman, and two Vice-Patrons; a Chief Ruler or Harod and two Assistants: a General Director: a Council of Twelve Respectable Companions (who must all be Master Masons); Six Assistant Council; two Examiners: an unlimited number of Lecturers, Sectionists, Clause-holders and private Companions: Fifteen Honorary Members; an Organist: a Robe-Keeper: and one or more Janitors. The Acting Grand Officers of Grand Lodge and the Principal of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter for the time being were always to rank as Honorary Patrons upon proper application for that purpose. The Treasurer and Secretary who were also to hold the same offices in the Harodim Lodge were elected from the Members of the Assistant Council.

Candidates for the Chapter must be Free and Accepted, that is Entered Apprentice Masons, their further advancement could be effected by the Chapter in conjunction with the Lodge.

The Companions were divided into Five Classes:—

Free and Accepted Masons,
Fellow-Craft Masons,
Master Masons,
Masters and Past Masters of Lodges,
and Royal Arch Masons.

Subscriptions and fees are all set out in great detail, as are the duties of the Officers. The Bye-laws of the Harodim Lodge really placed the Lodge under the control of the Chapter: the initiation fee was £5-5-0, the joining fee £1-1-0, all subscriptions to be paid in to the Chapter Fund, and the Jewels and Furniture were vested in the Chief Harod and Assistant Rulers for the time.

The Order of Procession going to and returning from the Chapter Room was laid down as follows:—

Janitor robed.
Two Stewards, with rods.
Clause-holders, Sectionists and Lecturers
each grade two and two with rods.
Two Examiners robed.
Past Council.
Past Chief Harods.
General Director, robed and covered.
Present Council, robed, with gilt rods: Juniors first
ranking according to Initiation.
Treasurer and Secretary in surplices and scarfs.
Two Assistant Rulers, robed and covered.
Chief Harod, robed and covered.
Two Vice Patrons, with batoons.
Grand Patron with the Ensign of Office.
Assistant Council with Rods.

There seems to have been great difficulty in making the Harodim Chapter and Lodge pay their way. In 1792 the Harodim Lodge united with Antiquity bringing an acquisition of new members, whilst the members of that ancient Lodge were welcomed as bringing to the Chapter a further membership of "those trained and educated on the Old System on which the Harodim Lectures are founded." In 1793 the Harodim Lodge Constitution was surrendered and Antiquity passed resolutions to sanction and support the Chapter.

Brother Stephen Jones, to whom reference has been made, was a prominent member of the Harodim Chapter and Lodge who joined the Lodge of Antiquity at this time. He had originally been attracted to Freemasonry by studying Brother Preston's "Illustrations": by his marriage with Mrs. Preston's niece he became a family connection. Later on he was Master of Antiquity and became the first Prestonian Lecturer.

The prosperous days of the Chapter seem to have culminated about 1795, when Lord Macdonald presided as Grand Patron, supported by Bros. James Heseltine, William Birch, John Spottiswoode, and William Meyrick as Vice-Patrons.

It is pleasant to note that this list of supporters includes Brother Heseltine, no longer estranged, and Brother Noorthouck's reconciliation with Preston is evidenced by his Ode "performed at every meeting of the Grand Chapter of Harodim," which appears in the later editions of the "Illustrations."

On August 7th, 1793, when the Chapter of Harodim celebrated the annual feast at Grove House, Camberwell, under the presidency of Brother Meyrick, Most Excellent Chief Harod, the *Freemasons' Magazine* tells us, in the words of Brother Stephen Jones:—

> From a discovery being made in the course of the entertainment that it was the natal day of Brother William Preston, who was present, and whom the Companions revere as the renovator and chief supporter of this ancient Order, a glow of sentiment was awakened in the minds of the company that burst forth in a transport of fraternal

> congratulation which must be highly gratifying to him, and certainly did honour to their own feelings as brethren and disciples of a great master in the art.

Schemes were proposed and tried to promote the working of the Chapter under the auspices of the Lodge of Antiquity, but financial difficulties seem to have baffled all endeavours. In 1799 Vice-Patron Preston "according to his own proposition and engagement" . . . "gave a draft for the entire sum of £32-19-1" to meet that deficiency. In 1800 the Lodge of Instruction which had been in abeyance for two years resumed its meetings weekly, and Minute Books are extant showing that it was meeting as late as February, 1836. The latest record appearing in the Lodge of Antiquity Minutes seems to be in October, 1801, and about this time the Chapter evidently dissolved. "As a means of spreading a knowledge of Preston's Lectures," comments Brother Capt. Firebrace, "it had served its purpose. These were now worked in the Lodge of Instruction, and one or more Sections were regularly illustrated at the Lodge Meetings."

In the *European Magazine* for 1811 there is a reference to the public Meetings of the Harodim Chapter which "*were*" held at Freemasons' Hall, and the writer proceeds:—

> "We say *were* held because from circumstances as difficult as unnecessary to account for, the Chapters of this Order have for some time ceased to be convened: though they certainly placed the moral and Scientific Lectures of Masonry in a most pleasing and advantageous light."

APPENDIX C.

SYLLABUS BOOKS, ETC.

We first hear of the publication of something in the nature of a Syllabus of the Lectures in the prospectus for Private Lectures about 1774. Such "books of the courses" were distributed and in use, but at the present time the Syllabus books of the Prestonian Lectures, of which a good many copies are extant, are, though pre-Union, of a much later date. It is the case with several copies in the Grand Lodge Library, Quatuor Coronati Library, and a copy in my possession, that they go no further as regards printed matter, than the end of the first Lecture of the Third Degree. A later edition on paper dating 1831 is equally disappointing.

These Manuals indicate the details of Opening, Closing, Calling Off and On, and the questions and procedure of the Lectures, and are interleaved with blank sheets on which the owners have made pencil or other notes of the working chiefly of a very fragmentary kind. My remarks are chiefly based on a copy which was in use by my Grandfather (Brother T. J. Pettigrew) when S.W. of the Lodge of Antiquity in 1821, and a later edition which was in the hands of Brother Burckhardt of that Lodge in 1833, now at Grand Lodge, which gives most of the working in full and some further particulars of the Third Degree from the same sources.

An aid to the Lectures was published by Brother Preston, entitled:—

> "The Pocket Manual or Freemasons' Guide to the Science of Freemasonry, containing a Syllabus of the Lectures and a Particular Detail of the subjects treated in each Section, with Many interesting Remarks."

Part I. The First Lecture, was published in 1790.
Part II. The Second Lecture in 1792.

Copies of Parts I. and II. are extant, but I have not so far heard of a copy of Part III.

APPENDIX D.

THE PRESTONIAN LECTURE, 1927.

That the Trustees of the Prestonian Fund had approved the nomination of the Lecturer was communicated on August 11th, 1926, and the three Official Lectures appointed to be delivered were granted by the Board of General Purposes to the Berkshire Installed Masters' Lodge, the Huddersfield and District Installed Masters' Association, and the Arcadian Lodge, London. The Lecture was also delivered on thirteen other occasions during the year, making a total of sixteen in all.

1. February 26th, Berkshire Masters' Lodge, No. 3684, at Reading.
2. March 5th, Huddersfield District Installed Masters' Association, at Huddersfield.
3. March 16th, Arcadian Lodge, No. 2696, at Freemasons' Hall, London.
4. April 28th, Durham Installed Masters' Lodge, at Durham.
5. April 29th, Sunderland & District W.M.s at Wearmouth Lodge, No. 2934.
6. June 16th, The Norths. & Hunts. Masters' Lodge, No. 3422, at Kettering.
7. July 6th, Aldwych Club Lodge, No. 3794, at Freemasons' Hall, London.
8. September 9th, Commemoration Lodge, No. 2663, at the Holborn Restaurant.
9. September 27th, Provincial Grand Officers Lodge, East Lancashire, No. 3747, at the Midland Hotel, Manchester.
10. October 10th, Bournemouth Lodge of Instruction, at Bournemouth.
11. October 19th, St. Richard's Lodge, No. 4469, at Chichester.
12. October 28th, Sheffield Past Masters' Association, at Sheffield.
13. November 4th, The Humber Installed Masters' Lodge, No. 2494, at Hull.
14. November 15th, The Hertfordshire Masters' Lodge, No. 4090, at Mark Masons Hall, London.
15. November 30th, Warwickshire Installed Masters' Lodge, No. 4538, at Birmingham.
16. December 15th, Bristol Masonic Society, at Bristol.

St. John's Day in Harvest.

SATURDAY, 23rd JUNE, 1928.

THE Lodge met at Freemason's Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. George Norman, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; J. Walter Hobbs, P.A.G.D.C., J.D., as S.W.; Thos. M. Carter, P.Pr.G.St.B., Bristol, Stew., as J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; W. J. Williams, I.G.; and J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Wm. Mitchell, Jas. J. Drought, P.G.D., L. G. Wearing, T. C. Eckenstein, A. J. Barter, F. C. Stoate, J. J. Nolan, P.G.St.B., Max Infeld, A. Chichele Rixon, Geo. C. Williams, Jas. Wallis, Geo. Simpson, C. F. Sykes, E. W. Marson, J. F. H. Gilbard, J. Toon, P.G.St.B., Hy. G. Gold, Wm. E. Bull, J. F. Greenfield, H. V. Usill, S. Dargavel, R. Wheatley, G. Vere Montague, A.G.St.B., R. H. B. Cawdron, Eric Alven, W. Davison, Wm. E. A. Candy, J. Ed. Whitty, W. Brinkworth, Donald Stevenson, F. J. Asbury, P.A.G.D.C., B. J. D. Hanna, F. K. Jewson, H. A. Matheson, E. F. Firman, B. R. James, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., John Hodgkin, P.A.G.D.C., F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., E. J. Marsh, P.G.D., J. Johnstone, and L. R. Jepson.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. R. Armitage, St. George's Lodge No. 4387; G. G. Chadwick, I.G., Marble Craft Lodge No. 3522; R. M. Prior, Croft Lodge No. 3310; Rev. Fred. J. Tackley, P.M., Ionic Lodge No. 227; H. Dalgarn-Robinson, P.M., A. J. Sweetman, P.M., J. King-Farlow, P.M., and H. Dormer, I.G., all of Harmony Lodge No. 255.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; Rev. W. W Covey-Crump, I.P.M.; E. Conder, L.R., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; Gilbert W. Daynes, S.D.; Rev. H. Poole, P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland & Cumberland, S.W.; Lionel Vibert, A.G.D.C., P.M.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., J.W.; Rodk. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; Ed. Armitage, P.G.D., Treasurer; and John Stokes, P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks.

Two Lodges and sixty-four Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. W. JENKINSON, Armagh.

PILGRIM'S CLOAK. K.T.

APRON; plain leather, square, 15in. by 15in., circular flap, edged with blue ribbon.

APRON; leather, 15in. by 13in., rounded corners, curved flap with a tassel. Pen and ink hand drawn and coloured design Craft and R.A.

JEWEL; Master's Collar Jewel, Brass. Inscription Lodge No. 846 Royal Tyrone Regt.

another; silver with engraved emblems; inscription. Lodge No. 184 Drum.

another; Senior Warden, same inscription.

another; Master's. Silver "Live on the Square." On Rv. No. 924.

J.W.'s COLLAR JEWEL. Br. Js. Brush Dub. Fecit. Engraved with emblems. Tullehern No. 618.

LODGE SEALS. Original Matrices.

Armagh City Ancient Union Band. 39.
Drum Lodge No. 184. Craft.
id. id. R.A.
id. id. K.T.
1st or Monaghan Militia Knt. Templars Conclave No. 200.
Armagh Lodge No. 76 R.A. With HZ JD on sides of pillars and arch.
Red Cross No. 623. Veritas.

JEWEL St. Patricks Senior Masonic Lodge Centenary No. 623 Armagh 1783-1883.
Presented to the Lodge.

A cordial vote of thanks was accorded to those Brethren who had kindly made presentations to the Lodge and lent objects for exhibition.

Bro. JAMES JOHNSTONE read the following paper:—

THE REV. SAMUEL HEMMING, S.G.W. 1816, G.C. 1817.

Master of Lodge of Reconciliation, 1813-1816.

Master of Lodge of Harmony, now 255.

HIS LIFE AND WORK AS CITIZEN, SCHOOLMASTER & MASON.

Compiled from new material

BY W.BRO. JAMES JOHNSTONE, F.R.C.S.,

Master of Lodge of Harmony 1911 & 1928, L.R. & L.C.R.

Introduction.

UP to the presentation, in 1910, of the late Bro. Wonnacott's notable paper on the Lodge of Reconciliation, 1813-1816, little had been known with certainty as to Bro. Dr. Samuel Hemming's activities in Masonry. Many statements had been made from time to time as to the part he played in settling the Ritual immediately after the Union in 1813. Many of these statements were conflicting. Controversy arose as the result. Bro. Wonnacott's paper cleared up the confusion for the most part, but there still remain some dark corners to be illuminated.

Of Hemming's private life little, if anything, appears to have been known except that he had taken Orders, was a Doctor of Divinity and lived at Hampton. Wonnacott in his Notices of the Members of the Lodge of Reconciliation makes no reference in that relating to Hemming, to anything but Masonic matters. Had he known anything of his private life, it is more than likely, it would have been mentioned.

Two years ago, when inquiring into the early history of the Lodge of Harmony 255, of which Hemming was a member and twelve times Master, and more particularly when information was sought as to the Toy Inn, Hampton Court, the home of the Lodge almost continuously for thirty years (1785-1818), the writer was put into touch, by Mr. E. Law, the Historian of Hampton Court, with Mr. B. Garside, History Master of the Hampton Grammar School, as one interested in the antiquities of the district. This meeting was most fortunate, for on the second interview Mr. Garside casually produced a book, which had been placed in his hands a few days before. This was the Minutes (1729-1833) of the Trustees and Governors of Hampton Free School, now known as the Grammar School. As Mr. Garside turned its pages and pointed out various items interesting to the School, a page was arrived at where the writer suddenly recognised the signature of Dr. Samuel Hemming. Further search disclosed the fact, almost a century forgotten, that the Doctor had been Headmaster of the Grammar School from 1803 till his death in 1828. From this most fortunate discovery various avenues of inquiry were opened up, with the result that a fairly full account may now be given of Hemming as regards Ancestry—descendants—early life—clerical life—activities as a Schoolmaster—public life, and lastly the manner of his passing.

This new information, derived from the Minutes 1801-1822 of the Trustees of the Free School of Hampton (now the Grammar School), from the Hampton

Vestry Minutes of that date, and from the Minute Book (1801-1822) of the Lodge of Harmony, then No. 384, now 255, and fitted in with known facts in Masonic literature, forms the bulk of the material which the writer now ventures to offer the Quatuor Coronati Lodge.

Hemming and the Grammar School of Hampton.

It was, as already stated, by the accidental discovery of the Minutes of the Grammar School Governors and Trustees, 1792-1833, that Hemming's association with the School was brought to light. The Master of the School in 1800, Revd. Richard Kilsha, had asked leave of absence on the grounds of "his Misfortunes and Embarassments." The Trustees, among whom were included the Earl of Guilford and Sir Richard Carr Glyn, appointed Hemming as Deputy during the absence and it would appear that he remained to assist on the return of the Master. Kilsha resigned in 1803 and Hemming was appointed in his place after signing a code of rules, drawn up by the Trustees, as to the collection and distribution of funds and the management of the School. It was the signature of Hemming to this document which first drew the attention of the writer to Hemming's connection with the School.

It is of interest to note that the Chairman of Trustees was Thomas Haverfield, first Senior Warden of the Lodge of Harmony at its foundation by Thos. Dunckerley in 1785 and later, at the revival of the Lodge in 1801, appointed Worshipful Master. Haverfield was Superintendent of the Gardens at Hampton Court Palace, having gained his experience under his father, John Haverfield, who had been appointed Superintendent of Kew Gardens by the Princess Dowager of Wales about 1750. Another son, John, succeeded the father at Kew Gardens. He was initiated in the Lodge of Harmony on Sept. 14th, 1785, being described as an Architect. He filled the office of Secretary of the Lodge in 1787. His son, Rev. T. Tunstall Haverfield, afterwards, on May 3, 1814, was initiated in the Lodge of his father and uncle Thomas, by Hemming as Master, and was ultimately Master himself four times between 1817 and 1834. His sister was the original of the "Little Miss Haverfield," a picture by Gainsborough now hanging in the Wallace Collection. The Haverfields have an interesting history and were intimately associated with the early activities of the Lodge of Harmony. Further details on this head will appear in a History of the Lodge, now under preparation.

To return to Hemming's appointment as Master of the Free School at Hampton, his signature to a "charge" of duties had been necessitated by difficulties which the Trustees had experienced with his predecessor, Kilsha. One clause runs thus: "That the School Master elected by the Parishioners and "appointed by the Trustees, shall personally and constantly attend the duties of "the School, and with proper assistants instruct the scholars, children of resident "Parishioners, in the English and Latin Tongue, Writing and Arithmetic, and "instruct them in their Religious and Moral Duties." Another clause: "That "the School Master shall make a proper allowance for Pens, Ink, Paper, Books "and Firing for the use of the scholars, during the school hours, and suffer no "extra charge to be made on the Parents of the scholars." Also: "9th. That "the Candidates for the office of School Master shall previous to the Election "enter in to an agreement by signing the foregoing conditions, that whichever "shall be elected, He will covenant with the Trustees to comply with foregoing "conditions, formed by them for the better Regulation of this Free School . . .

. . . .

"Resolved That the Chairman do sign the above Regulations as being "unanimously agreed to by the Trustees Present.
" Thos. Haverfield. Chairman.
"We the undersigned do hereby signify our afsent to the foregoing Resolutions
" (a trustee) Wm. Jackson.
" Samuel Hemming D.D.
" Heny. Dixon. Clerk."

The School at this time was held in a building adjoining the north wall of the Parish Church of Hampton and in its Churchyard. It was erected in 1726 and used for other than school purposes, *i.e.*, for parish functions and Vestry meetings. Education was free to all sons of resident parishioners except for a slight extra expense for books in the case of Latin scholars, of which the number was few. The average attendance 1803-15 was about 50, rising to 70 a little later but falling by 1823 to 34. Seventy taxed the accommodation to its utmost and must also have taxed the staff as there was only one assistant in this school of all ages.

There is little to record for the first dozen years except that in 1805 Hemming became non-resident Rector of East Lavant, Sussex, two miles north of Chichester, which Rectory he retained until his death. He also held during his life the Rectory of Fawkenham (or Fawkham), Kent.

In 1814 (12th July) he stood as candidate with one other, the Rev. Wm. Church, for the post of Lecturer of the Parish Church of Hampton. He was unsuccessful, having obtained 117 votes as against his opponent's 126. The Vestry Minutes give the procedure in great detail.

Then in 1816 came a change in the School affairs which indicated a ruffle on the hitherto smooth water. The endowments of the School had been administered by two bodies of Trustees, one for the Hamonde and Pigeon funds, the other for the Jones properties. They now become amalgamated into one body, and by coincidence or consequence, it is impossible to say which, this year marks the outbreak of difficulties between Trustees and Master, no doubt with harm to the School. The difficulties, as detailed in the Minutes, continued in an intense form for three years, lingering in a milder form to the end in 1828.

It is hardly practicable and perhaps not desirable at this distance of time and with the record of the Trustees only as chief guide, to pronounce definite judgment on one side or another. A petty and doubtless irritating attitude on the part of the Trustees seems to have been met by a rather haughty and high-handed but efficient safeguarding of his position on the part of the Master. Nevertheless he appears, even through dust of battle and wordy controversy, as a man of culture, dignity and determination.

A contributing factor in the situation, and that from the Masonic side, may be considered here. We know that from the end of 1813 to early in 1816 Hemming's duties at the Lodge of Reconciliation must have taken him very frequently to London, and as the Lodge of Reconciliation and other Masonic metings were "usually held in the evening," it meant that Hemming would have to stay the night in London, as Dunckerley mentioned having done some years before. Hampton by road is fifteen miles from London. Transit, in these days before railways, was either by public stage coach, posting or private carriage. Dunckerley in one of his letters informs us that a visitor to the Lodge meeting at the Toy Inn at twelve o'clock would have to leave Holborn a little before eight a.m. in order to arrive at Hampton Court soon after eleven a.m. In view of the time taken in transit up and down, it is obvious that Reconciliation, Grand Lodge, Grand Stewards Lodge and interviews, which were frequent, with the Grand Master, the Duke of Sussex, at Kensington Palace, must have made serious inroads on Hemming's school time and duties. Under December 29th, 1814, we have this entry in the Lodge Minutes: "Paid Bro. Hemming for Chaise etc. to Kensington Palace £2.0.0." This must have been on Lodge of Harmony business, but Minutes of previous meetings throw no light on the reason for the journey to the Grand Master, the Duke of Sussex, at Kensington Palace. There was trouble with the landlord of the Toy Inn at this time and the Lodge thought of moving. On another previous occasion the good offices of the Duke of Sussex had been enlisted, through Hemming, to procure accommodation in the Palace adjoining, but without success. It is possible such may have been the nature of Hemming's errand on this occasion.

Realising the difficulties of time and method in transit and aware of Hemming's very frequent visits to London, the writer warned Mr. Garside, his collaborator who searched the School and Vestry Minutes, to look out for possible

charges against Hemming by his School Trustees for neglect of duty. The prediction was only too true, and it is fair to assume that Hemming's assiduity in the discharge of his important trust as Master of the Lodge of Reconciliation led to slackness in his School duty as the result of frequent absence.

The disputes referred to ranged round a variety of subjects with amusing situations and tactics. There were decided signs of local feeling for both sides. Hemming gave the Trustees some very uncomfortable moments. The upshot was a draw, and our Revd. Brother stayed in his citadel!

The matters notably in dispute included the right of the Master, as beneficiary of the Rectory, to receive the Chancel fees, the management of the Rectory lands and of the Bell Inn (a part of the Hamonde property and School endowment), the regular personal attendance of the Master at the School, the teaching of Latin, and the general system of education. As regards the Chancel fees a curious situation arose. Of the Churchwardens, who, with the Vicar, claimed the fees as against Hemming, one at least was a member of the School Trustees.

As relating to the general system of instruction it may be recorded that the Trustees on 6th Feb., 1817, attended the School and "the Scholars performed their several exercises in their presence." Between 1815 and 20 many letters reached the Trustees from Hemming. These still exist and, though not of a sensational nature and not easily understandable, taken by themselves, assist in pointing out the true significance of this stormy time. For many years previous to the trouble, Hemming had been left to manage School and endowments very much as he wished, the Trustees in their two separate bodies doing little to hamper or to help him. With the amalgamation, which coincided with an all-round revival of parish politics, there came that pushing desire to make their weight felt which inspires our village Hampdens from time to time. The Trustees were doubtless often within their rights but not by any means always, and in any case the position must have been trying for Hemming. There is room for sympathy with both sides, but in any case it would be foolish to attach too much weight to the suspicions and thrusts aimed at Hemming, in the Trustees' Minutes. In at least one case, an examination of the Vestry Books by the side of the School Minutes shows several of the Trustees as guilty of hypocritical tactics.

These unhappy discords simmered down after 1819 or 20, as would appear from the diminished output of the Keeper of the Minutes. In 1822 appeared a proposal, later carried out, to divide the School into lower and higher sections, forced on the Trustees by the increasing difficulties of providing for the needs of "Gentlemen's Sons," middle class and lower class children, all in one comprehensive scheme. The proposal matured several years later, after Hemming's death, in 1833, when in a new building, erected outside the graveyard, lower and upper schools occupied different parts.

Meanwhile, to return to Hemming, his influence was felt from 1820-1827 in the life of the parish, no doubt for its good. He took part in such concerns as the management of the poor, as committee-man for the enlarging of the Church, and in auditing various parish accounts. Vestry Minutes show him appearing on thirty-eight separate occasions. In 1820, on Feb. 12th, we find him one of a Select Vestry for the affairs of the poor, and on Feb. 19th he is present in Vestry and signs next to the Duke of Clarence (later William IV.) with whom he appears, as with the Royal Brother the Duke of Sussex, to have been on more than usual intimate terms. Later in the year he is in the chair at the making of the Poor Rate, and also at a meeting against the unauthorised ringing of the bells. On the 16th December he seconded a handsome tribute to his old opponent of 1814, the Rev. Wm. Church. Again on March 28th, 1821, he is one of the Select Vestry for the Poor along with the Duke of Clarence, then residing for long periods in Bushey Park, Hampton Court, and taking active and intimate interest in parochial and local affairs. Various other entries show Hemming to have been on active duty down to appointment to a Select Vestry on 17th April, 1827.

But there is evidence that his health was indifferent, for on September 20th, 1824, his affairs or his health led him to request leave of absence for two or three years to go to the Rectory of Lavant in Sussex, with an assurance that he would appoint, or submit to the Trustees appointing, a sufficient deputy in addition to Mr. O'Neill, the assistant teacher. The request may be in some way connected with the death of his daughter in this year. The proposal caused some hesitation on the part of the Trustees, who probably had recollection of a similar petition from his predecessor. The result was that he did not go. His failure of the application may be connected with the collapse of two years later, when, about November, 1826, he was attacked by a "paralytic complaint" which kept him from duty till May of next year. At that time he would appear not to have been beyond hope of recovery, for the Trustees' Minutes show that a communication was made to the Master's doctors, Messrs. Gilchrist and Jepson, asking for their opinion as to his present state and future possibilities. Naturally the Trustees would be concerned for the care of the School in the Master's absence. The reply of the doctors would have been of real interest, but unfortunately there is no trace of such. The next announcement in the Minutes is decisive enough; for on June 16th, 1828, the Trustees held an emergency meeting at which "The Chairman informed the Trustees that the "Rev^d^. Samuel Hemming Doctor in Divinity late Master of the Free School of "this parish, departed this Life yesterday Evening the 15th Ins^t^. and that the "Purpose of the meeting was to deliberate upon such measures as may be "rendered necessary to be taken by the Trustees in Consequence of such Event."

And so at last the old fighter found rest from what was a long and trying ordeal. Trouble followed him to the end, for four days before he died his daughter, Henrietta Mary, aged 21 years, was buried in Hampton Churchyard, where he also was laid to rest on 24th June, in his sixty-second year.

The vault in which he and his family are interred has up to the present not been identified, though it was seen there some years ago by his great-great-grandson, Maj.-Genl. Hemming.

Hemming had been Master of the Free School of Hampton for twenty-four and a-half years. For half that time the School had an unchronicled and possibly uneventful history, whilst the latter half had begun and continued in storm and stress which can have done it but little good.

Hemming commands much of our sympathy, which probably would not be over-readily received by his independent spirit. Our sympathy is mingled with deserved admiration for his unceasing fight against heavy odds. His culture and broad interests, apparent to us, may have been unrecognised for the most part by those with whom he had to work in a country school and a country parish.

Here we make a note of two points:—

First as to the date of Hemming's death. On reference to current Masonic literature and in particular to Wonnacott's paper on the Lodge of Reconciliation, we find 1832 mentioned as the date of death. The extract from School Minutes above make it quite certain that the correct date is 1828, four years earlier.

Second as to Hemming's sanity. It was commonly reported in the latter half of last century and in the early years of this, that Hemming lost his reason and therefore was unable to complete the Masonic work (lectures) he had undertaken. From the information given above as to his school activity and work in the parish it is evident that till he had the paralytic seizure in November, 1826, his mind was in a normal condition. Ten and a-half years had elapsed since the work of the Lodge of Reconciliation was completed and the work of the three degrees, etc., was fixed and approved by Grand Lodge. If Hemming had undertaken any work on the Lectures, by command or otherwise, he had ample time in which to do it and certainly "loss of reason" could not be assigned as a cause. Wonnacott states that he attended Grand Lodge up to 1821. Probably he dropped out of London Masonry on account of his advancing years, the strain

of travelling, and, more likely still, on account of the pressure brought on him by his Trustees to attend more closely to his work.

Entry into Masonry and work in Lodge of Harmony, 255.

Hemming has been known in Masonic literature as belonging to the Lodge of Harmony 255, meeting originally at the Toy Inn, Hampton Court (1785-1818). Of this Lodge he was Master twelve times.

The first record of Hemming in the Minutes of the Lodge is on July 21st, 1803, the day of the Anniversary Meeting. In accordance with custom the brethren met early in the day, opened the Lodge and then proceeded to Hampton Church in public procession, for which a dispensation had been obtained. Here is the Minute:—

> "This day being the Annual Feast and Time of Election of Officers, "the Rev. Bro. Hemming, from an application being made by the "Members of this Lodge, kindly condescended to favour us with a "Sermon at the Parish Church of Hampton. The Lodge went in grand "Procession to and from Church with strict order and propriety (after "having obtained A Legal Dispensation from the Grand Lodge for that "purpose)."

After the details of Election of Master and appointment of Officers, with appropriate charge, the Minute continues:—

> "Bro. Walton (I.P.M.) Proposed the Rev^{d}. B^{r}. D^{r}. Hemming, the "Lodge of No. 2 Somerset House, to become a Member of this Lodge "which was seconded and unanimously accepted."

There were present ten brethren of the Lodge and sixteen visitors. The House bill and Tyler amounted to £11.2.0. The Clause "the Lodge of No. 2 Somerset House" is interpolated above the line, and being in different coloured ink was probably an addition, after the Minute was written, but by the same scribe. In following up this clue the writer was directed by W.Bro. Songhurst to W.Bro. Rev. A. W. Oxford, the Historian of Lodge No. 4, Royal Somerset House and Inverness, from the Minutes and Attendance Books of which the following facts are obtained. The Rev. John Hemming, of Teddington, with Revd. Thomas Vialls, of 35, Piccadilly, were proposed on Dec. 20th, 1802, by Charles Marsh (J.G.W. 1778), of the War Office, and seconded by Hezeltine (then Grand Treasurer). They were approved on Jan. 24th, 1803, made on Feb. 14th, passed on Feb. 28th, and raised on Mar. 28th. Hemming paid £10 on Feb. 14th and the balance £3.15 on Feb. 28th. Vialls was not so prompt and paid £13.15.0 on Mar. 14th. Vialls' address is later given as Twickenham. He became Prov. Grand Master of Radnor in 1807.

It will be noted that the Christian name of Hemming is given as John. The identification of John and Samuel gave the historian of No. 4 some trouble and some excitement in March, 1927. Reference to the Lodge returns in Grand Lodge and the discovery of Hemming's signature in the earliest Attendance Book of No. 4 under date Dec. 19th, 1803, have settled the matter and Royal Somerset House and Inverness adds another Masonic luminary to its goodly roll.

Hemming's attendances at No. 4, subsequent to his being raised on Mar. 28th, 1803, were all in 1803, viz., Apr. 25th, May 23rd, Nov. 28th and Dec. 19th. He then vanishes from his Mother Lodge. This may be accounted for by his meeting with the brethren of Lodge of Harmony at Hampton, less than a mile from his home, and joining the Lodge as already described. From that time he became a regular attender and made rapid progress both in the Lodge and in Masonic knowledge. His Masonic Diary with extracts from the Minutes may be made thus:—

1803 July 21st. Lodge of Harmony: preached anniversary sermon; elected a member; paid 7/6 entrance fee.

Aug. 2nd. Lodge of Harmony: attended; heard the Entered Apprentice's Lecture "worked with order & regularity."

Aug. 30th. Lodge of Harmony: acted as P.M. pro. tem.; heard part of the Entered Apprentice's Lecture.

Sept. 27th. Lodge of Harmony: heard part of the E.A. Lecture.

Nov. 1st. ,, ,, ,, not present.

Nov. 28th. No. 2 Somerset House Lodge: attended.

Nov. 29th. Lodge of Harmony: not present.

Dec. 19th. No. 2 Somerset House Lodge: attended, for the last time.

Dec. 27th. Lodge of Harmony: attended, acted as R.W.M. pro. tem. "Mr. Robt. Holmes was initiated into the first degree of "Masonry and Pass that of the Second and become a "Member of this Lodge." Bro. Holmes paid the remainder of his Initiation Fee of £2.12.6 and one Quarter up to Lady Day.

From the Chair Hemming proposed the Election of the New Master for ensuing six months.

1804 Jan. 24th. Lodge of Harmony: attended as P.M. pro. tem. "The "R.W.M. worked part of E.A. Lecture."

Feb. 28th. Lodge of Harmony: attended, seconded a Candidate, witnessed initiation and passing.

Mar. 27th. Lodge of Harmony: attended, witnessed a "raising." paid 2/- for the "Grand Hall" with the rest. Total £1.8.0.

April 24th. Lodge of Harmony: attended, S.W. pro. tem., proposed a new Member.

May 22nd. Lodge of Harmony: attended, witnessed an initiation.

June 26th. Lodge of Harmony: attended. P.M. pro. tem., proposed two Candidates, proposed the suspension of 7th Article of Byelaws to enable one of his proposed Candidates, Lieut. Wm. Barton Tennison of 9th Light Dragoon Guards to be made a Mason, which was carried and done. Seconded the Election of the New Master (for six months).

June 29th. Lodge of Harmony: Committee to arrange for Anniversary Meeting, procession and Divine Service. Bro. Dr. Hemming heads the list of Members of this Committee. Arranged "to provide a Band of Music, £2.12.6, and a "Choir of Singers at the rate of one pound one shilling to "attend the Brethren on that day."

July 19th. Lodge of Harmony: attended as an ordinary Brother. Seventeen Members and twenty-three Visitors present. "Resolved unanimously that the thanks of this Lodge be "given to our Revd. Bro. Viall for his most excellent "sermon preached on the Festival of St. John's on the "19th July 1804." Vialls was his Co-initiate in No. 2 Somerset House (now No. 4).

Aug. 21st. Lodge of Harmony: attended as P.M. pro. tem. Hemming proposes consideration of an increase in the quarterly payments at next Lodge meeting (ultimately carried by a majority of one).

Sept. 18th. Lodge of Harmony: attended, P.M. pro. tem.

At subsequent meetings Hemming acts, pro. tem., as P.M., S.W., J.W. and Secretary, occasionally as an ordinary Member till April, 1806, when he is

actual J.W.: January, 1807, actual S.W., and February, 1808, actual Right Worshipful Master.

On June 9th, 1805, on the occasion of the Anniversary, the usual procession and "going to Church" being dispensed with, the Lodge met at 12 noon and Hemming was to the fore in accordance with a resolution "that our Rev^{d}. Bro. "Hemming be solicited to give a Lecture suitable to the occasion in Open Lodge." The Brethren of neighbouring Lodges, on express invitation, attended to the number of nineteen. There was a "raising" as well. Dinner was ordered "to be on the table by half past two o'clock."

From the above it is evident that Hemming was a keen Mason from the start; that he threw himself into the work of the Lodge of Harmony and that his aptitude for "Ceremony" was unusual—as evidenced by his taking the Master's Chair, pro. tem., nine months after entering into Masonry and initiating Mr. Robt. Holmes on Dec. 27th, 1803. We wonder what may have been the subject of his "Lecture" in Lodge in 1805, as a two year old Mason!

Hemming occupied the Master's Chair for nine years in succession, 1808 to 1816, and again in 1820, 1821 and 1826, twelve times in all.

When selected as Master of Lodge of Reconciliation he had been Master six times, and during that period the ceremonies performed by him were as follows:—

Initiation	13 times
Passing	13 ,,
Raising	12 ,,
Passing to Master in the Chair, etc.	13 ,,
E.A.P. Lecture (part or whole) ...	14 ,,
2nd Lecture	1 ,,
3rd Lecture	2 ,,

At the meeting subsequent to being first appointed to the Chair, in 1808, Hemming appears in a different light. "The R.W.M. having "unguardedly "transgressed one of the laws of Masonry by offering to lay a Wager immediately "paid a fine of 2/6." This is the only record in the Lodge of such a fine having been levied or paid and as such may be presumed to have been done as a joke.

The Erring Brethren of Reconciliation.

Lawrence Thompson.

Present at the Lodge of Harmony on March 8th, 1814, as a Visitor was "Thompson Vis^{r}. W.M. of Lodge of Felicity." Bro. Wonnacott in his paper, already referred to, describes Lawrence Thompson, a Member of the Lodge of Reconciliation, as of the Lodge of Felicity No. 54 (Moderns). There is little reason for doubting that these entries refer to the same person. Bro. Thompson was ordered to be reprimanded by Hemming, as Master of the Lodge of Reconciliation, for printing certain letters, marks, etc. As the Reconciliation Lodge Minute referring to this episode is not dated, it is uncertain whether it occurred before or after this visit of Thompson's to the Lodge of Harmony, which he attended no doubt as Hemming's guest. It is interesting to conjecture why Hemming had invited him, the first of his confrères at the Lodge of Reconciliation to be so invited. (*A.Q.C.* xxiii., pp. 243 and 277.)

John Heath Goldsworthy.

The Minute of Lodge of Harmony of July 29th, 1814, mentions as a Visitor a name which at once recalls the story of the organised opposition to the work of the Lodge of Reconciliation in the Autumn of 1814. The name of the Visitor is Goldsworthy. Unfortunately the Minute gives no initial or other indication which would enable the Visitor to be easily identified with J. H. Goldsworthy, one of the original Members of the Lodge of Reconciliation appointed from the Antients by the Duke of Kent. But the probabilities are

strongly in favour of that identification. Bro. Wonnacott in his Reconciliation paper (p. 234) describes the opposition as being led by Bro. J. H. Goldsworthy, who was the prime mover in an "influential Committee of protest." This Committee had existed for some considerable time before 30th Sept., 1814. On that date it passed dissenting resolutions which were printed and circulated among the Athol Lodges. Of the subsequent History of the opposition and Goldsworthy's removal from the Lodge of Reconciliation it is unnecessary to make mention here. Presuming that the Visitor to Harmony Lodge on July 29th was the J. H. Goldsworthy, who schemed the opposition before Sept. 30th, why was he present at Hemming's Lodge, presumably as Hemming's guest? One may be allowed the surmise that Hemming, the Master of Reconciliation, had early knowledge of Goldsworthy's disaffection and took this opportunity of having a quiet talk with the malcontent.

It speaks well for a conciliatory spirit in Hemming if he invited these two erring brethren of the Lodge of Reconciliation to the quiet seclusion of Hampton, for a brotherly interview before dealing with their misdeeds in "open Lodge."

"Passing to the Chair," by Hemming of Thos. Bell, a member of Reconciliation.

On 29th November, 1814, at a regular meeting of the Lodge of Harmony, with Hemming in the Chair and ten members present, there was an unusual number of Visitors, ten in number, of which two were Members of the Lodge of Reconciliation. The reason for this special occasion is explained by the Minute:—

> "The R.W.M. was pleased to pass B^r^. Thos. Bell, B^r^. John Warne, "B^r^. Thos. Williams, B^r^. Thos. Tunstall Haverfield, B^r^. Ambrose "Lanshoot and Bro. George Thackrah to the sublime degrees of Masters "in the Chair and Masters of Arts and Sciences preparatory to their "being exalted to the sublime degree of Royal Arch Masons."

Of these six candidates one, Bro. Thos. Bell, was a co-member of the Lodge of Reconciliation with Hemming. This means that at least one, and probably others, of the Members of the Lodge of Reconciliation, though Masters or Past Masters of Lodges, had not been installed in their office.

The Visitors were (no initials are given):—

"Woodthorpe	...	...	Caledonian Lodge
"Mac'Can	...	...	
"Jones	...	...	
"Thompson	...	...	Lodge of Friendship
"Oliver	...	...	
"LaMarchan	...	...	Foreigner
"Bell	...	...	Caledonian Lodge
"Warne	...	...	Do.
"Williams	...	...	
"Thackrah	...	...	Somerset House Lodge."

Mac'Can no doubt is James McCann of the Lo. of Reconciliation.

Jones. There were two Jones in Lo. of Reconciliation—Stephen and Joseph. It may have been either of these.

Thompson. Lawrence Thompson of Reconciliation belonged to Lo. of Felicity No. 54 and Lo. of Antiquity No. 1. The visitor was from Lodge of Friendship, and therefore, as far as is at present known, was not a Member of Reconciliation.

Oliver. Is it possible this may have been W. Oliver of Lo. of Reconciliation?

Bell. Is identified by his Christian name and his Lodge as a Member of Reconciliation.

Warne. A brother Member of Caledonian Lodge with Bell: was not in Reconcilation.

Williams. Failing his Christian name and Lodge, cannot be identified. It is very unlikely to have been William Williams of the Lo. of Reconciliation, for the honour of P.G.M. of Dorset is almost sure to have been mentioned.

Thackrah. Of No. 2 Somerset House Lodge; visited several times at Harmony. He was not a Member of Reconociliation.

To sum up. We are able to identify two of the ten Visitors as Members of Lo. of Reconciliation. Two others, Jones and Oliver, might have been.

The ceremony of "passing to the Sublime Degree of Master in the Chair and Master of Arts and Sciences" was frequently performed in the Lodge of Harmony "preparatory to being exalted to the Sublime Degree of Royal Arch Masonry." The Chapter of Iris had been formed in connection with the Lodge in 1807 and brethren of the Lodge and outside brethren were "passed" in this way so as to become eligible for the Chapter. Hemming's occupancy of the Chair in Lodge for so many years in succession and so blocking the promotion of junior officers to the Chair was one factor in leading to the frequency of "passing to the Chair."

One is tempted to surmise that on this particular occasion Hemming's working may have been something of the nature of a demonstration if the brethren of Lo. of Reconciliation were thinking of fixing the installation ceremony as well as the other ceremonies for which they had warrant.

Also this occasion may be taken as some indication that the Moderns had not yet fully adopted the Royal Arch and were feeling their way in this ceremony preparatory to it: both were new to many of them.

Broadfoot in Hemming's Lodge.

In Bro. Wonnacott's paper on Lodge of Reconciliation (*A.Q.C.* xxiii., 274) in giving information as to Hemming, there is a footnote: "It "was in this Lodge (Lodge of Harmony 384 of the Moderns, now 255) he "used to practice his lectures where Bro. Broadfoot declared he heard them and "adopted them."

Time and circumstance have not allowed the writer to trace this statement of Broadfoot's to its source, but Bro. Wonnacott may be relied on. Reference to the Minutes of the Lodge of Harmony, 255, reveals the fact that during the time of Hemming's activity in the Lodge of Reconciliation, 1813-1816, and down to November, 1822 (when the Minutes are lost), Broadfoot appears as a Visitor on one occasion only, *i.e.*, on May 27th, 1817. Extract from the Minute is as follows:—

"Present: Bros. Samuel Hemming R.W.M. pro. tem. R.W.P.M.
" ,, — Broadfoot S.W. pro. tem. Visitor.
" ,, — Satterley J.W. pro. tem. Visitor.
" ,, Charles Bates, S.D. pro. tem. (a Member)
" ,, Edwd. Delafosse J.D. pro. tem. ,, ,,
" ,, Geo. Moss P.M.
" ,, John Murray Treasurer
" ,, W^{m}. Smart
" ,, Festar Geo. Ruddock.

"The Lodge was opened in due form in the 1st & 2nd degrees of "Masonry and the Minutes of the last Lodge read and confirmed and Bros. "Capt. Edwd. Delafosse was ballotted for to become a Member of this "Lodge and was approved unanimously—and the R.W.M. was pleased to "pass Bro. Col. Festar George Ruddock into the 2nd. degree, namely, "that of Fellow Craft Mason."

. . . .

"Nothing more being proposed . . . untill Tuesday July 1st 1817."

As other Minutes contain frequent references to working of sections. lectures, and Lodge Board, etc., and as there is no mention of anything of this nature having been done on this occasion, it may be taken that all Broadfoot heard was the opening in the first and second degrees, the ceremony of passing and the closing. This visit was many months after Reconciliation had demonstrated its work before Grand Lodge and ceased to exist. The ceremonies had been thus fixed and accepted and Broadfoot knew all about them. It is curious that Satterley (another Member of the Lodge of Reconciliation) had accompanied him on his visit. The putting of these two Visitors into the Wardens' Chairs was unusual for the Lodge. Of such a practice no other record has so far been found. If the occasion was in any way unusual, it may have been on account of the Candidate, who was an Army Officer of superior rank and of "Fulham Park." He had been initiated in the previous April. There is no subsequent mention of his having been raised or having taken office, nor of resigning or death, and he does not appear to have attended again. Hemming took the Chair in the absence of the Master, Rev. T. T. Haverfield. Likewise the S.W. and J.W. being absent, the Visitors might naturally take the vacant places. Why did Broadfoot and Satterley visit? still remains to be answered. It does not seem likely that they came specially to see Hemming's working.

Hemming, William Williams and the Lectures.

That Bro. William Williams, Provincial Grand Master of Dorset, completed Hemming's Work on Ritual or Lectures is a statement so oft repeated and in so many different forms that we are left wondering as to what the actual truth may be. First it may be noted that Williams attended at Lodge of Reconciliation only five times as against an average of about twenty-five to the credit of the regular attender like Hemming.

Hemming's work on the Ritual of the Three Degrees was completed in 1816 when the final arrangement of these ceremonies was demonstrated before the Duke of Sussex and Grand Lodge and finally adopted on 5th June, 1816. There is no evidence that Williams took more than an ordinary Member's part in the work. He was certainly not one of the team of Officers who had so often worked with Hemming as Master and finally demonstrated on the 5th of June. So the presumption is, unless more definite evidence to the contrary comes forward, that Williams took no unusual part in the arrangement of the Ritual.

The possibility that he had something to do with the Lectures, which it is known Hemming was preparing, is more likely. Here notice may be taken of another oft repeated, and almost universally believed, statement that Williams "settled" or had largely to do with the Book of Constitutions at the Union, for which he was specially thanked by the Duke of Sussex and Grand Lodge. The vote of thanks by Grand Lodge (6th March, 1816) followed immediately after a series of unpleasant incidents in which the reputation of Williams was assailed by Bonnor. It is obvious the vote was in some part a solatium to the feelings of Bro. Williams, and not because he settled the Book of Constitutions. Careful perusal of the Minutes of Grand Lodge and Board of General Purposes 1813, *et seq.*: and of the Book of Constitutions (1815) as adopted at the Union elicit the following facts. At the Union on 27th Dec., 1813, the work of compiling the Book of Constitutions was referred to the Commissioners of the Union.

Early in 1814, the Board of General Purposes, included in a report to Grand Lodge the framing of the Book of Constitutions as part of its duties, thus taking the matter out of the hands of the Commissioners of the Union.

In the subsequent compilation it does not appear that Williams took any more part than other Members of the Board, but when it came to the question of copyright and printing, Williams plays an important part. To prevent spurious copies of the Book of Constitutions being published the Board had to vest the copyright in someone.

It was vested in Williams.

The Title is as follows:—

"Constitutions of the Antient Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons.
"Part the Second. containing the Charges Regulations &c. &c.
"Published, by the Authority of United Grand Lodge, by William
"Williams Esq. Prov.G.M. for County of Dorset."

This was issued in 1815. On one page is the "Sanction," parts of which are as follows:—

"At a Grand Lodge, assembled on the 27th day of December 1813 it "was resolved, 'That the Laws and Regulations which existed in the "two societies previous to the re-union should be referred to the Board "of General Purposes with directions for them to form one system for "the future government of the united craft.'"

Then follow the details concerning preparation, lying open for perusal, weekly meetings of Board of General Purposes to receive and discuss amendments, two Special Meetings of Grand Lodge and final approval. No mention is made of William Williams. The final paragraph of the Sanction is as follows:—

"It being essential that these Laws should be printed for the use of "the Lodges, and the copy-right preserved, the R.W. Bro. William "Williams, Provincial Grand Master for the county of Dorset, offered "to take upon himself the printing and publishing, and to apply any "profit which may accrue to the use of the Grand Lodge, which offer "the Grand Lodge gratefully accepted: and thereupon unanimously "resolved, that Bro. WILLIAM WILLIAMS be authorized to print a new "edition of the Book of Constitutions and that the copy-right thereof "be vested in him."

It will be noted that the wording of the "Sanction" is at variance with the Minutes of the United Grand Lodge of 27th Dec., 1813 (the day of the Union) which distinctly refer the compilation of the Book of Constitutions to the "Commissioners of the Union." The Board of General Purposes at the next meeting of Grand Lodge, March 2nd, 1814, were at their suggestion given the matter to deal with. Further it may be noted that the only part that Williams played was in reference to the copyright and publishing. This for want of other evidence must finally dispose of the belief that he was responsible for or "settled" the Book of Constitutions at the Union. The further inference, accepted and used as an argument in certain quarters, that because he was competent to settle the Book of Constitutions he was therefore competent to complete the work "left" by Hemming, must also fall to the ground.

Hemming and the Ritual, after Reconciliation.

One cannot discuss Hemming and his work without being drawn into the vortex of controversy which, as it has for nearly a hundred years, so now centres with undiminished force round the question of "correct ritual."

The writer does not propose for a moment to take sides in that controversy but begs to be allowed to refer to it as it relates to Hemming. Established facts only will be stated and these may or must speak for themselves.

We may begin with the Minute of the Lodge of Reconciliation of 3rd May, 1816 (*A.Q.C.* xxiii., pp. 273-274), and reproduce the attendance:—

Special Meeting of Lodge of Reconciliation. Friday 3 May 1816.

The M.W.	H.R.Hss. Duke of Sussex	G.Master
×	Rev[d]. Sam[l]. Hemming	W.M.
+	James McCann	S.W.
	William Shadbolt	J.W.
+	Philip Broadfoot	S.D.

+ Thomas Satterley	J.D.	
Thomas Bell	I.G.	
Stephen Jones		
× R. F. Mesteyar		
W. D. Cummins		
Rich^d^. Bayley		
× L. Thompson		
Thos. Harland.		
Jas. Agar	Sir F^rd^. Fowke	
W. Williams	Sir Geo. Nayler	
H. J. Costa	× W. H. White	Secretaries
H. D. O. Kelly	× E. Harper	Secretaries
Willm. Meyrick		

(No Minutes.)

\+ Founders of Stability Lodge of Instruction, 1817.
× Members of ,, ,, ,,

(Also Jordan and Harper not present above.)

As Bro. Wonnacott writes: "This must have been a proper exhibition "ceremony or ceremonies and indicates that the ritual was now taking final and "definite shape, and rehearsed for a final display to be shortly given. For "Monday, 20th May, a Special Grand Lodge was summoned, at which the "Duke of Sussex was again present, and the whole of the Ceremonies, openings, "closings and test questions were gone through, but no discussion was on that "occasion permitted. . . ."

But on "Wednesday 5 June . . . the form of working as presented by the Lodge of Reconciliation was finally adopted."

It may be noted that an ample, careful and, may it be said, convincing statement is set out in Bro. Golby's "A Century of Stability," 1921, to which the writer is indebted for much information and numerous references to original documents. It is a fitting supplement to Wonnacott's paper on Lo. of Reconciliation.

Three of the Members of Reconciliation, three of the team of five Officers who assisted Hemming in the final rehearsal on May 3rd, 1816, and who probably likewise demonstrated the completed workings before Grand Lodge on 20th May, 1816, founded the Stability Lodge of Instruction not later than Dec. 19th of the following year. Seven other Members of the Lodge of Reconciliation joined within the next few years, Hemming joining three years after the start. It is inconceivable that anyone can deny that true Reconciliation working was carried out in Stability Lodge of Instruction. Following the custom of Lodges of Instruction at that time and previously, the instruction took the form of "Lectures." Whatever was the form of lectures previous to 1816, subsequent lectures, and certainly those done in Stability, would have been modified to fall into line with the re-arranged ceremonies accepted by Grand Lodge in 1816. And when the ceremonies were done by or under the supervision of the Reconciliation Members of Stability Lodge of Instruction in their own or other regular Lodges, it is only reasonable to assume that these ceremonies would be conducted on Reconciliation lines.

Hemming joined Stability Lodge of Instruction 29th Mar. 1820, and on 5th of January, 1821, the W.M. invited him to "take the Chair which he Accordly Did and the Lecture was most Ably Worked . . ." (*A Century of Stability*, p. 60.)

Again on April 21st, 1826, "Hemming was invited to Preside when the "lecture was most ably worked by the Rev^d^. D^r^. Saml. Hemming assisted by the "following Brethren . . ."

Here it may be repeated that it was in November of this year, 1826, that Hemming was laid aside by a "paralytic complaint" which closed further

activity, Masonic or otherwise, till his death on June 15th, 1828. There is additional evidence from the above that he was in possession of all his faculties until less than two years before his death.

Here we must leave the subject of Hemming and the Ritual. So far nothing has been discovered in the Minutes of the Lodge of Harmony to throw further light on the subject. The evidence we are eager for and hoping for may yet come to light.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Johnstone on the proposition of Bro. Norman, seconded by Bro. J. Walter Hobbs: comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. J. J. Nolan, F. W. Golby, W. J. Williams, J. Heron Lepper, John Hodgkin, E. W. Marson, and C. F. Sykes.

Bro. C. F. Sykes *writes*:—

The History of the Hemming Lodge No. 1512, published 1924, has as frontispiece a portrait of Dr. S. Hemming. It evidently represents the Doctor at a later period of life than the picture exhibited at the Q.C. Lodge meeting on 23rd June.

The Lodge history under 1899 states:—

> "During this year Bro. R. O. Hemming joined the Lodge, as he wished to belong to a Lodge bearing his grandfather's name. In conjunction with another Brother, Major Hemming, he presented the oil painting of his grandfather (always on view in the Lodge) and some of the working tools."

The picture bears the following inscription:—

> "The Very W. Bro. Dr. S. Hemming P.G., Chaplain of England., 1817.
> Presented by his Grandson, Bro. R. O. Hemming, January 19th, 1899."

Bro. F. W. Golby said:—

In his paper on the Lodge of Reconciliation (*A.Q.C.* xxiii., p. 274), Bro. Wonnacott, in a footnote giving information about Hemming, says:—

> "It was in this Lodge (Lodge of Harmony) he used to practice his lectures, where Bro. Broadfoot declared he heard them, and adopted them."

Commenting on this, Bro. Johnstone in his paper read to-night says:—

> "Time and circumstance have not allowed the writer to trace this statement of Broadfoot's to its source, but Bro. Wonnacott may be relied on."

Bro. Wonnacott appears to have taken this statement from Sadler's "History of the Emulation Lodge of Improvement," relating to a case before the Board of General Purposes in the year 1819, wherein he refers to official papers and books which were not available for reference by the Craft at the time, about 1916 or 1917, when I was preparing the matter for my book, "A Century of Stability," published in 1921. On page 28 of that book it

is stated that "the Minute Book of the Board of General Purposes for the year 1819 cannot now be found." This Minute Book, however, was discovered by the present Librarian of Grand Lodge (Bro. Gordon Hills), who notified me of the fact and said that it was open to my inspection whenever I required to see it. On the 17th April last I saw the book and therein found Notes, presumably made by the President of the Board, of the evidence given by various Brethren at a meeting of the Board on the 12th of July, 1819, to enquire into allegations made about Lectures given by Bro. Philip Broadfoot of Lodge No. 381, from which Notes the following is extracted:—

> "Broadfoot said he heard the Lecture 'in a Lodge at Hampton Court and learned it from the Bror. who then worked it.'"

This does not carry any further Bro. Johnstone's investigation as to the Lectures (if any) worked by Hemming; but it does show the source of the note made by Wonnacott following Sadler, and the accuracy of the latter's account of Broadfoot's statement before the Board of General Purposes in July, 1819.

REVIEWS.

THE GARDEN OF ENCHANTMENT.

By Sydney E. Klein.

ANY fresh literary works of our Past Masters are naturally of interest to members of the Lodge, and especially is this the case when the author happens to be its most senior veteran. A new volume from the versatile pen of W. Bro. Klein, who was advanced into our Inner Circle over forty years ago, and was Master of our Lodge as far back as 1897, is therefore an event which, quite apart from the intrinsic merit of the work, calls for notice. That the subject of the book unfortunately has no direct concern with Freemasonry is, from our point of view, a fact to be regretted, but does not reflect upon its value. Combining the spirit of Barrie with the scientific accuracy of a biologist, Bro. Klein leads us, in his *Garden of Enchantment*, to study the life-story of numerous insects, small birds and animals: of which, although they are common denizens of English woods and waysides, comparatively little is known by entomological specimen accumulators and still less by ordinary dwellers in towns and cities. For the book is not a collectanea of natural history details. Again and again we are shewn the marvellous way in which the various operations of plant and insect life are correlated harmoniously by the Divine Architect of Nature. Few illustrations more apt could be conceived of the complex Purpose pervading all the Universe than that adduced by Bro. Klein as a miniature counterpart—the metabolism of moth development (pp. 48-50)—leading us to echo his refrain "the Wonder of it all!"

In speaking of illustrations may we just add that a few wood cuts would have promoted clarity here and there? The type and paper are good, and we cordially recommend it as a gift-book to students of Nature.

August, 1929. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP.

HISTORY OF THE MASONIC HALL, ARTHUR SQUARE, BELFAST.

HISTORY OF "TEMPLE" LODGE, CHAPTER, AND PRECEPTORY.

By V.W. Bro. S. Leighton.

In his Foreword to the first work the Grand Master of Antrim, R.W. Bro. J. H. Stirling, says that even a casual reader can appreciate the time and labour that its writing has involved, and, he goes on: "what may seem the simple story of a country lodge is worth rescuing from the pages of old Minute-books and Lodge papers." It assuredly is, and Bro. Leighton has been able, from the materials at his disposal, to give us an interesting narrative of the Belfast Hall, and all its vicissitudes, from the first inception of the scheme in 1863.

The Building was actually completed in 1870; but whereas there were at that time 17 Lodges in County Antrim, there are now 122, and once more the Province is contemplating a new Hall, and has actually started a Building Fund. It was therefore very desirable that the full history of the present building should be placed on record, and this Bro. Leighton has now done, and has added to his text illustrations of the premises as well.

The House Committee's Minutes are extant from 1869, and he has also been able to consult other early documents, though much has been lost. The work begins with a brief sketch of early Freemasonry in Belfast and a reference to the Belfast edition of *Ahiman Rezon*, that was published in 1782 with a dedication to Lodge No. 257. But this was surely not the work of Laurence Dermott himself, but a local reprint by an unnamed Editor, who added to Dermott's text the dedicatory epistle, a list of the members of the Lodge and various songs, apparently on his own responsibility.

Once the preliminary difficulties had been got over, the building of the Hall progressed rapidly, and we have a contemporary account of the laying of the foundation stone on 24th June, 1868, by the Ag.Prov.G.Master, Sir Charles Lanyon, in the presence of 1,200 Masons. One's eye is at once caught by the names of Archdeacon Mant, who was Prov.G.Chaplain, and Wm. Redfern Kelly, of No. 109, who only passed on last year, and who on this occasion was Prov.G.Inner Guard. It is odd to read of two R.A. Chapters meeting in the same room at the same time, owing to their small numbers; the Chapters took it in turn to provide the officers.

Financial difficulties were faced and overcome. The original Company failed and the premises came into the hands of the Building Society as mortgagees. But the Masons raised a special fund and purchased the property and eventually, from the profits of management, the subscriptions were all returned, and the Hall declared free from debt in 1909. It is now the absolute property of the Lodges using it.

The portraits include one of the Duke of Leinster, who was G.M. of Ireland 1813-1873, and one of the Earl of Zetland, G.M. of England 1844-1870, painted in 1844. There is a third which has been identified as that of Sir Archibald Alison, who was Provincial G.M. of Glasgow from 1847 to 1867. These three paintings were the property of Lodge of Truth, No. 22, which transferred them to the Hall, it being apparently thought that all three were portraits of the then Grand Masters in the three kingdoms. Bro. Leighton has also given us a number of portraits of others associated with the Hall and the Province. Copies of the work can still be had from the Secretary to the Hall Committee at 5/- each.

Since the work was published, Bro. Leighton has put his Brethren of Antrim under a further obligation by publishing a short History of "Temple" Lodge, Chapter, and Preceptory, all three carrying the number 51. The Lodge was founded in 1849, the Chapter in 1851, and the Preceptory in 1899 by way of celebration of the Jubilee of the Lodge. Bro. Leighton originally wrote the history of the Lodge in 1893, and this is reprinted without alteration. But there has now been added a reprint of the address he delivered at the Jubilee, and a brief note of later events, of which certainly the most interesting were the author's celebration of his own Jubilee as a Mason, and his fiftieth year as Past Master of the Lodge. The history of the Chapter is also a reprint, but that of the Preceptory is new: both are records of steady and quiet progress. Notes are added on the Provincial Priory of East Ulster, the District Grand Chapter of R.A., and the Grand Council of the Red Cross Degrees, in all of which Bro. Leighton has been a conspicuous worker. The work is well supplied with illustrations, the most interesting of which is a charming photograph of Bro. Leighton himself, the "Father" of all three bodies.

September, 1929. L.V.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

PROVINCIAL WARRANTS.—At *A.Q.C.* xli., 63, Bro. Carter refers to a Warrant which was being completed for the Tyrian Lodge, Derby, but was spoilt in engrossing. The photograph of the spoiled Warrant shows Benjamin Oakes as a petitioner and as the appointed first W.M.; also the place of meeting as "at the House of Bro. Oakes."

The Warrant in possession of the Tyrian Lodge, No. 253, is dated 26th March, 1785, and omits the name of Benjamin Oakes, who died 29th April, 1785: and John Hollis Pigott, Doctor of Physic, is shewn as a Petitioner and the first appointed W.M. The place of meeting is also altered to "The House of Brother Samuel Greatorex at the Bunch of Grapes in the Market Place." This explains the spoiled Warrant. Samuel Greatorex was not, by the way, a member of the Tyrian Lodge.

In Appendix I., under Derbyshire, p. 81, the Prov.G.M. was Thos. B. *Parkyns*, not *Perkins*, as printed, and the name of the place of meeting of the Chesterfield Lodge (106 A) was Three *Cranes*, not *Graces*.

J. O. Manton.

A Dutch Rose Croix Patent.—I was much interested in the article at *A.Q.C.* xxxix., 224, on the Dutch Rose Croix Patent, and as I see that the writer of the article, Bro. E. E. Murray, has had difficulty in interpreting some of the features of the document, may I be allowed to give a few explanations?

In the first place the date, the fifth day of the first month in the 26th year of the 55th Grandmastership is the 29th December, 1808. Our Grand Masters hold office for 33 years, and the assumption is that there has been an unbroken sequence of Grand Masters from the time of our Lord. Accordingly we have for the year 54 × 33 + 26, which gives us 1808. Then the first day of the year is taken as 25th December, and so we arrive at the 29th for the fifth day of the first month. The date has no connection with the foundation of the Chapter *Credentes Vivent ab Illo* in 1788.

Then with regard to the seal. In Holland the hand and dagger symbolises the *Élu des Neuf* degree; the word, N.C., of this degree is the same as that of the Kadosh. The geometrical figure with the letter G. symbolises the degree of Scotch Master. The lower half of the seal symbolises the degree of Knights of the East and of the Sword. The letters L.D.P. stand for *Libertas Detur Populo* (May Freedom be given to the People). With us these degrees precede the Rose Croix and to-day are only communicated. The four letters at the top are in our Rose Croix cypher; their significance can easily be determined.

J. H. de Sitter.

The Will of James Anderson.—The triumphs of a research student are few: his trials are many.

Much time has been expended in searching for the Will or Letters of Administration relating to the Estate of our departed Brother James Anderson. Gould, in his *History of Freemasonry*, vol. ii., p. 355, says that Anderson died May 28th, 1739, "and there is no copy of his will at Somerset House up to the "year 1744 inclusive." Our historian does not say which of the several contemporaneous branches of records at Somerset House were searched for the Will.

In the ordinary course of events any Will should have been taken in for Probate in June, 1739.

On 29th July, 1929, I was making some searches at the Probate Registry, and it occurred to me to look at the Calendar of Wills proved in 1739 in the Commissary Court of London, as that particular collection might have been easily overlooked. I readily found the entry relating to Probate of the Will of James Anderson granted in June, 1739.

On applying to see the Registered copy of the Will it was discovered that the Register was missing. I thereupon requested that the original filed Will should be produced. This was looked out and shown to me the next day. It is well that I have learned by experience to subdue both expectancy and excitement, for on inspecting the original Will it proved to be the Will of one James Anderson, a Farmer of Suffolk—and so there was nothing more to be done. I have been asked to put this on record for two reasons: (1) To show once more that similarities are not identities; and (2) to warn any Brother against deducing from the entry in the Calendar that it has anything to do with James Anderson, D.D.

I might properly subscribe myself as Tantalus II., but prefer to confess over my usual signature. W. J. WILLIAMS.

Cost of an early Irish Warrant.—The earliest information available on this subject, as pointed out by Bros. Lepper & Crossle in their *History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland* (p. 267), is that contained in the G.L. Regulations of 1768, but we can now get back a quarter of a century earlier.

Through the fraternal courtesy of W. Bro. A. Minnis, P.M., 18°, Secretary of Lodge No. 134, Lurgan, Co. Armagh, I have been permitted to peruse the Minute Books of that fine Lodge, which possesses the proud record of being the oldest existing Lodge in Ulster without a break in its working.

The Lodge was warranted 20th May, 1743, and its members are to be congratulated on having records dating from 20th August, 1742, nine months prior to the actual date of their Warrant.

In the Cash entries under date 24th May, 1743, there is recorded:—

"to the cost of our warnt ... ... 2. 18. 9."

This is at present the earliest known record giving the price of an Irish Warrant, and the discovery will be of interest to Masonic students.

It should be rememberd that the figure £2. 18. 9 represents Irish currency, in which the equivalent of one Shilling British was one Shilling and one Penny.

The total paid by Lodge No. 134 would possibly be made up of:—

		British money.	Irish.
1.	Cost of Warrant	£2. 2. 0	£2. 5. 6
2.	Fee for registration of 6 members @ 1/- each	6. 0	6. 6
3.	Fee payable by Master and Wardens on commencement of their offices	2. 0	2. 2
4.	A copy of the Constitutions ...	2. 0	2. 2
5.	Fee to the Grand Tyler	1. 0	1. 1
6.	Postage (say)		1. 4
			£2. 18. 9

The minor details of the £2. 18. 9 are only the result of comparison and surmise, but there would appear to be little room for doubt as to items (1) and (2) in the foregoing schedule.

The charge fixed for a Constitution by the G.L. of England on 27th December, 1729 (Songhurst, *Minutes of G.L. of England*, p. 116), was "two guineas towards the Charity upon their being constituted."

Bro. Makins, Asst. Librarian of the G.L. of England, with fraternal courtesy has searched the original Minutes of the Grand Lodge down to 1756 and informs me that the invariable price to that date was two guineas, with no indication of any extra payments.

The first Warrants under the Seal of the G.L. of Ireland were issued on 1st Febuary, 1731/2, two years after the charge for constitution of a Lodge was fixed in England by resolution of that Grand Lodge, and while the writer is not by any means inclined to accept the dictum that Irish Masonry invariably followed in the footsteps of its elder sister, yet it seems reasonable to assume a similarity of procedure in this instance from the fact that Lord Kingston, under whose hand our first Irish Warrants were issued, was G.M. of England when the fee of two guineas was fixed, and was actually present at the meeting when the Minutes containing this resolution were read (Songhurst, *Minutes, G.L. England*, pp. 119 and 121).

It is not possible to state definitely from our present known facts that the price at first charged for the Irish Warrant was two guineas, but I am inclined to adopt this view, and further that the division of this sum into two moieties—one allocated to administration, and the other to Charity—as provided by Rule I. of the Irish Regulations of 1768, came into force at, or after, the formation of our Committee of Charity in 1738.

When early Regulations, such as those of 1768, are being considered, it should be remembered that while they were promulgated on the date they bear, in reality they are a compilation of resolutions adopted by G.L. from time to time, so that the date of promulgation is no evidence as to that on which any particular rule became law. A comparison of Anderson's Constitutions with the early Minutes of the G.L. of England will demonstrate this point.

From this I conclude that in common with the English procedure the price of an Irish Warrant from 1732 was two guineas.

Item 2, the fee for registration of each member in the books of G.L. was one Shilling British. This amount appears for the first time in Regulation X., 1768, but "the Secretary's fees for registry" was accepted custom in 1749 (Lepper & Crossle, p. 114). Although the existing Series I. of our G.L. Rolls is incomplete, the first Minute Book of Lodge 134 contains "the names of ye members y^t is Registered in the Gran Lodgs (*sic*)." Six names appear under date May 24th, 1743, followed by four more registered May, 1744. This information enables us to arrive at the total paid in respect of item No. 2.

Item 3. Fees payable in respect of Master & Wardens. No known regulation exists on this subject, but that it must have been Irish practice is apparent from the incident recorded as having occurred at Thurles in 1749. (Lepper & Crossle, p. 113).

Item 4. Cost of a Constitution. This is merely surmise, but it is a possible item. The Constitutions taken by me were Anderson's, which were on sale in Ireland at 2/2d.

Item 5. Fee to the Grand Tyler. Although the Regulation X. of 1768 provides for the payment of 3/4 to the Grand Pursuivant, as well as the sum of One Shilling British to the Grand Tyler, only the latter has been included in the Schedule, as it is not at all clear when the office of G. Pursuivant was created, and $3^s/7^d$—the Irish currency equivalent of his fee would not fit in with the other better known items of the £2. 18. 9.

Item 6. Postage. A sum under this head would be charged in the cost of the Warrant, but the amount of 1/4 is only guesswork, being the balance of the sum not accounted for.

Further light will, doubtless, be forthcoming on these minor matters, but the principal value of the Minute in question is that it clearly shows the cost of an Irish Warrant within eleven years from the date of that first isuued.

W. Jenkinson.

OBITUARY.

IT is with much regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Hervey Bathurst, of London, on 3rd May, 1928. Our Brother was a Past Grand Steward. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1919.

John Campbell, of Milwaukee, Wis., on 7th June, 1928, while on a visit to England. Bro. Campbell was a P.M. of Lodge No. 265, and P.H.P. of Chapter No.73. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1907.

St. Arnaud Creake, of Sheffield, on 23rd April, 1929. Our Brother was P.M. of Wentworth Lodge No. 1239. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1907.

Frederick Downe Davy, of London, on 1st April, 1928. Brother Davy held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and P.Pr.G.So. for Lincolnshire. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1896.

Charles Lewis Edwards, F.S.S., of Loudwater, Bucks., on 11th May, 1928. Our Brother had attained the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in October, 1897.

Joseph H. Howard, of London, on 15th May, 1928. Bro. Howard was a P.M. of Eleanor Lodge No. 1707. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1906.

John Nathaniel Lightbourne, of St. Thomas, V.I., U.S.A., on 17th May, 1928. Our Brother was a P.M. of the Harmonic Lodge No. 356. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1911.

James Alexander Macdonald, M.D., of Taunton, on 24th April, 1928. Bro. MacDonald held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1919.

John M. Maxwell, of Denver, Colo., U.S.A. Our Brother had held the office of Grand Master, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1890.

Henry Styring Nutt, of Totley Rise, Yorks., on 17th April, 1928. Bro. Nutt was a member of Furnival Lodge No. 2558 and of the Milton Chapter No. 1239. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1917.

Edmund Poole, of London, on 27th June, 1928. Our Brother was a P.M. of the Royal York Lodge of Perseverance No. 7 and P.Z. of the Polish

Chapter No. 534. He also held the rank of Past Grand Steward. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1907.

Robert Robertson, of Dumfermline, on 23rd April, 1928. Our Brother was a P.M. of Lodge No. 415, and had been a member of the Correspondence Circle since June, 1902.

Samuel Johannes Sawyerr, of Lagos, W. Africa. Bro. Sawyerr was a member of the Lagos Lodge No. 1171 and of the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1920.

Harry Alexander Sim, I.C.S., C.I.E., of London. Our Brother held the rank of P.Dis.G.W., Madras, and was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in 1896.

William Henry Smith, of Weston-under-Penyard, on 13th April, 1928. Bro. Smith held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and was P.Z. of the Palladian Chapter No. 120. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1911.

Oswald Robinson Snowball, of Melbourne, in May, 1928. Our Brother was Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, and P.M. of his Lodge. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1892.

Alfred Thomas Anthony Sutcliffe, of London, in 1928. Bro. Sutcliffe was a member of Helio Lodge No. 3900. He joined our Correspondence Circle in January, 1926.

Paul Langbourne Waterlow, of Bembridge, I.W., in February, 1928. Our Brother was a P.M. of Iris Lodge No. 2545. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1902.

Rev. **George Howard Williams,** of Cobden, Ill., in 1928. Bro. Williams was Ch. in Lodge No. 466, and P.K. in Chapter No. 151. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1925.

Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

NO. 2076, LONDON.



SECRETARY:

W. J. SONGHURST, *F.C.I.S.*, P.G.D.

OFFICE, LIBRARY AND READING ROOM:

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Ars Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.

FROM THE ISABELLA MISSAL



BRITISH MUSEUM ADD. MSS., 18,8
CIRCA 1500 A.D.

EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY W. J. SONGHURST, P.G.D., AND LIONEL VIBERT, P.A.G.D.C.

VOLUME XLI.

W. J. PARRETT, LTD., PRINTERS, MARGATE.
1929



From a Photograph, by F. C. Stoate, London.

H. Poole.

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SUMMER OUTING, 1928.

EXETER.

BY BRO. T. H. ANDREW.

AFTER an interval of twenty-nine years the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, paid to the "Ancient and Loyal City of Exeter" a second visit, which extended from Thursday, the 14th June, 1928, to the following Sunday. The previous visit had been made in 1899, and was the eleventh of such outings undertaken by this Lodge. Among the few visitors on both occasions were our esteemed Secretary, Bro. W. J. Songhurst, Bro. J. W. Stevens, and Bro. F. A. Powell: while among local Brethren who participated in both outings were Bros. John Stocker, D.P.G.M., Henry Stocker, Prov.G.Sec., G. M. Doe, W. R. Lisle, J. Passmore, and F. Austin.

The invitation emanated from the venerable Provincial Grand Master of Devonshire, Major George Christopher Davie, D.L., J.P., and was given in the name of his Province. He had expressed the hope of welcoming the visitors personally, but, when the time came, was compelled by illness to delegate the responsibilities to the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, Bro. John Stocker, P.G.D. (Eng.). Unhappily, the Provincial Grand Master never recovered from this illness; and within a few months the Province had to mourn his loss. From the year 1861 he had been among the keenest of Masons; and his distinguished career as such had therefore extended throughout a period of sixty-seven years.

The local Reception Committee consisted of the Deputy Provincial Grand Master (the Chairman), Bro. H. Stocker, Prov.G.Sec., P.A.G.D.C. (Eng.), Bro. J. Passmore, P.P.G.D., Bro. F. B. Williams, W.M. of No. 39, and Bro. T. H. Andrew, P.P.G.W. of Devon and Somerset (the Secretary). All the Members of this Committee were subscribing members of St. John the Baptist Lodge, No. 39.

The visiting Brethren taking part in the Outing were as follows:—

Bros. Dr. E. Allan, of Barrow-in-Furness, P.M., 1021; F. J. Asbury, of London, P.A.G.D.C.; Wm. N. Bacon, of London, P.M., 15, P.G.Stwd.; Rodk. H. Baxter, of Rochdale, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., 2076: J. Blackburn, of Birstall, 264; H. Bladon, of London, P.G.St.B.: F. J. M. Boniface, of London, P.M., 2694; H. Broad, of Stratford-on-Avon, G.St.B.: Walter H. Brown, of London, P.M., 23, P.G.Stwd.: Geo. W. Bullamore, of Hadham, 441: Dr. T. M. Carter, of Bristol, P.Pr.G.W., Bristol, 2076: Stephen Clark, J.P., of Truro, 131; W. F. Cockrell, of S. Lowestoft, P.A.G.D.C.: G. S. Collins, of London, P.A.G.D.C.; Robt. Colsell, of Chingford, P.A.G.D.C.: R. F. J. Colsell, of Chingford, P.D.M., 12; Thos. M. Copland, of Falkirk, G.Architect (S.C.): Dr. A. J. Cross, of Dalton-in-Furness, P.Pr.G.W., West Lancs.; Dr. Chas. Curd, of Bath, P.A.G.D.C.: Gilbert W. Daynes, of Norwich, P.M., 4569, S.D., 2076: H. C. de Lafontaine, of London, P.G.D., J.W., 2076; W. Dickinson, of Byfleet,

P.Pr.G.Sup.W., Surrey; R. A. Dickson, of London, P.Pr.G.D.C., Essex; Geo. M. Doe, of Torrington, P.Pr.G.R., Devon; E. H. Dring, of London, P.G.D., P.M., 2076; H. K. Duckworth, of Grange over Sands, P.M., 1715; S. Duckworth, of Grange over Sands, P.M., 1715; David Flather, of Sheffield, P.A.G.D.C.; J. F. H. Gilbard, of London, 56; F. W. Golby, of London, P.A.G.D.C.; W. Barry Gregar, of Westcliff-on-Sea, P.Pr.G.D., Essex; Dr. R. T. Halliday, of Glasgow, P.M., 772; Weldon Hanson, of Norton-on-Tees, W.M., 4027; Wallace Heaton, of London, P.M., 3900; Gordon P. G. Hills, of Cookham Dean, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., 2076; John Holt, of Yarm, P.Pr.G.W., Durham; Fredk. Houghton, of London, 1500; Hugh C. Knowles, of London, P.A.G.R.; Dr. F. Lace, of Bath, P.A.G.D.C.; H. A. Matheson, of London, P.M., 2987; H. E. Miller, of Grange over Sands, P.Pr.A.G.D.C.; W. F. Morrison, of Stenhousemuir, G.Stwd. (S.C.); C. A. Newman, of Peterborough, P.Pr.G.W.; Dr. C. E. Newman, of London, 4453; Dr. Geo. Norman, of Bath, P.A.G.D.C., W.M., 2076; J. Herbert Parker, of Norwich, P.M., 1452; H. D. Parsons, of Egglescliffe, P.Pr.G.W.; E. Pickstone, of Radcliffe, P.M., 4204; A. C. Powell, of Weston-super-Mare, P.G.D., P.M., 2076; F. A. Powell, of London, P.A.G.D.C.; J. H. Pullen, of London, P.M., 410; A. P. Salter, of London, P.M., 2932; W. Scott, of Saltburn-by-the-Sea, P.M., 543; Thos. Selby, of Egglescliffe, Pr.J.G.W.; W. J. Songhurst, of London, P.G.D., Sec., 2076; J. Wm. Stevens, of London, P.A.G.Sup.W.; Dr. J. Stokes, of Sheffield, P.G.D., P.M., 2076; Ed. Tappenden, of Hitchin, P.Pr.G.W.; Lionel Vibert, of Bath, A.G.D.C., P.M., 2076; Geo. C. Williams, of London, P.M., 25; and W. J. Williams, of London, W.M., 2696, I.G., 2076.

Punctually at three o'clock on the Thursday afternoon the majority of the visitors arrived by train from London, under the leadership of Bro. Songhurst. They proceeded first to their headquarters at the Rougemont Hotel, where they were joined by Dr. George Norman, the W.M., and others who had come by different routes.

At half-past four o'clock the party assembled at the GUILDHALL. Here tea was provided; and an official welcome to the City was given by the R.W. the Mayor of Exeter, Major A. E. Brock, M.C., in an address bubbling over with humour. Inspection was then invited of the ancient City Regalia, Charters, Seals, and Act Books; and the following most interesting and valuable lecture was given by Mr. H. Lloyd-Parry, O.B.E., B.A., B.Sc., LL.B.:—

EXETER has been a City from time immemorial, and its history extends back into the mists of antiquity. It does not derive its status as a City from the presence of the Cathedral; for it was an ancient British City at the time of the translation of the Bishop's See from Crediton to Exeter in the year 1050 A.D. It is not a City by Royal Charter; for its earliest Charter (granted by Henry II.) merely confirms and establishes rights and privileges that were already ancient. It is a City by prescription, and has been quoted by Professor Freeman as "the most ancient of the Cities of Britain." He further states that "It is the one City (of England) in which we can feel sure that human habitation and city life have never ceased from the days of the early Cæsars to our own." That affords a reason why excavations have not, to any appreciable extent, revealed traces of early buildings.

The Roman Icknield Way ran along the line of the High Street; but, apart from a Roman tessellated pavement which was found at the back of the Guildhall on the site of the present Police Court, there is little evidence of the siting of the buildings during the Roman occupation.

The geographical position of Exeter explains its importance as a stragetic and commercial centre from the earliest times, situated as it is upon a commanding elevation on the bank of a navigable river, near to the sea, and yet sufficiently far to be safe from the sudden attacks of marauding sea-rovers. Such a situation was a common feature of early cities of importance, such as London, Chester, York, Newcastle, Caerleon, Rome, and Rouen.

The comparative ages of Exeter and London were the subject of a judicial decision during the reign of Elizabeth. A dispute arose as to the right of London to levy the accustomed toll upon the goods of Exeter merchants exposed for sale in the Blackwell Hall. The case was tried at the Guildhall, London; and by two several verdicts it was decided in favour of Exeter on the ground that Exeter was "of more ancienty" than London. The case is recorded in the history of Exeter written by John Hoker, a distinguished scholar and historian, who filled the office of Chamberlain of Exeter from 1555 to 1601.

The Saxon invasion had spent its force by the time it reached this City, and the invaders had by that time adopted the Christian religion. On the advent of the Saxons, the Britons and Saxons divided the City between them, and for a time settled amicably side by side. The former occupied the northern side of our main thoroughfare, and the latter the southern. There is still evidence of this division in the fact that the Churches of the northern part are dedicated to British Saints, *e.g.*, St. Pancras and St. Kerrian; while those to the south were dedicated to Saints with the Saxon nomenclature.

The City was the scene of fierce fighting between the Saxons and the Danes. King Alfred concluded peace with the Danes in this City in the year 877 A.D. He also raised the siege laid by the Danes in 894 A.D. Athelstan held a Parliament (or Witan) here; and he is reputed to be the first to enclose the City with a stone wall, though recent research throws some doubt upon this. Four-fifths of this wall still remain; but the ancient City Gates and the Gates of the Cathedral Close were demolished about a century ago.

In olden times the River Exe was navigable and tidal up to and above the City; but this navigation was in course of time broken by the construction of weirs. To restore direct communication with the sea, the City Chamber, in the reign of Elizabeth, constructed a locked canal, the first of its kind in the country. The City was then the chief centre of the woollen industry of the country, and was at the height of its prosperity. With the construction of the canal its maritime trade grew to such an extent that at the time of the Commonwealth it ranked in tonnage as the fifth port in the Kingdom.

Few, if any, of the Municipalities of this Kingdom has been so free as Exeter from the domination of feudal and ecclesiastical interests. It has enjoyed a freedom of local government more pronounced than that of any other of our provincial capitals; and in this respect it closely resembles the Free Cities of Germany.

The City has sustained more sieges than any other town in the Kingdom. Only once has it been taken by force, and that was owing to treachery within its walls. This occurred in the year 1003, when it was taken by King Sweyn of Denmark. Other notable sieges were those of William the Conqueror in 1068, Perkin Warbeck in 1497, and the Western Rebellion in 1549. This last siege was an extremely severe one; but the citizens (though troubled with internal dissensions) held out triumphantly in spite of great privations.

During the Tudor period the City played a distinguished part in the history of this country; and, for their services to King and Country during this period, the citizens received many marks of Royal favour. Henry VIII. made Exeter a County of itself in 1537; and Queen Elizabeth is stated to have conferred upon the City its motto of "Semper Fidelis."

Henry VII., upon his visit to the City in 1497, gave the citizens great commendations and thanks, and presented the Mayor with his Royal sword and cap. These Royal insignia are carried before the Mayor on all state occasions except on occasions of state mourning, when the sword of Henry VII. is replaced by the state sword presented to the City by Edward IV. This sword has been kept draped in crape since the reign

of Charles II., and was borne before the Mayor on his attendance at the annual service at the Cathedral in memory of "The Martyred King" until the discontinuance of the observance in the middle of last century.

The Guildhall is of very ancient origin. Mention is made of the building in a document of the year 1154. It has one very interesting link with the thirteenth century. The owner of the premises on the western side pays to the Corporation the sum of 2d. per annum. The original document creating this rent is still preserved in the City Muniment room. Its date is 1289; and it is an acknowledgment for the right of resting the beams of his building against the wall of the Guildhall. The rent—originally one penny—was, probably owing to the depreciation of money, raised to twopence per annum in the reign of Charles II.

The main hall was restored in 1330, though to what extent is unknown.

The beautiful open-timbered roof was constructed in 1464. The corbels supporting the principals of the roof (grotesque figures of the "Bear and Ragged Staff") were probably inserted as a compliment to Warwick "the King Maker," who was present in the City with his army during the period of construction.

The oak panelling round the Hall with the coats of arms of Mayors and other leading citizens and of the Trade Guilds of the City emblazoned thereon is late Tudor.

The arms of the Merchant Venturers should be specially noted. This Company was granted a Charter in 1590 by Queen Elizabeth, and held their meetings in the forepart of the Hall in what was originally the Chapel.

This Chapel was constructed in 1484, when the forepart of the Hall was re-arranged: and the Chaplain dwelt in a room above it. The Chapel bell, with its quaint inscription *Coeli Regina me protege quaeso ruina*, still hangs in the roof of the Hall.

The front portico as it stands at present was erected in 1593.

Among the portraits on the wall are two by the famous artist and Court painter, Sir Peter Lely. One is of the Princess Henrietta (afterwards Duchess of Orleans), daughter of Charles I. She was born at Bedford House in the year 1644; and, when the City capitulated to General Fairfax, one of the terms of the capitulation was a safe conduct for the Princess and her guardians from the City.

Her brother, King Charles II., paid a visit to the City soon after his restoration to the throne, when the City presented him with a silver salt which is now with the State Regalia in the Tower of London. He was so gratified at his reception that he knighted the Mayor, and in the following year presented the citizens with the portrait of his sister.

The other portrait by Lely is that of General Monk, who was instrumental in the restoration of the Stuarts. He was a native of North Devon, and was High Steward of the City in 1662.

Tht City Regalia, though the pieces are few in number, is of exceptional interest. Reference has been made to the two swords and cap of maintenance.

The next of interest are the four silver Chains now worn by the Sergeants at Mace. They were worn originally by the City Waits, and date from about the year 1500. The links appear to be composed of the alternate letters "X" and "R."

The four Maces are of the time of George II. These replaced older Maces. The earliest reference to the City Maces that can be found is in a Receiver's Roll of the reign of Richard II. This records payments for the repair of "the old Maces."

No more than a mere reference can be made to the City Records. Mr. Stuart Moore, in the Introduction to his Calendar, states that the records possessed by the City are perhaps the most remarkable that can



The Clapper Bridge at Postbridge.

From a Watercolour Drawing by Bro. F. A. Powell.

the wall is double, with a space between: and there is a division of opinion as to the explanation of this. Some consider that the space was meant to be filled up with earth, and to have a wooden palisading on the top. Others think that it was designed to prevent wild animals from getting at cattle inside the pound, and also for purposes of defence against enemies. This part of the wall is on the lower side of the pound, which stands on a considerable slope. The only original entrance was at the higher part, with an aspect of south-south-east. It is seven feet wide, and paved. At this point the wall is fourteen feet thick, and contains a very large stone.

On the north-east a spring arises, called Grimslake. This has been carried underneath the encircling wall, flows through the northern portion of the pound, and emerges again through the north-west wall, thus supplying water for the inhabitants and their cattle.

Within the enclosure are the remains of twenty-one huts, more or less ruinous. These were all built with stone blocks, like the wall. Unlike the beehive huts of Ireland and elsewhere, they were never roofed in with stone, but were probably thatched with rushes supported by poles. The doorways, two-and-a-half feet high, had inclined jambs with a flat capstone; and some of the huts were protected by outer walling to keep off the wind. In some of the huts there are stone platforms from eight to twelve inches in height, forming seats or beds, and also remains of hearths and cooking holes.

A great many flint implements have been found, mostly knives and scrapers, but very few arrowheads or celts. Some remains of primitive hand-made pottery have also been discovered, but very little in the way of bronze articles, which at this period would have been very valuable.

The hut circles in Grimspound are only a few of many hundreds such scattered over the wide expanse of Dartmoor, which in early days must have had a much larger population than it has at present.

Returning to the main road across the Moor, the well-known Warren House Inn was passed. This wayside hostelry has a peat fire, which has been burning for more than a hundred years; and it is also reputed to dispense excellent bottled beer. Some disappointment was shown that time did not admit of a halt here; no doubt the peat fire would have excited absorbing interest.

A couple of miles further along a stop was made to permit inspection of the so-called Cyclopean Bridge at Postbridge. This crosses the River Dart a few yards below the modern bridge on the highway from Moretonhampstead to Princetown, and is the largest and best known of several such ancient bridges on the Moor, locally known as "clapper bridges." It stands seven feet above the river, and has a total length of forty-seven feet. There are three spans, with a buttress on either bank of the river, and two piers rising out of the water. The whole structure is formed of unmortised granite boulders; and the span consists of four enormous slabs, one at each end, and two side by side in the centre. The two largest of these are fifteen feet in length by seven feet wide and about twelve inches in thickness; and they are estimated to weigh nearly eight tons each. This bridge marks the site of one of the ancient trackways over the Moor. As to its age there is difference of opinion; but Rowe and other good authorities consider it to have been the work of aboriginal Britons, though no doubt often repaired in more recent times.

Four miles further, and Two Bridges was passed. Some of the party recalled the luncheon in the hotel here twenty-nine years previously.

Shortly afterwards Tor Royal was passed on the left. This is the moorland farm run by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and belonging to the Duchy of Cornwall.

At the same time a rather distant view of Dartmoor Prison was obtained on the right, and the Prison farm was passed. As this was the

The comparative ages of Exeter and London were the subject of a judicial decision during the reign of Elizabeth. A dispute arose as to the right of London to levy the accustomed toll upon the goods of Exeter merchants exposed for sale in the Blackwell Hall. The case was tried at the Guildhall, London; and by two several verdicts it was decided in favour of Exeter on the ground that Exeter was " of more anciety " than London. The case is recorded in the history of Exeter written by John Hoker, a distinguished scholar and historian, who filled the office of Chamberlain of Exeter from 1555 to 1601.

The Saxon invasion had spent its force by the time it reached this City, and the invaders had by that time adopted the Christian religion. On the advent of the Saxons, the Britons and Saxons divided the City between them, and for a time settled amicably side by side. The former occupied the northern side of our main thoroughfare, and the latter the southern. There is still evidence of this division in the fact that the Churches of the northern part are dedicated to British Saints, *e.g.*, St. Pancras and St. Kerrian; while those to the south were dedicated to Saints with the Saxon nomenclature.

The City was the scene of fierce fighting between the Saxons and the Danes. King Alfred concluded peace with the Danes in this City in the year 877 A.D. He also raised the siege laid by the Danes in 894 A.D. Athelstan held a Parliament (or Witan) here; and he is reputed to be the first to enclose the City with a stone wall, though recent research throws some doubt upon this. Four-fifths of this wall still remain; but the ancient City Gates and the Gates of the Cathedral Close were demolished about a century ago.

In olden times the River Exe was navigable and tidal up to and above the City; but this navigation was in course of time broken by the construction of weirs. To restore direct communication with the sea, the City Chamber, in the reign of Elizabeth, constructed a locked canal, the first of its kind in the country. The City was then the chief centre of the woollen industry of the country, and was at the height of its prosperity. With the construction of the canal its maritime trade grew to such an extent that at the time of the Commonwealth it ranked in tonnage as the fifth port in the Kingdom.

Few, if any, of the Municipalities of this Kingdom has been so free as Exeter from the domination of feudal and ecclesiastical interests. It has enjoyed a freedom of local government more pronounced than that of any other of our provincial capitals; and in this respect it closely resembles the Free Cities of Germany.

The City has sustained more sieges than any other town in the Kingdom. Only once has it been taken by force, and that was owing to treachery within its walls. This occurred in the year 1003, when it was taken by King Sweyn of Denmark. Other notable sieges were those of William the Conqueror in 1068, Perkin Warbeck in 1497, and the Western Rebellion in 1549. This last siege was an extremely severe one; but the citizens (though troubled with internal dissensions) held out triumphantly in spite of great privations.

During the Tudor period the City played a distinguished part in the history of this country; and, for their services to King and Country during this period, the citizens received many marks of Royal favour. Henry VIII. made Exeter a County of itself in 1537; and Queen Elizabeth is stated to have conferred upon the City its motto of " Semper Fidelis."

Henry VII., upon his visit to the City in 1497, gave the citizens great commendations and thanks, and presented the Mayor with his Royal sword and cap. These Royal insignia are carried before the Mayor on all state occasions except on occasions of state mourning, when the sword of Henry VII. is replaced by the state sword presented to the City by Edward IV. This sword has been kept draped in crape since the reign

of Charles II., and was borne before the Mayor on his attendance at the annual service at the Cathedral in memory of "The Martyred King" until the discontinuance of the observance in the middle of last century.

The Guildhall is of very ancient origin. Mention is made of the building in a document of the year 1154. It has one very interesting link with the thirteenth century. The owner of the premises on the western side pays to the Corporation the sum of 2d. per annum. The original document creating this rent is still preserved in the City Muniment room. Its date is 1289; and it is an acknowledgment for the right of resting the beams of his building against the wall of the Guildhall. The rent—originally one penny—was, probably owing to the depreciation of money, raised to twopence per annum in the reign of Charles II.

The main hall was restored in 1330, though to what extent is unknown.

The beautiful open-timbered roof was constructed in 1464. The corbels supporting the principals of the roof (grotesque figures of the "Bear and Ragged Staff") were probably inserted as a compliment to Warwick "the King Maker," who was present in the City with his army during the period of construction.

The oak panelling round the Hall with the coats of arms of Mayors and other leading citizens and of the Trade Guilds of the City emblazoned thereon is late Tudor.

The arms of the Merchant Venturers should be specially noted. This Company was granted a Charter in 1590 by Queen Elizabeth, and held their meetings in the forepart of the Hall in what was originally the Chapel.

This Chapel was constructed in 1484, when the forepart of the Hall was re-arranged; and the Chaplain dwelt in a room above it. The Chapel bell, with its quaint inscription *Coeli Regina me protege quaeso ruina*, still hangs in the roof of the Hall.

The front portico as it stands at present was erected in 1593.

Among the portraits on the wall are two by the famous artist and Court painter, Sir Peter Lely. One is of the Princess Henrietta (afterwards Duchess of Orleans), daughter of Charles I. She was born at Bedford House in the year 1644; and, when the City capitulated to General Fairfax, one of the terms of the capitulation was a safe conduct for the Princess and her guardians from the City.

Her brother, King Charles II., paid a visit to the City soon after his restoration to the throne, when the City presented him with a silver salt which is now with the State Regalia in the Tower of London. He was so gratified at his reception that he knighted the Mayor, and in the following year presented the citizens with the portrait of his sister.

The other portrait by Lely is that of General Monk, who was instrumental in the restoration of the Stuarts. He was a native of North Devon, and was High Steward of the City in 1662.

Tht City Regalia, though the pieces are few in number, is of exceptional interest. Reference has been made to the two swords and cap of maintenance.

The next of interest are the four silver Chains now worn by the Sergeants at Mace. They were worn originally by the City Waits, and date from about the year 1500. The links appear to be composed of the alternate letters "X" and "R."

The four Maces are of the time of George II. These replaced older Maces. The earliest reference to the City Maces that can be found is in a Receiver's Roll of the reign of Richard II. This records payments for the repair of "the old Maces."

No more than a mere reference can be made to the City Records. Mr. Stuart Moore, in the Introduction to his Calendar, states that the records possessed by the City are perhaps the most remarkable that can



The Clapper Bridge at Postbridge.

From a Watercolour Drawing by Bro. F. A. Powell.

be boasted by any City or town in the United Kingdom. They include fifty Royal Charters and thousands of early deeds, a large proportion of which date back to the twelfth century. The Mayor's Court Rolls run back in almost unbroken sequence to the year 1263, the Receiver's Accounts to 1305, the Provost Court Rolls to 1328, and the Customal Rolls to the reign of Edward I. The Minute Books of the Chamber are complete from the year 1508.

The above indicates the value of the City Records, which are of much more than local importance and interest.

The miscellaneous papers include autograph letters to the City from almost every Sovereign from Henry VII. to George III.

In addition the City has a unique collection of Matrices of Civic Seals, the earliest of which is that of the Common Seal, circa. 1170, the earliest known example of a Municipal Seal in England.

It is but fitting that this ancient Guildhall should contain some memorial of the Great War. This it has in the four flags of the Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, which hang in the roof. These were presented by the Governments in acknowledgment of the hospitality extended by the City to their troops during the Great War.

Before leaving the Guildhall, the Master of the Lodge voiced the thanks of the Visitors to the Mayor and Town Clerk for the notable welcome accorded to them, and for the hospitality which had been received.

After an early dinner, the Visitors proceeded to the home of Exeter Masonry at FREEMASONS' HALL, in Gandy Street, where a Reception was held by the Deputy Provincial Grand Master on behalf of the Province of Devonshire. Adjourning to the LODGE ROOM, the capacity of which was somewhat taxed, the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, assisted by other Past Masters of St. John the Baptist Lodge No. 39, gave a demonstration of the traditional Ceremony of Initiation as worked in that ancient Lodge; and this was followed by the Ceremonies of Opening-in-full and Closing-in-full a Board of Installed Masters. The visiting W.Master and others commented on the remarkable exhibition of Masonic skill given by the Deputy Provincial Grand Master; and a most interesting discussion followed on features of these ancient ceremonies, in which Bros. Golby, Curd, Stokes, de Lafontaine, Vibert, Cockrell, Dring, and others participated.

Attention was directed to the Warrant, or more correctly "Deputation," under which No. 39 is worked. This is believed to be the oldest existing under the English Constitution, and is dated 1732. The magnificently carved Chippendale chairs used by the Master and Wardens were also greatly admired.

It was announced that all the visiting Brethren had been elected Honorary Members of the Masonic Institute for the duration of their visit.

Friday, the 15th, was devoted to a long day's outing over DARTMOOR and along the SOUTH COAST OF DEVON. Leaving the Hotel at a quarter past nine o'clock in the morning, about seventy Brethren proceeded in motor coaches to MORETONHAMPSTEAD, and thence on to the MOOR, where a divergence was made from the main road for the purpose of inspecting the pre-historic walled inclosure and hut circles at GRIMSPOUND. These were examined under the guidance of W.Bro. Norman, the Master, who gave a short address, of which the following is the gist:—

GRIMSPOUND is probably an unfinished place of refuge of the late neolithic and early bronze age. It has a circumference of fifteen hundred feet, the wall consisting of granite blocks found on the spot. These are of various sizes, many quite large; and the largest measure as much as ten feet by five by one foot, weighing from three to four tons. These stones form a wall varying in width from ten to thirty-five feet, but nowhere more than five feet in height. The blocks were apparently laid on edge, and not indiscriminately piled one on another. At the widest part

the wall is double, with a space between; and there is a division of opinion as to the explanation of this. Some consider that the space was meant to be filled up with earth, and to have a wooden palisading on the top. Others think that it was designed to prevent wild animals from getting at cattle inside the pound, and also for purposes of defence against enemies. This part of the wall is on the lower side of the pound, which stands on a considerable slope. The only original entrance was at the higher part, with an aspect of south-south-east. It is seven feet wide, and paved. At this point the wall is fourteen feet thick, and contains a very large stone.

On the north-east a spring arises, called Grimslake. This has been carried underneath the encircling wall, flows through the northern portion of the pound, and emerges again through the north-west wall, thus supplying water for the inhabitants and their cattle.

Within the enclosure are the remains of twenty-one huts, more or less ruinous. These were all built with stone blocks, like the wall. Unlike the beehive huts of Ireland and elsewhere, they were never roofed in with stone, but were probably thatched with rushes supported by poles. The doorways, two-and-a-half feet high, had inclined jambs with a flat capstone; and some of the huts were protected by outer walling to keep off the wind. In some of the huts there are stone platforms from eight to twelve inches in height, forming seats or beds, and also remains of hearths and cooking holes.

A great many flint implements have been found, mostly knives and scrapers, but very few arrowheads or celts. Some remains of primitive hand-made pottery have also been discovered, but very little in the way of bronze articles, which at this period would have been very valuable.

The hut circles in Grimspound are only a few of many hundreds such scattered over the wide expanse of Dartmoor, which in early days must have had a much larger population than it has at present.

Returning to the main road across the Moor, the well-known Warren House Inn was passed. This wayside hostelry has a peat fire, which has been burning for more than a hundred years; and it is also reputed to dispense excellent bottled beer. Some disappointment was shown that time did not admit of a halt here; no doubt the peat fire would have excited absorbing interest.

A couple of miles further along a stop was made to permit inspection of the so-called Cyclopean Bridge at Postbridge. This crosses the River Dart a few yards below the modern bridge on the highway from Moretonhampstead to Princetown, and is the largest and best known of several such ancient bridges on the Moor, locally known as "clapper bridges." It stands seven feet above the river, and has a total length of forty-seven feet. There are three spans, with a buttress on either bank of the river, and two piers rising out of the water. The whole structure is formed of unmortised granite boulders; and the span consists of four enormous slabs, one at each end, and two side by side in the centre. The two largest of these are fifteen feet in length by seven feet wide and about twelve inches in thickness; and they are estimated to weigh nearly eight tons each. This bridge marks the site of one of the ancient trackways over the Moor. As to its age there is difference of opinion; but Rowe and other good authorities consider it to have been the work of aboriginal Britons, though no doubt often repaired in more recent times.

Four miles further, and Two Bridges was passed. Some of the party recalled the luncheon in the hotel here twenty-nine years previously.

Shortly afterwards Tor Royal was passed on the left. This is the moorland farm run by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and belonging to the Duchy of Cornwall.

At the same time a rather distant view of Dartmoor Prison was obtained on the right, and the Prison farm was passed. As this was the

dinner hour for the convicts, none of them were to be seen at work in the fields.

Passing without a halt through the village of PRINCETOWN, which stands at an elevation of fifteen hundred feet above sea level, the descent from the Moor on its western side was commenced. The route lay past the artificial lake at BURRATOR, from which the water supply of Plymouth is drawn, and thence through YELVERTON and CROWNHILL to PLYMOUTH, which was reached shortly before half-past one o'clock.

After full justice had been done to an excellent and welcome luncheon at the Duke of Cornwall Hotel in Plymouth, time was allowed for a stroll on the far-famed HOE, with its striking memorials to Drake and the Armada Victory, and its wonderful views of the Harbour and Plymouth Sound.

Leaving Plymouth at three o'clock, the homeward journey was commenced. Travelling by way of PLYMPTON, IVYBRIDGE, and SOUTH BRENT, the cars passed through the narrow streets of the ancient Parliamentary Borough of TOTNES, on the Dart. Unfortunately the time available did not permit of a halt here; so that only fleeting views could be obtained of the ruined Castle, the fine perpendicular Church, and the quaint old East Gate. Another feature missed altogether was the Brutus Stone by the river side, which persistent local tradition asserts marks the spot on which Brutus landed in Britain after the Siege of Troy.

At half-past four o'clock PAIGNTON was reached, and a stoppage made for tea at Deller's Summer Café on the Sea-front. From Paignton the coastal route was followed, skirting Torbay to TORQUAY, and thence by the Marine Drive to ST. MARY CHURCH and SHALDON. Crossing the estuary of the Teign by Shaldon Bridge, the route lay through TEIGNMOUTH, DAWLISH, and STARCROSS, to EXETER, the headquarters being reached within a few minutes of the scheduled time at half-past seven o'clock. This punctuality bore testimony to the excellent discipline acquired by the visiting Brethren under the experienced leadership of Bro. Songhurst.

While the party were climbing afoot from the road to Grimspound, a sample of Dartmoor mist passed overhead, but, fortunately, lasted only a few minutes. Except for this, the weather was gloriously fine throughout the day; and nothing occurred to detract from a full appreciation of the moorland and coastwise scenery during the run of nearly a hundred and twenty miles.

Dinner at the Hotel completed the day's programme, and "so to bed"; for it had been shrewdly and no doubt correctly foreseen, that further entertainment would be redundant after what had been accomplished during the day.

On Saturday, the 16th, the morning and afternoon were devoted to exploration of the objects of interest in the City of Exeter. The Visitors arranged themselves in groups, which were shown round by Bros. J. Passmore, F. Austin, F. B. Williams, Harbottle Reed, M.B.E., and T. H. Andrew.

At the CATHEDRAL, the Rev. Canon McLaren, Prebendary J. F. Chanter, F.S.A., and the Rev. H. E. Bishop were in attendance, and conducted the various parties around as they arrived. The present fabric contains few traces of Saxon work. The Norman building was commenced by William Warelast, nephew of the Conqueror, and Bishop of Exeter from A.D. 1107 to 1136. In the thirteenth century Bishops Bronescombe and Quivel carried out many of the alterations which survive to the present day. By them the two great towers were transformed into north and south transepts, and the style of the edifice generally was converted from Norman into what is considered to be one of the most complete and perfect examples of Decorated Gothic in existence. The Library contains some priceless books and manuscripts, which were exhibited to those interested. It was noticed that Bro. Dring, whose loss we so greatly mourn, got no further than this Library: and the Cathedral authorities are indebted to him for some invaluable information he willingly offered them about certain volumes, the importance of which had perhaps hitherto not been fully appreciated.

Rougemont Castle and the City Walls were built by King Athelstan, and later were strengthened by the Conqueror and King John. Until about a hundred years ago, the City gates were still intact, as at York to-day; but they were regarded as a hindrance to the development of the City, and were accordingly removed to the great satisfaction of the citizens of that day. Probably but a small proportion of present-day Exonians realize that five-sixths of the City walls are still standing, though parts of them are hidden behind more recent structures.

The Guildhall and its associations are described in the Town Clerk's address on a previous page.

St. Nicholas Priory, in Mint Lane, was founded by William the Conqueror in A.D. 1080, and granted to the Benedictine Order. It was long the most prominent of the religious houses in the City. The principal features surviving are the vaulted Norman undercroft, the kitchen, and the guest hall. After the suppression of the Priory in 1535, a part of the building was occupied by William Hurst, who was five times Mayor of Exeter, and at one time Member of Parliament for the City. His initials with the stalked Tudor rose are conspicuous among the plaster decorations. The shaft of an ancient Saxon cross, which formerly stood in the precincts of the Priory, has been recovered and re-erected in the Courtyard.

Of the very numerous old Parish Churches in the City the most interesting is St. Mary Arches, with its double arcade of Norman pillars. It was long associated with the Mayors of Exeter, and contains monuments to several of them well worthy of inspection.

Stepcote Hill, in the West Quarter, is one of the most picturesque features of the old City. For artistic and archæological reasons it may be deplored that its ancient dwellings are likely soon to be swept away to make room for more sanitary habitations.

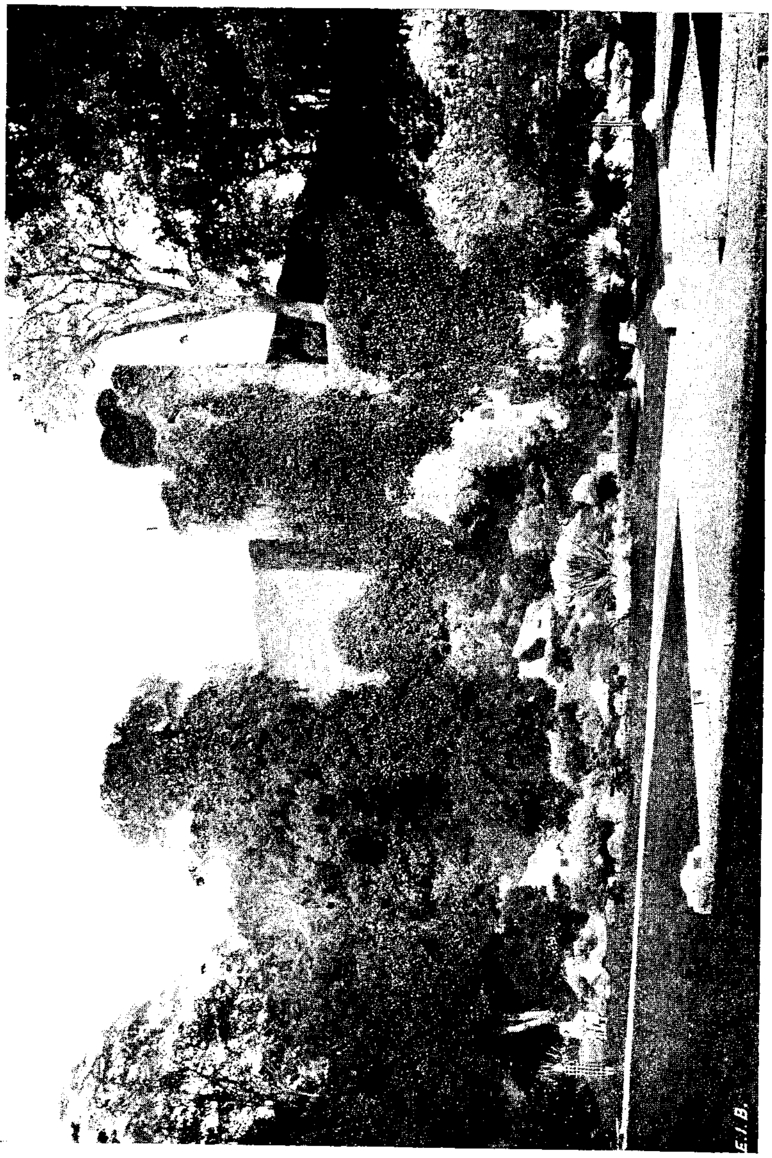
The Common Hall of the ancient College of Vicars Choral stands in South Street. It was rebuilt in the fifteenth century: and its walls are panelled with beautiful linenfold carving.

In Fore Street is the Tuckers' Hall, still belonging to the Incorporated Company of Tuckers, Weavers, and Shearmen, chartered in 1490, and the last of Exeter's ancient Craft Gilds. The Hall was built in 1471, and was divided into two stories in the sixteenth century. Prior to the acquisition of their present Masonic premises, in Gandy Street, about fifty years ago, Tuckers' Hall was the home of the Exeter Masonic Lodges for many years. A few well-known Brethren, including Bros. John Stocker, Henry Stocker, and W. R. Lisle, who are happily still with us, were initiated in Tuckers' Hall.

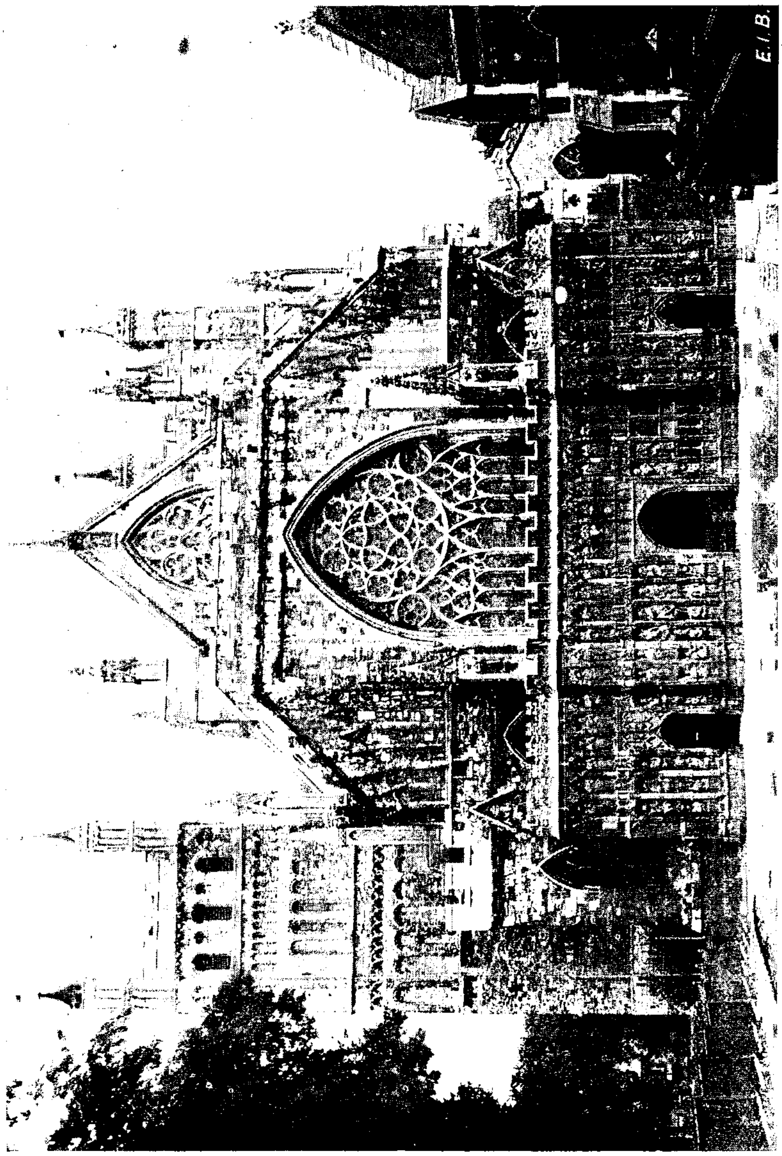
Exeter is richly endowed with charities and almshouses. The most picturesque of the latter is Wynard's Hospital, in Magdalen Road, founded by William Wynard, Recorder of Exeter, in 1430. The dwellings of local red stone are built round a quadrangle with a Chapel on the south side.

Scattered throughout the City there are many well preserved examples of Tudor and Jacobean domestic architecture. Among these may be mentioned Moll's Coffee House, in the Cathedral Yard. This is traditionally associated with Sir Francis Drake and his fellow Sea Captains, who are said to have met in the room over the present shop, when organizing their resources against the threatened attack of the Spanish Armada in 1588. A few doors off is the Devon and Exeter Institution with its well-known library. This was formerly the town house of the Courtenay Family. Not far off, in a back street, is Bampfylde House, which has some good ceilings and glass. The oak-panelled "Apollo Room" at Messrs. Bobby's, Nos. 25 and 26, High Street, has a very fine plaster ceiling dated 1695. This was formerly the Coffee Room of the "New Inn," and was a favourite meeting place of the Exeter Masonic Lodges in the eighteenth century.

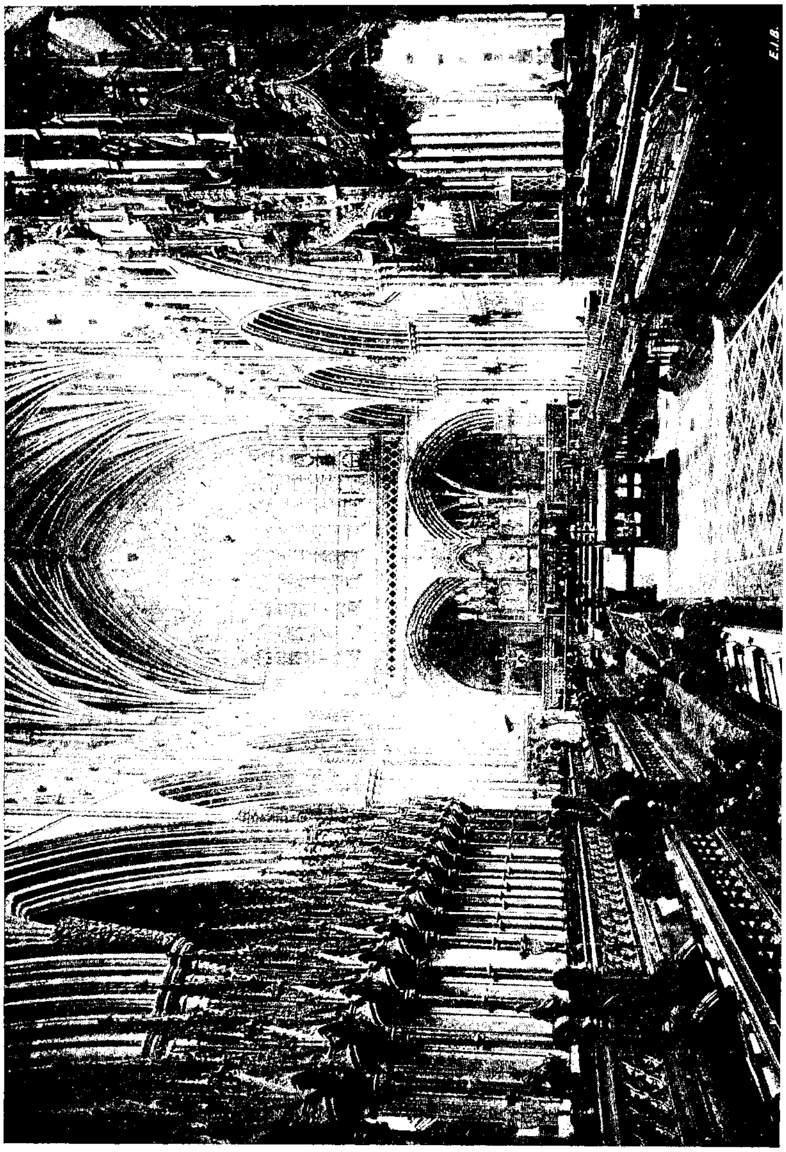
The Royal Albert Memorial Museum, the many Hospitals and Institutions, the University College Buildings, and other public edifices are of comparatively recent erection, and are, therefore, of no special interest to archæologists.



Exeter; Northernhay Park, showing Athelstan's Tower.



Exeter Cathedral, West Front.



Exeter Cathedral, Choir, looking East.



Exeter; The Guildhall.

On Saturday evening, after dinner, the Master and visiting Brethren of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge were "At Home" to local Masons in the Ball Room of the Rougemont Hotel. A general invitation was issued to the members of the six Craft Lodges meeting in Exeter to attend for "Conversation and appropriate Refreshment." Needless to say, there was no lack of either; and a large number of local Brethren spent a very enjoyable and memorable evening as Guests of the Lodge.

During the course of the proceedings the following paper was read by Bro. Lionel Vibert, A.G.D.C., on "Early Freemasonry in Exeter" *:—

EXETER, in Masonry, takes us back as far as anyone can take the Craft in England; because we know that the walls were built by Athelstan, and from the times of the earliest Masonic documents he has ever been recognised as a patron of Masons who first in this country gave them a Charter. May I quote from William of Malmesbury on the subject of Exeter in the days of Athelstan?

> "Owing to the magnificence of the city, the opulence of its inhabitants and the constant resort of strangers, every kind of merchandise is there so abundant, that nothing is wanting which can conduce to human comfort."

Good Brother William must, I think, have come here with some monastic precursor of a Q.C. Outing.

It is necessary to keep in mind that, long before Athelstan's days, Exeter was a city of importance. When he composed the code known as the *Judicia* of the city of London, it was founded on previous enactments, one of which had been drawn up at Exeter. One of the only four Anglo-Saxon Gilds, whose statutes have come down to us, was in Exeter; the others being at Cambridge and Abbotsbury, and at Woodbury only a few miles from Exeter itself. Bishop Osbert of Exeter and his Canons were members of the Woodbury Gild, and both bodies were clearly religious fraternities. At Exeter the Gild comes to the assistance of any brother whose house is burnt down. Another provision in its laws is worthy of reference: "If any of this brotherhood misgreet another, let him make boot with 30 pence." A heavy penalty. Again, Dover, Gloucester, and Exeter are the only examples of the place of meeting being spoken of as the Gild Hall before the thirteenth century. The present structure here is mainly a reconstruction of 1330, replacing one that had been known as the Gild Hall more than 100 years earlier. From the days of Edward II. to those of Edward IV., Exeter was from time to time a staple town with all the mercantile importance that that implies. In the seventeenth century it had its own Association of Merchant Adventurers, trading to France.

The Exeter Gilds are of particular importance in the history of English municipal institutions; but that is a matter that lies outside our present subject. The Gilds of Bakers, Glovers, and Tuckers are mentioned in the fifteenth century, the Tuckers being the persons who "tucked" the cloth, cloth-finishers, or fullers. The Weavers, Sheremen, and Tuckers were granted a Charter in 1479. The Carpenters, Masons, Joiners, and Glaziers and Painters were incorporated in 1586; and their coat of arms in the present Gild Hall is dated 1602. Of individual gild masons I have no record; nevertheless, we can be quite certain that the city records, if carefully searched, would reveal the names and other particulars of many individual craftsmen, for the city must from an early date have

* The text of the original address has been somewhat recast so as to embody suggestions made when it was delivered, and information that has subsequently come to light.

been able to find occupation for them. The Fabric Rolls give us a few names in connection with the Cathedral and other details of interest. Of these a full transcript was completed by the late Sir W. H. St. John Hope, and this is now in the hands of Professor Hamilton Thomson with a view to early publication. Two Exeter authors of the last century, Dr. Oliver and Canon Freeman, made extensive use of them in their works on the Cathedral and the Bishops, and gave copious extracts from them. But their conclusions are not now accepted, as it is clear that in many cases they misread the Rolls and misunderstood them; and their technical architectural knowledge was not sufficient to prevent them coming to very erroneous conclusions as to the dates of the various parts of the fabric. In 1922 the Rev. H. E. Bishop and Miss Prideaux published a work, *The Building of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter in Exeter*; and the notes that follow are based on Canon Freeman's work and this, as also on *The Mediæval Builder and His Methods*, by Mr. Francis Andrews, of Birmingham.

The Rolls extend from 1279 to 1514, that is to say, they cover the whole period of the Decorated work and nearly all the Perpendicular. But they are very incomplete, and are often missing for several years in succession. A certain amount of Caen stone was used in the building, and some of the glass came from Rouen; but the greater part of the stone and glass is English, as well as the timber, although there is mention of Rigel boards, *i.e.*, sawn oak timber from Riga in the Baltic, an item which we also meet with at York. The names of the workmen are all English, and indeed Devon or Somerset, except for Dionysius Gabriel, who made the screens of the Tower Chapels. The bosses of the Presbytery were carved by Master William of Montacute near Yeovil, and a portrait head carved on the westernmost corbel on the south side of the Choir, which represents a master craftsman of the period, may with much probability be considered to be his. This is one of several undoubted portraits among the many carved heads in the Cathedral. In 1311 Master William of Schoverwille, Master mason of Salisbury, came and gave expert advice on the work in progress in the Choir. Master John of Glastonbury had come just previously to move the Choir stalls into their new position from the old Norman Choir. The Bishop's Throne was erected by Master Thomas of Winchester. This all shows how the craftsmen, whether masons or carpenters, were in touch with one another over a wide area at this period, and helps us to appreciate contemporary conditions.

The large central figures of the original Reredos were carved by a London sculptor. The Nave, as we see it, is the work of Master Thomas of Wittenhay, who was followed by Master Robert Lesyngham, who had two Freemasons under him. But the actual word Freemason is not found in the Rolls till 1396. In 1374 we have an entry of a payment to the warden of the new house in Calendarhay, called Tracyng Hous, and this is evidently a place set apart for the drawing of the designs of work in progress. It will be remembered that at York in 1389, two tracing boards are mentioned. Here in 1377 there is noted a purchase of a parchment for the master for setting out the design of the new Cloister, and again in 1389 a skin is bought for the working drawings of the East Window. John Cornwayle, Freemason (lathomus), is specially sent to select the stone for this work and superintend its transport.

In 1405 there is provided a running bar for the door of the Lodge at a cost of 5d., which implies a substantial piece of timber, and shows that the Lodge was no open shed but a strictly tyled room. Then we find that the Dean and Chapter provide gauntletted gloves, and the text of the Rolls affords the explanation why they were furnished, which is, that they were used in scaffold work to protect the hands from splinters,

The authors of *The Building of Exeter Cathedral* have been able to explain how the Organ Screen, which forms so conspicuous a feature of the interior, came to be constructed. The exigencies of the vaulting in the new Choir brought the westernmost pier short of the true line of the Transept crossing. The architect, therefore, inserted a very short bay with an arch of only 2ft. 6in. span, and the additional pier gave him his alignment. But the space thus provided he filled in with the Screen or Pulpyte, as it used to be called. There is no ground for attributing it to foreign workmen or for looking on the Screen itself as foreign in inspiration.

In 1424 we meet with John Harvy, Freemason; Gould gives the name erroneously as Harry. In 1425 we have Umfray, and in the next year Harvy and John Wrolston, Freemasons—the actual word is now used—are sent to get stone from the quarries at Beer. But the Fabric Rolls generally, while giving much detail as to payments and as to the actual structure, do not give us any information about the internal affairs of the Lodge, so far as can be judged from the extracts hitherto made public. The full transcription of them, when published, will no doubt give us many more details of importance for our special purpose.

But before leaving the Cathedral I would wish to refer to one more point in connection with it. The late W. Bro. Thomas Andrew, the father of Bro. T. H. Andrew who is with us to-night, was Mayor of Exeter in 1881, and a keen archæologist, as well as a Craft, Royal Arch, and Mark Mason. He used to say that every manual sign he knew in Masonry could be identified in the attitudes of the effigies on the West Front. That the Craftsmen introduced esoteric references in this manner into their work will be an idea familiar to brethren from Peterborough and several other places.

One more name has come down to us; from 1507 to 1512, John Carter, Jorge Maker, Freemason of Exeter, was employed making a George for the Church of Croscombe, near Wells.[1] This church was re-edified by the then opulent wool-merchants, and they paid for the work the large sum of £27 11s. 8d. Assuredly this artist and many others would have their names on record in the city archives; they only want looking for.

We now have to cross the gap that always occurs in our history at this point, and take up the Craft again when it reappears in Exeter as Grand Lodge Freemasonry; and we must remember that in No. 39 we have, to quote Hughan's description, the oldest continuous Provincial Lodge in England, all the Lodges chartered in the Provinces before its advent having collapsed. It was constituted at the New Inn on July 11, 1732. This Lodge, Anchor of Hope at Bolton, No. 37; Royal Cumberland at Bath, No. 41; and Relief, Bury, now No. 42, all possess as their authority to meet, not Warrants, but Deputations; and these are the only four now extant of forty-seven such documents recorded in the 1738 *Book of Constitutions*, this at Exeter being the oldest of the four. Bro. Carter has recently dealt with the whole question very fully in the Lodge, and I need not now go into it. You have seen the original document in Gandy Street. But it may be pointed out that the Greek motto of the coat of arms on the seal is En Arche ēn Ho Logos: In the beginning was the Word; and the significance of that as the motto of Grand Lodge in 1732 and 1733 is considerable. It suggests that there were already associations with ideas, which were later on to be developed in the R.A. Degree. At

[1] From the churchwardens' accounts, quoted in the *Archæological Journal*, September, 1904. *Vide* reference at *A.Q.C.* xviii., 52. But I am unable to say what a "George" or "Jorge" may be. The term is unknown to Britton and Ferguson, and is not to be found in either Wright or the N.E.D. But Ferguson has a note on the unusually fine choir screen at Croscombe; this may possibly be the work in question.

Grand Lodge on 27 December, 1736. Bro. Bayliss reported that he had visited the Lodges at Bath, Bristol, and Exeter; and he brought up their charity contributions, Exeter's being a guinea and a half. For this, Anderson tells us, a letter of thanks was ordered to be sent them for their handsome beneficence. At the same meeting their By-Laws were read for some reason which does not now appear; Anderson calls them "curious." I am afraid they have not been preserved. The official record is that they were directed to be read, which was done accordingly to the satisfaction of the Society. I can throw no light on the incident.

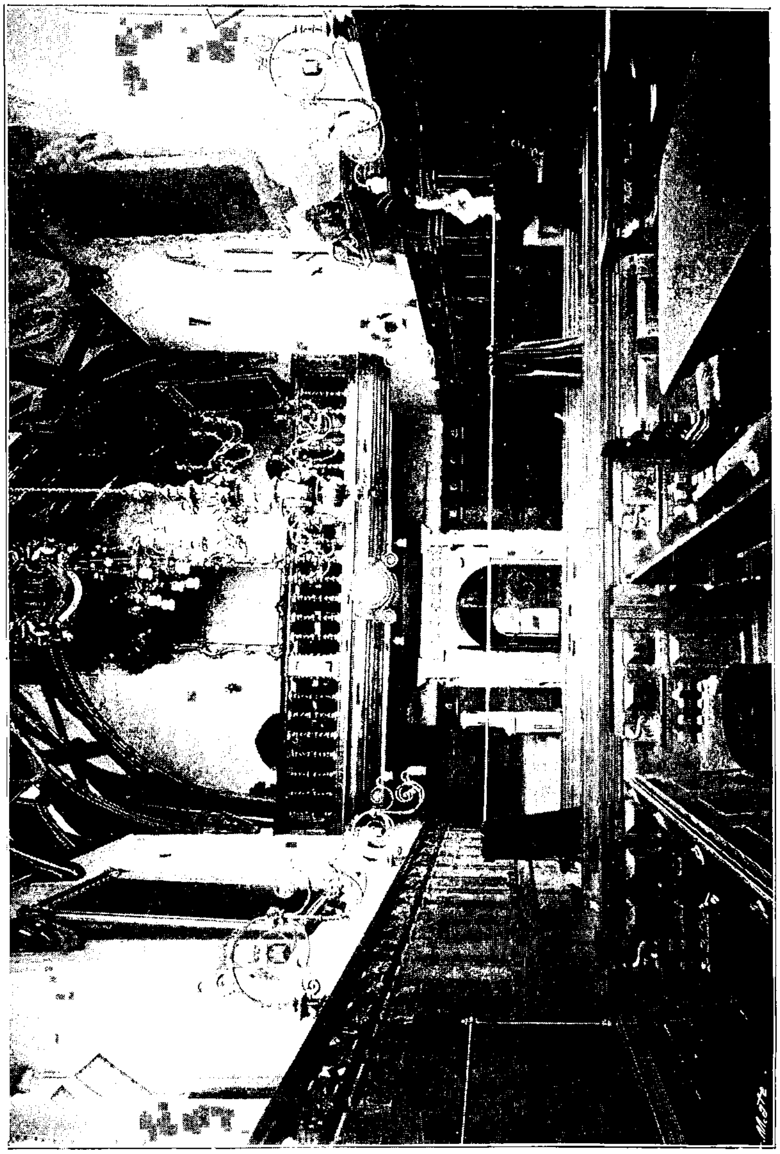
In 1754, when the Constitutions were under revision, twenty-one, or perhaps twenty-two, country Lodges were erased for nonconformity with the laws, which meant in practice not sending up their subscriptions to the Charity Fund. The Lodge at the New Inn was one of them. Every single one of them stayed erased and perished except the Lodge at the New Inn and one other, a Lodge at Shrewsbury which was again erased within sixteen years, this time for good. But it is now quite clear that, erasure or no erasure, the Lodge at the New Inn continued to meet; and in 1759 it was restored to the Roll after it had presented two guineas to the Grand Lodge Charity Fund, but was now made to rank junior to the Lodge last constituted, with the number 239. In 1770 at the re-numbering, it was allowed to rank next after all others constituted in its original year of foundation, 1732, and given the number 48. Its actual number at the time according to strict seniority would have been 44. To-day it is in consequence 39 instead of 37, which is the number of Anchor of Hope, Bolton, constituted 23 October, 1732. The present 38 is an Antient Lodge, at Chichester.

When Hope wrote his History of the Lodge, there were no minutes known to exist of earlier date than 1777. In the *Life and Biography of Andrew Brice*, a reference is made to a Minute Book covering the period 1757 to 1760, as in existence in 1888, extracts from which were furnished to the author by Bro. J. Jerman. The actual text of the reference is:—

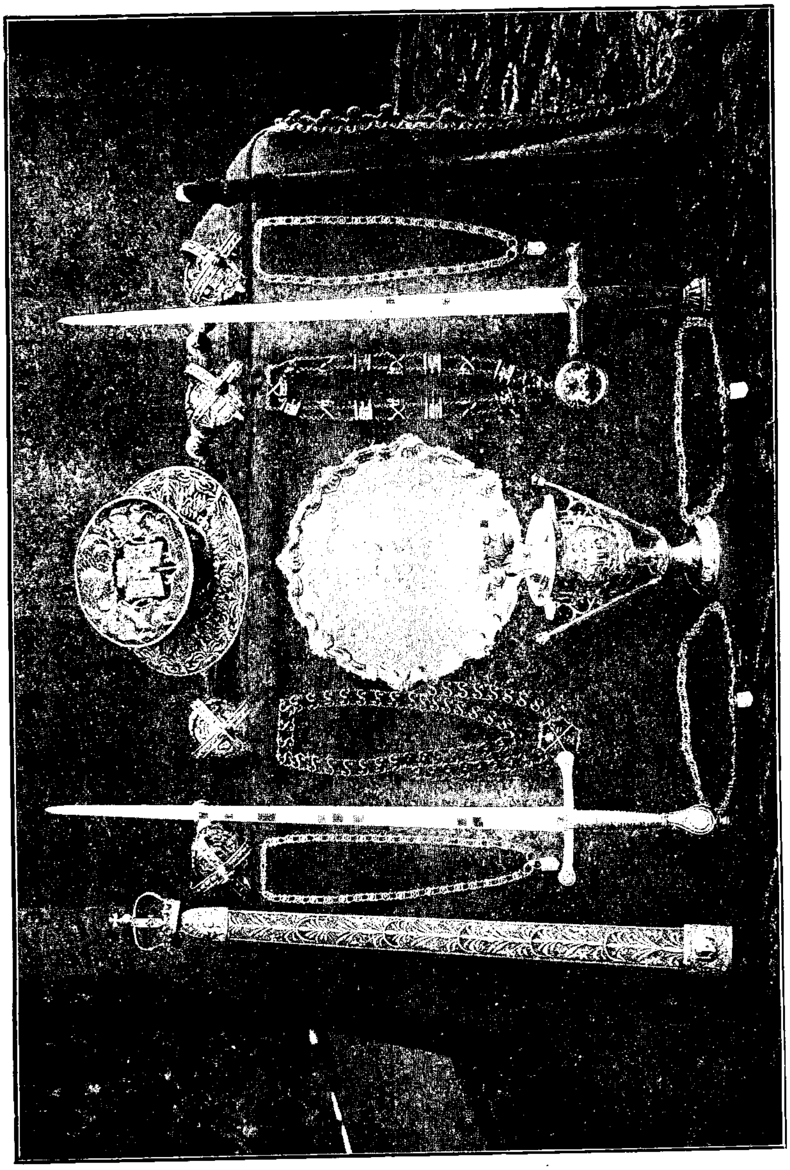
> According to a minute book (for the examination of which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. I. Jerman) A. Brice is recorded as the continuous master of the Lodge between July, 1757, and November, 1760, and held that office probably for a much longer period. The same book contains several proofs of the estimation in which he was held by the brethren.

It is most gratifying to be able to record that, since this paper was originally read, Bro. T. H. Andrew, with this clue to help him, has recovered what would appear to be the missing Minute Book, but it actually covers the period 12 July, 1757, to 18 December, 1759, with a single entry dated 13 March, 1764. The payment of the two guineas which was the price of reinstatement is duly recorded on 16 January, 1759. The reinstatement was effected on 5 February.

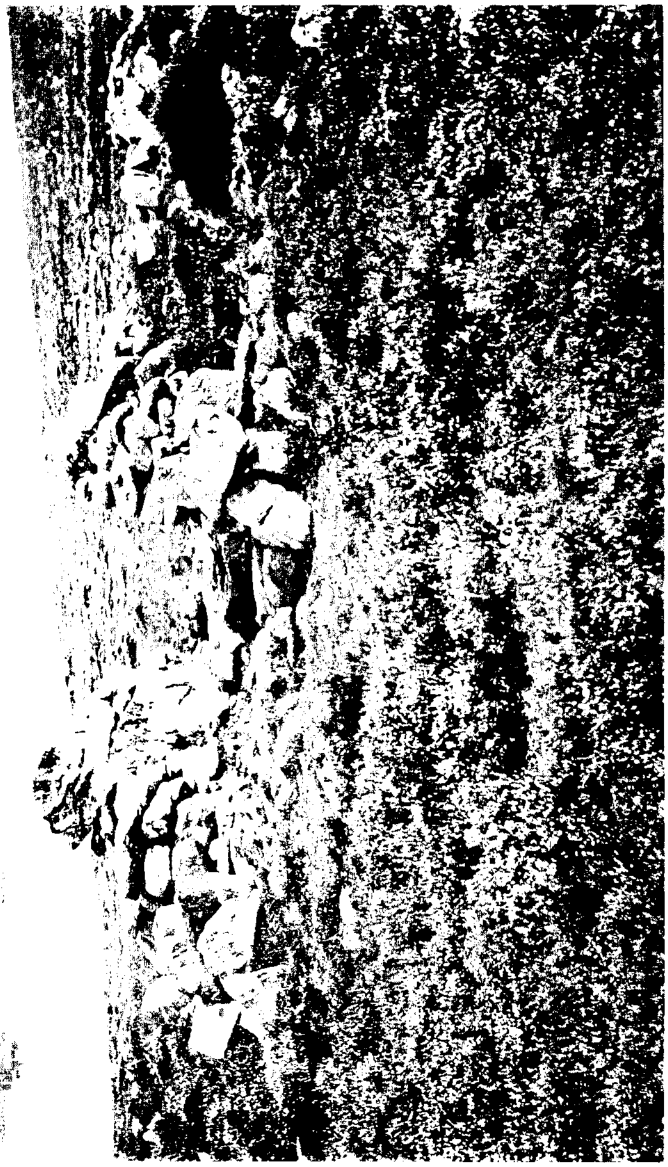
This Bro. Brice was the founder of Exeter journalism, and also the author of a Grand Gazetteer, which purports to be a topographical account of the whole world. At the time of his death on 7 November, 1773, he was the oldest Mason in Exeter. His remains lay in state in the Apollo Room, and the public paid a shilling a head to view them, to defray the cost of the funeral. This Apollo Room was at the New Inn, which had been erected in the fifteenth century. The Lodge met there, and it was for a long time used as a Cloth Exchange; it still exists at No. 25, High Street. At the funeral 200 members of various Lodges in the neighbourhood walked in procession from the New Inn, but the actual site of the grave is now unknown. An epitaph, that was suggested at the time, if not actually inscribed on any stone, deserves to be recorded:—



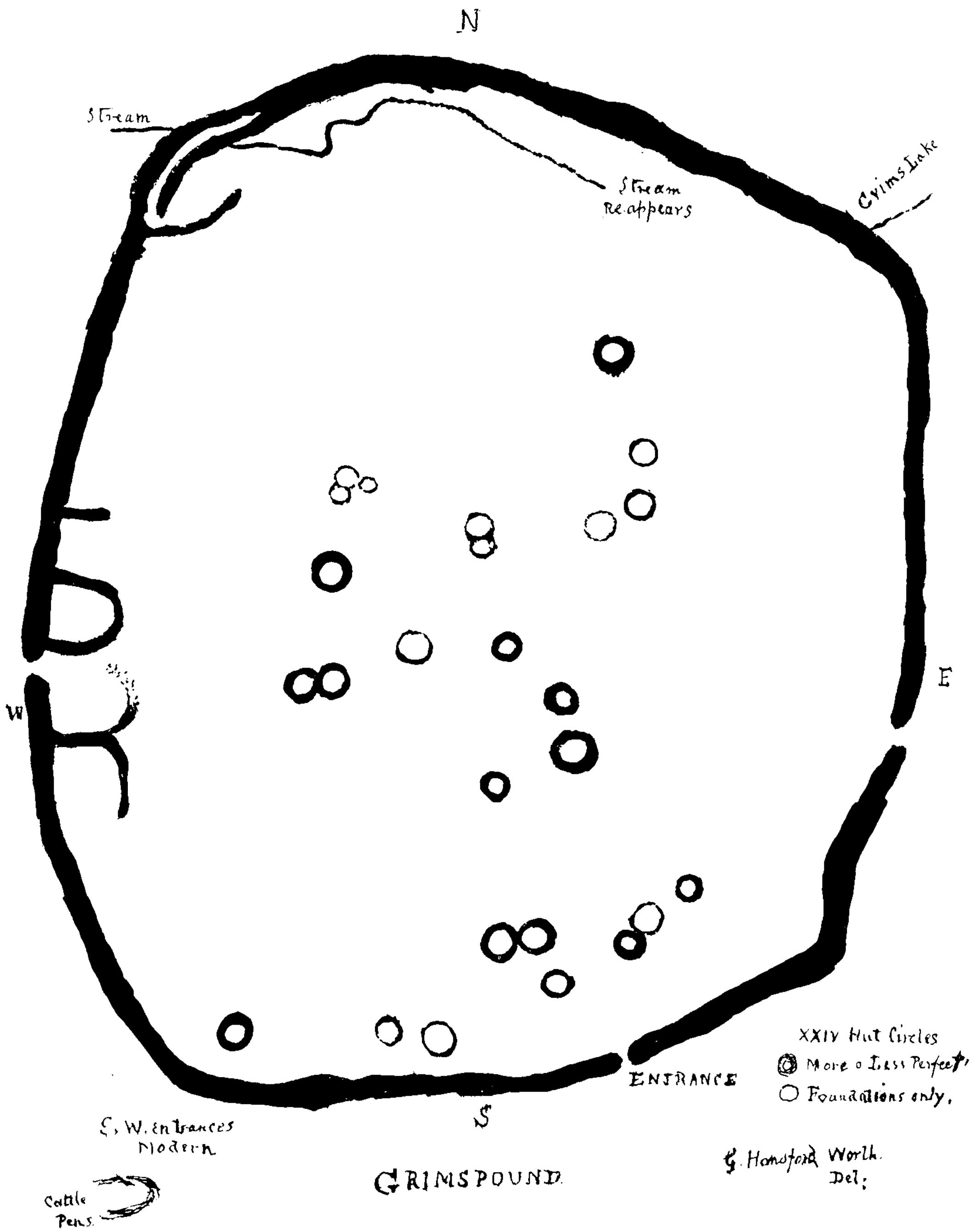
Exeter: The Guildhall: Interior.



Exeter: The City Regalia.



Grimspound; Entrance Gateway.


N
Stream
Stream Re-appears
Grims Lake
E
W
S
ENTRANCE
XXIV Hut Circles
More o Less Perfect,
Foundations only,
S. W. entrances Modern
Cattle Pens.
GRIMSPOUND
G. Hansford Worth. Del:

Here lies Andrew Brice, the old Exeter printer,
Whose life lengthened out to the depth of its winter.
Of his brethren masonic he took his last leave,
Inviting them all to a Lodge at his grave:
Who to show their respect and obedience came hither,
Or rather the mob and the masons together,
Sung a hymn to his praise in a funeral tone,
But disliking his lodging, return'd to their own.

Of the Lodge itself during this period very little is at present known (but we may now expect to learn more from the newly-discovered records). But as late as 1803 there was a Master's Lodge at work which kept distinct Minutes of its proceedings. It very probably came into existence soon after the Lodge itself was constituted. Its Minutes from 1777 are extant, but it was practically dormant from 1785 until 1803, when its separate existence terminated after two more meetings. It was one of the latest Master's Lodges to survive. Hughan's account of it will be found in *A.Q.C.* vii. Hope has one allusion to a French Prisoner, who acted as Outer Guard to the Lodge on one occasion; but there would not seem to have been any great number of them here. They had their own Lodges at Plymouth, Tiverton, and Wincanton.

The next Lodge to be founded in Exeter is now at Plymouth, St. John's Lodge founded on 21 March, 1759, by the Antients as a military Lodge. It migrated in 1828, and is now No. 70. Then comes St. George's Lodge, now No. 112, warranted on January 20, 1762, and granted a Centenary Warrant with a special jewel in 1862. Its original number was 269, and it met originally at the Half Moon Inn in the High Street. This was a time of considerable Masonic activity in the city, as another modern Lodge was constituted in the next year; it met at the Seven Stars, Bridge End, St. Thomas the Apostle, but it only lived six years. The list of subscribers to the 1769 edition of Wellins Calcott's *Candid Disquisition* includes five brethren from the Amicable Lodge, Exeter. At *A.Q.C.* xxx., 256, the late Bro. Charles Gough gave reasons for identifying this with the Lodge at the Seven Stars. What Bro. Gough did succeed in establishing, was that two of these subscribers were initiated in the Union Lodge, to which I refer later on, on November 18, 1766, and then proceeded, with others, to constitute the Lodge at the White Hart, South Street, that came in 1769 to be known as the Ship Masters' Lodge. There is no other record of this name *Amicable*: it might possibly have been an earlier name for the Lodge at the White Hart, but, in the absence of any list of members of the Lodge at the Seven Stars, no conclusion can be come to either way. The Antients chartered another military Lodge in 1771 at the Castle Inn, which lapsed in 1793, of which nothing now appears to be known. There was yet another in the Third Dragoons in 1806, which was transferred from the First Royal Lancs. Militia; but the Colonel refused to allow the Lodge to meet, so the warrant was passed on to the North Hants Militia at Falmouth. The last of the Antient Military Lodges in Exeter, that in the First East Devon Militia, met here from 1781 to 1794. It was in the county again from 1799 to 1806, spending a short period at Exeter at the Mermaid Tavern during 1803. It came back in 1817, when it met at the Golden Ball in Mary Arches Street. It is of interest to us to-day, as Samuel Stocker, the grandfather of W. Bro. John Stocker, the present Deputy Provincial Grand Master, was initiated in it in 1805. It was erased in 1835. A Modern Military Lodge met at the Globe in 1783, that in the Second Devon Militia, but it was transferred to Barnstaple in the same year. It ceased to work in 1807. The only other Antient Lodge was Chosen Friends, founded in 1803; it migrated to Star Cross in 1824 (not 1825 as given in Lane), and was erased four years later. I have

already referred to the Ship Masters, a Modern Lodge constituted 1766, which met at the White Hart in South Street; it survived till 1791. In 1766 there was also constituted the Union Lodge, to meet at the Globe. It was erased in 1799, but its Minutes are still extant, and our W.M. in his inaugural address to the Lodge gave us several extracts from them. It was remarkable as being limited in membership to twenty-four, all gentlemen of county standing, and many were distinguished men, as among its members were a Bishop of Norwich, a Bishop of Peterborough, and Colonel Simcoe, initiated December 7, 1773, the first Governor of Upper Canada, who founded the first regular Lodge at Toronto in 1792. He died at Exeter in 1798, and his body, escorted by country gentlemen mounted and carrying torches, left his house in the Close at midnight for Wolford, where he is buried. His monument by Flaxman is in the South Aisle of the Cathedral. The Lodge was also mainly instrumental in bringing about the formation of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Devon in 1775. The next Lodge is Semper Fidelis in 1869, and the remaining three are of dates 1897, 1914, and 1920. The way in which the intervals between the dates of constitution get shorter and shorter is a sufficient indication that Masonry in Exeter to-day is not merely flourishing but increasing. Long may it do so.

The earliest record R.A. Chapter in the city is Resolution No. 29 in the 1813 list of the Supreme Chapter, chartered in 1782. What became of this Chapter I have not ascertained; but it was a Modern Chapter, and must therefore have drawn its membership from either Lodge No. 39 or No. 112, the only Modern Lodges at work in the city both in 1782 and 1813. But before the Union there was not, among the Moderns, our present system whereby a Chapter is closely associated with a specific Lodge, and tends to recruit its members only from certain definite Lodges. The Chapter attached to St. George was constituted in 1822, and until quite recent years would seem to have been the only Chapter in the city after *Resolution* ceased to work. In February, 1775, four visitors are recorded at Grand Chapter from the Chapter at Exeter, so that it is clear that the degree was worked here as a separate organization long before any body of brethren felt called on to apply for a Chapter Warrant. [The recently discovered Minute Book contains an entry, on 6 January, 1759, that it was proposed by the R.W. Master to "rise" three brethren to the "Degree of Arch Masters." The proposal was not adopted, but the entry is evidence of the degree being known, and, it would seem, worked in the Lodges in Devon at this early date.] Devon was one of Dunckerley's Provinces in the R.A., being formed in 1780.

With regard to the Mark Degree, Bro. T. H. Andrew has found references to it as being worked in the Lodges a century ago. Devon was, in fact, the first Province of the Mark Degree in England, but that was not till 1858. There are also reasons for believing that the Antient Lodges before 1813 were working the K.T. and Rose Croix; the Exeter Preceptory is No. F, Time Immemorial, and the Rose Croix Chapter is No. 2. The only other point I would like to make is, that when the present No. 70, an Antient Lodge, migrated from Exeter in 1828, it appears that the brethren left behind joined No. 39. This was of course long after the Union, but it is more than likely that certain specialities that the Lodge preserves to-day in its working may owe their origin to the fusion of the two traditions that then took place.

The brethren will of course understand that these notes could not have been compiled without the very generous help afforded me by many brethren whom I consulted, among whom I have especially to thank W. Bro. T. H. Andrew, who now has in his hands the old Minute Book to which several references have been made.

Before separating, an interchange of thanks and congratulations passed between the Master of the Lodge, Dr. George Norman, and the Deputy Provincial Grand Master of Devonshire, Brother John Stocker. That evening's entertainment and Bro. Vibert's paper proved to have a most stimulating effect upon local interest in Masonic history. It will not soon be forgotten by those fortunate enough to be present; and it has since formed a fruitful topic of conversation in local Masonic circles.

On Sunday, the 17th, the majority of the Visitors attended Divine Service in the Choir of the Cathedral. By the courtesy of the Dean and Chapter, fifty chairs were reserved at the Morning Service for the use of Visiting Brethren, and were all occupied. The preacher was the Dean of Exeter, Dr. Gamble. Unfortunately, a mild epidemic outbreak in the Choir School kept the Choir Boys away; and, instead of the usual musical service, plain song by the Choirmen had to be substituted. It is to be feared that this alteration did not meet with greater appreciation among the visitors than among the members of the ordinary congregation; but it was unavoidable.

During the course of the afternoon the majority of the Visitors dispersed, many of them returning by train to London, after what it was on all hands agreed had been a most successful Summer Outing.

NOTE.

A few additional particulars as to the newly-recoverd Minute Book referred to in Bro. Vibert's address may be of interest.

On July 12, 1757, Andrew Brice and Bros. Hubert, Convert, Cooper, Skinner, and Wiggington met at the Bedford Arms. Skinner and Wiggington were only F.C. They seem to have all been members of the Lodge at the New Inn, that was, at the tme, technically erased. Brice officiated as W.M., and they proceeded to initiate three brethren. They had no funds, and probably very little property of any kind.

On 30 August they met in the old Lodge-room at the New Inn, and this meeting was called an Occasional Lodge. They now provided themselves with officers, the Tyler being Bartlett. He had been Tyler of the original Lodge apparently: he continued as Tyler in Exeter till 1777, at which time he was 86 years of age. From August onwards they met regularly twice a month; obviously on 12 July they felt that they were not a quorum to form a Lodge, which was why they initiated those three brethren. We need not enquire too curiously into the regularity of their proceedings on that occasion.

The Lodge was reinstated in February, 1759, and the Minute Book carries us up to December of that year, Brice remaining Master all the time. In December there was a new Master, and apparently he opened a new Minute Book, now missing. Throughout the period the Lodge was accepted by its neighbours as regular, and visitors were frequent. There was a Masters' Lodge, the Minutes of which are also in this volume: it met usually at the Master's house. There is a reference to the R.A. as being worked at Plymouth in 1758, a very early date.

The effect of the discovery is to show that, at all events from July, 1757, the Lodge was working, despite the erasure of 1754, and that its proceedings prior to formal reinstatement were never called in question.

We are indebted to the courtesy of the Town Clerk of Exeter, Mr. H. Lloyd Parry, for the loan of the blocks of illustrations of the city that accompany this article.

For the colour print of the Clapper Bridge we have to thank the artistic skill of Bro. F. A. Powell.

The illustrations of Grimspound are from a plan and photograph kindly put at the disposal of the Lodge by Bro. George Norman, P.M.



The Common Seal of Exeter.

THE CHARTER OF INCORPORATION OF CARPENTERS, MASONS, JOINERS, GLAZIERS AND PAINTERS OF EXETER. 29th March, 1586.

[For permission to reproduce this document and the two which follow, and for procuring the transcripts, we are indebted to the courtesy of the Town Clerk, Mr. H. Lloyd Parry. The Joiners separated themselves from the original Company in the first year of James II., and a new Charter of Incorporation was granted to the Carpenters, Free Masons, Masons, or Bricklayers, Glasiers and Painters. The original Charter of 1586 is at Exeter. The originals of the later Charter, and of the Ordinances which here follow it do not appear to be in the Muniment Room at the Guildhall at Exeter, but the present transcripts are made from copies which are in a hand of about the end of the seventeenth century, and would thus appear to be contemporary.]

TO ALL CHRISTIAN PEOPLE to whome theis presents shall come the Mayor Baylyffes and Comynaltye of the City of Exeter sende greetinge. WHEREAS our loving Neighbours and Citizens the Artyficers of the Companye of Carpenters, Masons, Joyners, Glaciers and Paynters of this Cittye and County of Exeter have eftsoones and one longe tyme beene ernest sutors and peticioners unto us that they might be reduced and brought into one Societye Fellowshipp and Companye As by there humble peticion in writinge to us exhibited the wordes whereof do insue it doth more playnely appeare To the Righte Worshippfull the Maior Aldermen & Comon Councell of the Cittie of Exeter wth. all humblenes It is not unknowen unto your Wisedomes Right Worshippfull how that Citties & Comon welthes had there first foundation and grounde upon the Polytuyque governmente of the prudente Magystrate and the dutyfull obedience of the good subiecte, For in the first age when men lyved at libertye and w^t^.hout order, and then lothinge there lose and uncertayne state of lyfe dyd assemble themselves and made choyse of the wyse and prudente men to go before them and to governe and Rule them who in wisedom divertinge and the people in humblenes obeyinge they grewe in strength and increased in welth hable to mayntayne the Comon State and pryvate famyly And then Citties and Townes began to be buylded, good men for vertue to be honoured, and wycked men for synne to be punyshed then were wholsome lawes constituted cyvill orders devysed and polytiuque ordynannce establyshed aswell for the preservac̃on of the Comon State as also to keep ech man in his estate and callinge And as all Citties & Comon Weiles were first settled upon this so good a foundac̃on so they restinge upon the same have had ever sithens there contynuaus where in whatsoever may be said or thought of other Citties and Townes yet wee do thinke veryly that this City of Exeter now under your goverment ys in both respects as happy as any others having beene from tyme to tyme governed and preserved by prudente Magystrates and wise governors And truly in our opynion in no age better then in this of ours wherein yt appeareth how carefully and paynefully youe nowe the governors have and tender the good government prospitye and increase of this Citty and Comon Welth of the same leavinge no Presidente of any other well governed Cittye nor any good devise of your owne nor whatsoev els wch. in any respecte maie be to the furtherans thereof And therefore ptely

bie the example of other well governed Citties and ptely by your owne experience fynding agreable it is to the Word of God and lawe of nature how necessarye and needefull it is yn the Comon Welth that ech man do lyve in his owne vocation and callinge and in such Arte and mysterye as he is most skilfull of and hath bene trayned in you have wth. greate wisedome & upon consideracons reduced the moste pte of the severall Artes and occupacons w^t^.hin this Cittye into severall felowshipps and companyes By wch. meanes how the govermente is become more assured the Magystrates better obeyed every pryvate man in his Arte more experte and fynally the whole comon welth in better case, experience sheweth and declareth Wee therefore your poore neighbours and Orators the Carpenters, Masons, Joyners, Glaciers and Paynters of the Cittie of Exon (albeit fewe in nuber and slender in welth) beinge desirous to be ptakers of so many good benefits whereby we myght become and be the more pfitable members in the Comon welth the better hable to serve therein under youe and by the Sweate of our Browes in our owne mysterye and callinge to gett our lyvinge to the mayntenance of our selfs wyffs children and famylye do most humbly beseech and praye youe (as we hope youe will) to have the like consideracons of us as you have had and have of other mysteries and occupacons w^th^.in this Cittie and that wee maye (as they be) be Incorporated ynto a severall Companye and Fellowshipp of our selfs by the name of the Companye of the Carpenters Masons Joyners Glaciers and Paynters of the Cittie of Excester And that for the better usage order and govermente emonge us to be had yt may be enacted by youe in order and manner as followeth And wee shall not onely as Children to there Fathers and as inferiors to thre supiors remayne alwaies & be moste obediente unto youe in all dutyfull manner but also praye unto the lyvinge God for the good contynuance of youe in a longe & a prospous state wth. thencrease of worshypp BE IT KNOWEN that Wee the said Mayor Bailyffes and Comynaltye considering wth. our selfes the contynual care wch. we have and ought to have in the good govermente of the comon welth of this Cittie and in respecte aswell of the charge thereof comytted to our trust as also in dyscharge of our duties ar studious and carefull to use any good meanes wayes and devyses whereby the same may the better be increased the comon welth mayntayned and ech man in his calling preserved AND consideringe also the peticons of our poore neighbours who according to there power have a most earnest zeale and regarde to the encrease of the comon welthe do not onely for the better recovery of themselves to some better wealth and estate whereby they maie the better hable to serve in the same desire to be reduced into one Fellowshipp and Company of themselfes but cheifely for the encrease of the publique and Comon State wch. they hope by the good orders by them to be used ordered & kepte shall the better be preserved & furthered WE THEREFORE upon suche and other like good consideracons and causes have assembled our selfes and with one whole and full assente and consente asmuch as in us lieth have graunted ordeyned & decreed in manner and forme as foloweth FIRST it is ordered and decreed by the Maior Bailyffes and Comynalty of the Cittie of Exon wth. the full assente and consente and by the agreemente of the xxiiij^tie^. of the Comon Councell of the same that the Misteries Fellowshipp and Companies of the Carpenters Masons Joyners Glaciers & Paynters of the said Cittye and Countie of the same shall hensfourth be united and reduced to one Mysterie Fellowshipp and Companye and from hensfourth to receyve have and enioye one ppetuall name and be called the Misterye and Companye of the Paynters & Carpenters of the Cittie of Exon AND FOR THE better govermente of the said Companye it is ordered and graunted by the said Mayor Balyffes and Comon Councell that from the feaste of Easter Tuesdaye next comynge Humfry Bassell shalbe Master of the said Fellowshipp Mistery and Companye and William Hutchins and William Russell shalbe Wardens of the said Misterye by us the said Mayor and Comon Councell nomynated to contynewe for one whole yere now next ensuynge That is to saie the said Humfry Bassell to be Master and the said William Hutchins to be thelder Warden & the said William Russell to be the younger Warden And yerely from thensfourth in the said daie and feaste the said M^r^. and Wardens and there successors and the

whole Companye or the more of them shall assemble themselfes at there Comon Hall and then & there by the consente of all the Masters of the said Companye, or in lacke and for defaulte of the nomber of Fyve psons wch. have bene Masters of the said Company to choyse and to electe to themselves so many of the wisest and discreetest psons of themselves as shall make upp the nuber of Fyve psons wch. shall name and electe among themselfs Two habell meete and honest psons to be there Masters for the yere then following and the names of them so chosen for Two Masters the Mr. then beinge forthwth. to presente and publyshe unto the residewe of the said Fellowshipp and Companye then and there presente wch. Companye so presente shall then and there by there most voices nomynate and electe one of the said Two Masters to be there Master for the yere folowinge And moreover the said Master and Companye together wth. all the Masters of the said Mysterye or for default of Fyve such Masters wth. the consente of Fyve of the wisest & discreetest psons of the said Co'pany as is aforesaid shall then and there chuse and electe one hable and honest pson of the said Companye to be the younger Warden of the said Companye and to be ioyned to hym who was the younger Warden for the yere nexte and laste before paste And after the election so orderly pfected and donne the said late Master Wardens and Companye shall one any one Monedaie wt.hin Twenty daies after such election bringe fourth and presente the said new Master and Warden unto the Maior & Bailyffes for the tyme beinge at the Courte of the Guihald of the said Cittie then and there to be sworen in the said open courte severally that they and every of them shall the next yere then followinge for the good govermente of the said Companye dulye and truly exercise & occupy there saide Offices That is ot saie the Master to do all and everye thinge and thinges apptayninge to a Master and the said Warden to do what apptayneth to the office of a Warden of the said Company as also to see to be observed all & all manner of Actes ordynannces pvisions and Rules pteyninge to the said Mysterye and by them to be kept and observed AND FURTHER it is ordered and enacted that yerely wt.hin one moneth after the said eleccon of the said new Master and Warden they the said new Master and Warden shall comaunde and assemble there whole Fellowshipp and Companye or most pte of them to there Comon Hall and then and there to requyre and cause the olde Master and Wardens for the laste yere paste to make render & yelde upp to the said new Master and Warden a true pfytt and a Juste Accompte of all and singuler such goodes cattalls utensyles casualties and other pfitts whatsoever wch. have or ought to have come to there handes or to the hands of any of them to the use of the said Mysterie and Fellowshipp asking onely such allowances as be iuste and trewe And of all such thinges as shall remayne upon the determynacon of the said accompts and every of them shall fourthwith make or cause to be made delyvery and placemente thereof to the said newe Master and Wardens Savinge the Moitie and hafendeale of all such fynes proffitts and Casualties wch. shalbe growinge and due to the use of the Chamber of the said Cittie wch. said Moitye the said olde Master and Wardens one the Mondaie then nexte folowinge after the said Accompte so made shall make delyvery and placemente to the Recyver of the Cittie for the tyme beinge in the open Courte of the Guihald of the said Cittie to thuse of the said Cittye PROVIDED and be it enacted that the Moitye of all and all manner of fynes Amerciaments penaltyes forfeytures and other casualties whatsoever hereafter at any tyme to be made taxed or sessed upon any pson or psons or by anye Wayes forfeyted for any offence or offences or mysdemeanures or other causes concernynge the breache of any Actes grauntes and ordynannces or any of them in this booke expressed shall remayne and be yerely paide as before to the use of the Cittie and the other moitye to the onely use of the said Companye Savinge the fynes of all & every pson and psons wch. at any tyme hereafter shalbe made free of the said Companye wch. onely to be reserved to the use of the said Companye AND FURTHER be it ordered and enacted that the said new Master and Wardens shall twise every yere at the least cause the whole Companye to be called and assembled together at there Comon Hall and then and there before them shall cause to be redde and openlye

to be declared unto the whole Companye then and there pressente aswell the orders and ordynannces of this booke as also all such others as by them and the Masters of the said Companye shalbe reasonably advised & devised AND ALSO be yt enacted and ordeyned that yf the said new Master and Wardens be not yerely elected chosen and sworen in manner and forme as is before saide and also the said newe Master and Warden so chosen do not cause all thorders and ordynannces of this Booke as also such others by the said Master and Companye reasonablye devised as is beforesaid to be openly redde & declared to the said Companye two tymes by the yere at the least that the Master & Wardens who shalbe found to be faultie & defectyve herein to paie for every such defaulte pved before the Maior of this Cittie for the tyme beinge and forfeyt the some of Twentie shillinges of lawfull money of Englande to the onely use of the Cittie And that every pson of the said Companye beinge lawfully warned by the Master Wardens or Bedell of the said Companie to come and to appeare at the saide or any other assemblye either for the hearinge of the redinge of theis orders or for the settinge fourth of any good order or other thinge and thinges of the saide Companye that then every Master or Warden so offendinge & havinge no reasonable and lawfull excuse to paie for his fyne and contempte for every defaulte Twelve pence & every other pson sixe pence AND ALSO be yt ordeyned and enacted that yf any pson or psons of the said Mysterye Fellowshipp and Companye be elected or nomynated to be a Master or a Warden of the said Company do or shall at any tyme hereafter refuse or denye to take & assume upon hym to execute the same and also to be sworne in the same office unles he have some reasonable excuse allowed before and by the Mayor of the Citty for the tyme beinge, that then he who shalbe so chosen to be Master & refusinge to be sworne to forfeyt the some of Twentie shillinges of lawful moneye and likewise every pson to be a Warden and so refusinge to execute the same to paie and forfeyt Twentie shillinges of lawfull money. And that then upon such refusall some one other habell and meete pson of the said Company to be chosen in manner and forme abovesaide in his or there steede so refusinge or neglectinge The like order also shalbe observed and kepte emonge them for election from tyme to tyme of a new Master and Warden yf it shall happen any Master or Warden beinge in office to dye before the ende of the yere after such there election into anye the said offices or to depte or geve over or refuse his or there office for some urgente & reasonable cause and the same allowed before the Maior of the Cittye for the tyme beinge PROVIDED that no pson or psons of the saide Companye after Syxe yeres now nexte followinge shalbe charged called or chosen to be a Master of the said Co'pany but that he have benne first twise Warden of the said Companye That is to saie first syngle Warden and after Master Warden AND FURTHER it is ordered and enacted that everye pson and psons of the said Companye shall quietlye honestly and in good order behave and use themselfes one towardes thother aswell in Worde as in Deede w^t.hout any open malicious or opprobrious Wordes Tawntes and Checks or unsemely wordes as also in dewe reverence of the inferior towardes the Master and Masters of the said Company upon payne that whosoever shalbe founde to offende therein to paie for everye such defaulte Three shillings and Fower pence ALSO IT IS ORDERED and establyshed that it shall and maie be lawfull to the Master and Wardens togeither wth. all such as have bene Masters of the said Company or for defaulte of sixe psons wch. have bene Masters so many of the wisest and gravest men of that Fellowshipp and there successors as shall make upp the nomber of sixe psons besides the said Master and Wardens or the most pte of them in there assembly & meetinge together to make ordeyne devise & establysh such good and wholsome orders ordeynannces and decrees as maie and shalbe for the good govermente and preservac̃on of the said Companye and of the Artes by them or any of them used and practysed so that the said ordinannces or any clause or Article thereof be not preiudiciall or repugnannte to the lawes of the Realme of England or lib̃teis or Comon Welth of the same Cittie or any of them and as opportunitie and occasion shall serve to repeale revoke and change the same from tyme to tyme as by there

discresions shalbe thought good & conveniente PROVIDED that all & all manner of Articles actes and ordynannces wch. shalbe so hereafter made had or ordered by the said Master Fellowshipp and Companye as aforesaid shall not take any force or be of any valewe or be admytted or allowed untill the same become or be first presented to the Mayor and Aldermen of this Cittie or the moste pte of them and by them pved examyned and allowed ALSO IT IS ORDERED that the said Master & Masters & Wardens of the said Company & the most pte of them shall in like manner intreate uppon take order and determyne of all & all manner of abuses offences & mysdemeanures of the saide Companye or any of them and of all and all manner of such thinges as shall concerne the said Artes and occupac̃ons by them or any of them used and exercised wt.hin this Cittye or Countie of the same, and the defaultes founde to punyshe reforme or redresse by fyne Imprisonemente or any other lawfull meanes as they shall thinke good accordinge to the qualitye and quantitye of the offences done and comytted AND ALSO IT IS ordered and establyshed that no manner of pson or psons wt.hin this Cittie or Countie of the same shall exercise use worke make frame sett upp or shape any thinge or thinges wt.hin this Cittie or Countie of the same pteyninge to a Carpenter Mason Joyner Glacyer and Paynter untill and before he hath or have compounded and agreed wth. the said Master and Masters and Wardens and Companye of the said Mysterye for the tyme being or the most pte of them as aforesaide and also to be made free of the same or allowed thereunto by the said Master and Masters & Wardens or the most pte of them and also hath then taken further order and agreemente wth. the said Master and Wardens of a Reasonable daie at any time wt.hin Three Moneths then nexte followinge to be presented to the Maior and Bailyffes of the said Cittie for the tyme beinge to compounde with them for the freedome of the said Citty upon payne that every pson so settinge upp and exercysinge the said occupac̃on contrary to this order to paie Fyve shillings And the Master and Wardens in default in not presenting every such pson made free of there Company unto the Maior and Bailyffes wt.hin three moneths as aforesaide to paie to the onely use of the Cittye the some of Tenne shillinges AND ALSO IT is ordered that no pson or psons of the said Fellowshipp and Companye shall take into his service the Apprentice Journeman or Servaunte of any of the said Mysterye Fellowshipp & Companye unles every such Apprentice or Servaunte be clerely out of Covenannte and dyscharged from his former Master upon payne that every pson offendinge to pay for every defaulte Six shillings eight pence & the Coveñnte so made to be voide ALSO THAT every Apprentyce of the said Misterie wch. hath heretofore served or wch. shall serve hereafter the full terme of seaven yeres to and wth. any of the said Misterie Fellowshipp and Companye wt.hin this Cittie & Countye of the same and knowen or judged to be skilfull & expte in his Arte & science shalbe admytted to the freedome of the saide Companye upon his request made to the Master and Wardens (gratis) freelye wt.hout any Fyne payinge onely the Fees of the Courte of the said Companye as is used in the Cittye of Exeter LIKEWISE that no other pson or psons shalbe receyved or admytted to the Freedome of that Companye untill he be well tried & expted to be skilfull yn his saide Arte and occupac̃on uppon payne the Master and Wardens admytting hym so to the contrarye to forfeyt the some of Fourty shillinges to the onely use of the said Cittye ALSO THAT every pson and psons of the said Company and Fellowshipp wch. shall receyve and take any Apprentice shall within three months after he is so retayned be presented by his Master to the Master and Wardens of the said Companye upon payne for every such defaulte to pay six shillings eight pence ALSO IT IS FARDER ordered that it shall and maie be lawfull to the Master and Wardens of the said Companye wth. one Officer to them by the Maior to be assigned to enter into all & everye howse and howses place & places wth.in the said Cittye and subburbes of the same at all reasonable tyme and tymes conveniente and when they shall thinke good and then and there to serch for all kynde of such worke and workes thinge & thinges as shalbe wrought had or donne contrary to the meanynge of theis ordynannces And such pson and psons as they shall fynde to have wrought

contrarye to theis orders to comytt to prison there to remayne untill they have paide such fyne as upon them by the said Master and Masters or most pte of them shalbe reasonablye sett PROVIDED alwaies that any Article herein contayned shall not extende or be preiudiciall to the onely pp worke of the said Maior Bailyffes and Comynaltye and such other principall worke (as by the said Maior Bailyffes and Comynaltie of the said Cittie shalbe thought fytt for wante of sufficiente workemen of the said Fellowshipp) to be made and wroughte by any pson or psons by the speciall lycens of the said Maior Bailyffes and Comynaltye ne to any pson or psons for workinge or doinge the same workes or either or any of them anythinge in theis presents conteyned to the contrary notw^th^.standinge ALSO it is ordered that the Master Wardens & Company for the tyme beinge shall one every festyvall daie attende the Maior for the tyme beinge to bringe and weyte upon hym to the Cathedrall Church of S^t^. Peters to the Sermons as also to do all such service by them to be done whensoever they shalbe thereunto lawfully required upon payne that every psone offendinge herein shall paie and forfeyt sixe shillinges eight pence for every defaulte AND FARDER it is ordered and agreed That yf the Master and Wardens or six of them do for any malice or displeasure cease any fyne upon any psone for his offence more greater then by reason they may do Or do make any lawes ordynannces or Actes agaynst the lawes of this Realme or the librties & Franchises or Comon Welth of this Cittie & thereof complaynte be made to the Maior and Aldermen for the tyme beinge & the same dewly approved That then yt shalbe laufull to the said Maior and Aldermen to call before them the said Master and Wardens and to heare & determyne aswell the same offence of such pson or psons as shalbe so overcharged wth. any such Fyne as for any unlawful Acte or ordynannces as they shall make against the law or librteis or Comon Welth of the said Cittie And upon the hearinge and fallinge oute and trew Apparans of the said matters the said Maior and Aldermen according to there discretion shall reforme redresse correcte and amende the said defaultes and ev'ye of them PROVIDED alwaies yf the said Master and Wardens of the said fellowshipps shall at any tyme hereafter holde oute any honest pson skilfull in any the Artes aforesaide wch. hath not beene Apprentice to any pson of the saide Arte Fellowshipp and Companye w^th^.in the said Cittye from the Company & Fellowshipp aforesaid the said pson makinge suyte to them to be admytted thereunto and willinge to geeve for his fyne so much as he may reasonably paie & contente to be admytted That then and at all such tyme and tymes upon such occasion yt shalbe lawfull for the Maior and Bailiffes of the said Cittie for the tyme beinge to call the said Master and Wardens and the said pson so suinge to be admytted before them And fynding no cause to holde out the said pson from the said Fellowshipp and Company to assesse such Fyne upon the said pson for his admyssion as they shall thinke reasonable And that the said pson upon paimen^t^. or tendring thereof shalbe admitted unto the said Fellowshipp by the said Master and Wardens Imediatelye upon payne of Fourty shillinges to be levied of there goodes by waie of distresse yf they refuse the same to the onely use of the said Cittye PROVIDED also that it shall and maye be lawfull that the said Maior and Comon Councell or the more pte of them at all tyme and tymes may revoke repaile and adnichillate[1] this there graunte of Incorporačon and unitinge and every thinge therein contayned any thinge in theis presentes to the contrarye notwithstandinge QUA QUIDEM BILLA seu peticos lecta et p prefat Maiorem Baĺĺos et Coiťat plenus intelleč Quia eisdem Maiori Baĺĺis et Coiťat videtur q̃d Articli in eadem Billa seu supplicačoe content et express sunt boni et honesti ÿdem Maior Baĺĺi et Coiťat unanim eor assensu et voluntat ordinaverunt et decreverunt q̃d Articli predci hic intrentur de Recordo modo et forma quibus petuntur futur temporibus firmiter observand IN CUIUS REI TESTIMONIU nos prefati Maior ball et Coitat p̃ntibus sigillum nr̃m Coĩe apponi fecimus Dat apud Guihald Civitatis predič vicesimo nono die Marcii

[1] This word appears to be an old version of *annihilate*. It is not given by Halliwell.

anno regni Dñe Elizabeth Dei Grã Angl. Francie et Hibiñe Regine fidei defenc. &c. vicesimo Octavo [1586].

Appended to this is the City Seal as illustrated and described on p. 35 of the Exeter Official Guide Book. This seal is reproduced on a previous page.

THE CHARTER OF YE INCORPORACON OF CARPENTERS FREE MASONS MASONS OR BRICKLAYERS GLASIERS & PAINTERS WITHIN YE CITY & COUNTY OF EXON.

FORASMUCH as Government & order naturally tend to ye advancement and p'servacon of the psperous estate of every Christian Comon Weale & that which principally distinguisheth men from Creatures which are unreasonable And forasmuch as skilfulnesse & cunning are not only very comendable qualityes in every Mistery & Science, but alsoe exceeding pfitable both for the generall & pticular use of men. To the intent & purpose, that Government may the better bee p'served & maintained within this City & County of Exeter which is comitted to our care and charge, And that Arts & Misteryes may receive an improvement by the particular furtherance & direccons of such whome there own labours & endeavours (by Gods assistance) have better instructed & taught beyond ye comon Rule of ordinary Artificers WEE ye Maior Bayliffes and Comynalty of the said City of Exeter upon ye humble peticon of the Carpenters, Free Masons, Masons, or Bricklayers Glassiers & Painters of ye said City DOE by this our publique Charter under our Comon Seale (according to the antient & laudable Custome of this City in that behalfe) establish & ordaine, that all & every such Carpenters Free Masons Masons or Bricklayers Glasiers & Painters as att any time heretofore have been or now are Free of the Mistery & Company of Carpenters Free Masons, Masons or Bricklayers Glasiers & Painters of the said City & libertyes of the same shall from henceforth bee one Fraternity Fellowshipp & Company, & shall from henceforth be called by the name of the Fellowshipp & Company of the Carpenters Free Masons Masons or Bricklayers Glasiers & Painters of the said City of Exeter AND for their better Government in time to come WEE the said Maior Bayliffes & Comynalty DOE by these p̃sents for ourselves & Successors order & appoint That Gilbert Greenslade of the said City Carpenter shall hereby bee established ye first Master of the said Fellowshipp & Company And that John Vigures of ye said City Carpenter bee hereby established ye first Chiefe & Head Warden, & that Lewes Greenslade of the said City Carpenter bee hereby established ye first Under Warden of the said Fellowshipp & Company & shall respectively continue in their severall & respective Offices aforesaid untill such time as a new Master & Wardens shall bee elected chosen & sworne according to the tenor effect & purport of these p'sents AND moreover Wee ye said Maior Bayliffes & Comynalty Doe for ourselves and Successors order & appoint that alwayes from henceforth yearely in & upon the Munday in every Easter Weeke the said Fellowshipp & Company or the greater part of them shall repaire unto such place as for the time being shall bee used as their Comon Hall before nyne of the Clock in ye forenoon of the same Day & then & there ye said Master before nominated & afterwardes such psons as have been Masters of the said Fellowshipp & Company or the greater number of them, which shall bee then & there p'sent shall nomynate ppose & elect to the residue of the said Fellowshipp & Company Two sufficient able & fitt men (being free of the said Fellowshipp & Company) & alsoe of the said City & who after the space of Three yeares next ensueing the day of the date hereof have borne & executed both the Offices of the said Wardenshipps, Of which Two psons soe to bee pposed & elected ye residue of the said Fellowshipp & Company then p'sent shall elect & choose one to bee their Master for the yeare following, And likewise that upon ye same day & place ye said Master before nominated and afterwards such psons as have borne &

executed ye said Office of Mastershipp or the greater number of them which shall bee then & there p'sent shall also elect yearely a sufficient able & fitt man being free of the said Fellowshipp Company & City to bee Underwarden thereof, soe that such pson as hathe been ye Under Warden fcr ye yeare next pcedent shall always thereafter bee the head & Cheif Warden of the said Fellowshipp & Company for ye yeare following The foresaid course & order for the Eleccon of the said Master and Wardens to bee yearely observed & kept for ever upon the day & in such place as is before menconed lymitted & sett downe AND THE SAID Maior Bayliffes & Comynalty doe further by these psents for themselves & their Successors order & appoint That if any Master or Warden of the said Fellowshipp & Company shall happen to decease & dye within the yeare after he shall bee elected & chosen That then ye said Fellowshipp & Company within ye space of Tenn dayes next after such Decease & Death shall upon warning thereof to bee given assemble themselves togeather att their Comon Hall & shall then & there pceed to a new Eleccon of another Officer or Officers to succeed in the place of him or them which from thenceforth shall soe fortune to decease & dye PROVIDED neverthelesse And itt is condiconed & agreed upon that the new Master & Wardens of the said Fellowshipp & Company soe to bee elected & chosen shall upon a Munday within the space of three weekes next after every Eleccon & choice which shall bee made as is aforesaid repaire to ye Guildhall of the said City & then & there in ye open Courte to bee holden before ye Maior & Bayliffes of the said City for the time being shall receive his & their respective Corporall Oaths according to his & their best abilities & skills to doe & execute his & their Offices iustly & truely for ye good Government & ordering of the said Fellowshipp & Company soe long as he or they shall abide & continue in the said Office or Offices in like manner as ye Officers of other Fraternities & Fellowshippes within this City have antiently used & accustomed to doe AND likewise itt is pvided that if any man which shall bee hereafter nominated & elected to bee a Master or Warden of the said Fellowshipp & Company doe after his or their Eleccon refuse to accept of his or their said Office or Offices whereunto he or they shall bee soe chosen he & they shall incurr ye penalty of a Fyne or Fynes not exceeding the sume of Forty shillings Then & immeadiately ye said Fellowshipp & Company shall pceed unto & make a new Eleccon & choose in his steed & place who shall soe refuse in such sort manner & forme as is before p'scribed & sett downe in & by these p'sents AND furthermore ye said Maior Bayliffes & Comynalty doe hereby for themselves & their Successors pmise & agree, yt they will not att any time hereafter make any pson or psons (exerciseing ye Art and Mistery of a Carpenter Freemason Mason or Bricklayer Glasier or Painter aforesaid) Free of the said City untill such time as the Master & Wardens of ye said Fellowshipp & Company have in writeing certified ye Maior of ye said City for ye time being that the said pson soe desireing to bee made free of the said City is a Freeman of ye said Fellowshipp & Company & that therefore itt is the humble request of ye said Master & Wardens that ye said psons may bee made free of the said City AND if any pson or psons (exerciseing ye Arts or Misteryes aforesaid) having formerly served his Apprentiship with one of ye said Society have done his uttermost endeavors to bee made a Freeman of the said Fellowshipp & Company & cannot be admitted thereunto but for an unreasonable Fyne to bee paid for ye same Then upon complaint & poofe thereof to bee made & given to ye said Maior & Bayliffes of the said City for ye time being And upon ye humble Petition of such pson or psons soe desiring ye same unto the said Maior & Bayliffes or their Successors to bee made in that behalf The said Maior & Bayliffes of ye said City for ye time being shall moderate & assesse ye said Fyne at such a Rate as in their discretion they shall think fitt And ye said pson or psons soe desireing & paying or lawfully tendring ye same forthwith by ye Comand of ye said Maior & Bayliffes made in that behalfe shall bee admitted received & sworne to bee a Freeman of ye said Fellowshipp & Company by ye Master & Wardens thereof for the time beinge upon paine that each of them ye said Master & Wardens refuseing shall forfeit to ye said Maior Bayliffes & Comynalty ye severall sumes

of Forty shillings. These p̃sents or anything herein contained to ye contrary hereof in anywise notwithstanding PROVIDED alwayes that it shall & may bee lawfull to & for the said Maior Bayliffes & Comynalty & their Successors or ye greater number of them at their Wills & pleasures under their Comon Seale to remove any member or members of ye said Society AND FURTHERMORE it is pvided condiconed & agreed upon that ye said Fellowshipp & Company of ye Carpenters Free Masons, Masons or Bricklayers Glasiers & Painters aforesaid shall utterly bee dissolved whensoever ye said Maior Bayliffes and Comynalty of ye said City shall notifie & declare under their Comon Seale that it is there intent & pleasure that ye same shall noe longer continue or remaine in force AND FINALLY Wee ye said Maior Bayliffes & Comynalty doe by these p'sents give power & authority unto ye said Incorporacon of Carpenters Free Masons Masons or Bricklayers Glasiers & Painters for ye good Government & better support of their said Society & Fellowshipp to make such by-Lawes Acts & Ordinances as are not contrary to reason nor repugnant to ye known Lawes of ye Kingdome IN WITNESSE whereof Wee ye said Maior Bayliffes & Comynalty have hereunto sett our Comon Seale ye Twentieth day of March in the first yeare of the Raign of our Soveraign Lord James ye Second by the grace of God of England Scotland France & Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c. Annoq Dñi 1684.[1]

CERTAINE Acts Orders & Ordinances made & devised for the good & pfitable Government of the Fellowshipp & Company of Carpenters Free Masons Masons or Bricklayers Glasiers & Painters within ye City & County of Exon by the advice & consent of the Maior Bayliffes & Comynalty of ye said City and examined ratified & appvd confirmed & allowed by

[five lines blank]

the in the First yeare of the Raign of our Soveraign Lord James ye Second by the grace of God of England France & Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c. and of Scotland ye Seaventh Annoq Dñi 1685.

IMPRIMIS itt is ordered & agreed That every Freeman of ye said Fellowshipp & Company (not haveing a true & reasonable excuse allowed by the Master & Wardens for the time being) shall bee p'sent at ye Elleccon and choyce of every Master & Warden of the said Fellowshipp & Company at their Com̃on Hall or otherwise shall pay for his default & negligence therein Twelve pence, which with all other Forfeitures penaltyes & Fynes shall bee collected by the Bedle of the said Fellowshipp & Company for the time being and for non payment thereof by the space of one week next after it shall bee demanded the same shall bee levyed by a distresse to bee taken by the said Bedle of the Goods & Chattles of every such pson as shall offend therein, & by the sale of the said Goods to bee made by the Master & Wardens of the said Fellowshipp and Company unlesse the pty soe offending doe pay the same penalty to the said Master within ye space of Seaven dayes next after the taking of such distresse. And if the said Goods doe amount unto a greater value then the said Fyne or Fynes, then the surplusage of the money (for which they shall bee soe sold) shall by the said Master bee delivered & paid to the pson who shall soe offend within ye space of Three dayes next after the said sale.

ITEM if any pson (being Free of ye said Fellowshipp & Company being psent at the said Eleccon) doe obstinately refuse to ioyne with the residue of ye said Fellowshipp & Company in the choosing of the Master & Warden in such sort manner & forme as in the Deed made by the Maior Bayliffes & Comynalty of the said City bearing date the Twentieth day of this instant Moneth of March

[1] This is actually *1685* New Style, as James II. came to the Throne (according to our present reckoning) on 6th February, *1685*.

appeareth, then such pson soe offending shall forfeit & incurr the penalty of Twelve pence, the same to bee levyed by way of Distresse & Sale as is before menconed and expressed.

ITEM if any pson (being Free of the said Fellowshipp & Company) bee elected and chosen to bee a Master or Warden thereof, & doe refuse to accept of & to receive the same Office whereunto he shall bee soe elected the same pson soe refuseing shall forfeit to the Maior Bayliffes & Comynalty of the said City of Exon ye sume of Forty shillings, and if he refuse to pay the same (it being reasonably demanded by the Bedle for the time being by the space of Twenty Dayes) the same penalty shall then bee levyed by way of Distresse & Sale as is aforesaid.

ITEM it is ordered & agreed that every Freeman of the same Fellowshipp and Company (not having a true & a reasonable excuse allowed by the Master & Wardens for the time being) shall bee p'sent in convenyent time in their Comon Hall upon every reasonable warning to him given, or left at his dwelling house by the Bedle of the said Fellowshipp & Company for the time being, or else shall pay for his default & negligence therein Twelve pence which shall bee collected by the saide Bedle, and for non payment thereof by the space of Tenn Dayes next after it shall bee demanded, the same shall bee levyed as is aforesaid.

ITEM that every pson (being free of the said Fellowshipp & Company) shall pay to the Wardens of the said Fellowshipp & Company for the time being Two shillings in every Yeare Quarterly by Fower equall pts & porcons that is to say. Six pence at every time for & towards ye repairing of their Comon Hall, & for the defraying of such Costs charges & expenses as necessarily bee disbursed either for Service of the Kings Maiestie or his Successors or for the Worshipp of the said City of Exon, or for the reputacon & creditt of the said Fellowshipp & Company, and every such pson & psons (such as are or have been Masters or Wardens only excepted) shall bring his said Quarterleidg duly to the said Wardens within Tenn Dayes after every of the said Quarter Dayes upon paine to forfeit Twelve pence for every default therein, over & besides the said Quarterledge, which he ought to have paid the same to bee levyed as is aforesaid.

ITEM that if any Freeman of the said Fellowshipp & Company will take or retaine any Apprentice to work in any of the said Arts or Misteryes then every such Apprentice shall bee bound to serve Seaven Yeares at the least, & every Apprentice soe to bee taken & every Journeyman soe to bee retained (before he bee soe retained or bounden) shall bee by his Master p'sented to the Master & Wardens of the said Fellowshipp and Company (if he have not been formerly p'sented unto them) That his good behaviour & honesty may bee enquired of for the Worshipp of the said City, And to the end that noe pson (being notoriously defamed) may bee a blemish or scandell to the said Fellowshipp & Company upon paine to forfeit Six shillings & Eight pence for every such default, The same to bee levyed as is aforesaid, And that all Journeymen & Apprentices (exerciseing any of the said Arts or Misteryes aforesaid) shall bee subiect to ye reasonable Chastisement & Correccon of the said Master & Wardens (the Jurisdiccon of the Maior Justices & other Officers of the said City & County of Exon only foreprized & excepted).

ITEM itt is ordered & agreed that noe pson or psons shall enioy his or their Freedome of the said Fellowshipp & Company for any longer time then he shall bee & continue a Citizen & Inhabitant of the said City or County (except he doe absent himselfe by reason of any sicknesse or bee in the service of the King, or by the Leave & Lycense of the Master & Wardens or ye greater number of the said Fellowshipp & Company in writeing.

ITEM itt is ordered & agreed That every pson (being Free of the said Fellowshipp and Company) shall upon every high Festivall day in the yeare togeather

with the Master & Wardens of the said Fellowshipp & Company attend upon the Maior of the said City for the time being from & to his house unto & from the Cathedrall Church of St. Peter before & after the Sermon there & shall alsoe attend upon the new Master to the Guildhall & from thence to his own house when he taketh his Oath upon paine to forfeit for his absence Eight pence without a reasonable cause. And if the same bee not paid to the Bedle within the space of Tenn dayes next hereafter it shall bee by him demanded & required then the same shall be levyed by way of Distresse & Sale as is aforesaid.

ITEM if any pson (being Free of the said Fellowshipp & Company) doth strike (or by defameing words) abuse any inferiour Member of the said Fellowshipp & Company, & the same bee proved before the Master & Wardens thereof in any assembly at their Comon Hall by Two sufficient & honest witnesses, then the ptyes soe offending shall forfeit Twelve pence for the said Offence, the same to bee levyed as is aforesaid but if any pson being or which hath been a Master or Warden of the said Fellowshipp & Company shall fortune to bee soe abused then the said penalty shall bee doubled for the said Contempt and bee levyed as is aforesaid.

ITEM itt is ordered & agreed that noe free man of the said Fellowshipp and Company shall keep or retaine in his Service any Apprentice or Journeyman before such time as hath fully & absolutely ended his time or Service Covenant and Agreement with such pson & psons as he did imeadiately before serve upon paine to forfeit for every such offence Six shillings & Eight pence, and upon denyall to pay the same to the Bedle (for the time being) the said penalty shall bee levyed by way of Distresse & Sale as is aforesaid.

ITEM that every pson (having been an Apprentice for the space of seaven yeares within the City & County in any of the foresaid Arts or Misteryes) shall (upon his humble peticon & request, & upon proofe to bee made of his said Service, & upon his good behaviour & sufficient workmanshipp before the Master & Wardens of the said Fellowshipp & Company for the time being) bee admitted to be a Freeman thereof without payment of any Fine Fee or reward for the same (except it bee the ordinary Fees of the Court of the same Fellowshipp & Company which shall not exceed ye sume of Six Shillings & Eight pence.

ITEM it is ordered & agreed that yearely within the space of Twenty dayes next after the Swearing of the said new Master & Wardens, they the said new Master & Wardens for the time being shall assemble their said Fellowshipp & Company or the greater number of them togeather att their Comon Hall, & then & there shall require & cause the old Master & Wardens for the yeare then last past to yeild & give upp to the said new Master & Wardens & Six more of the ancyents of the said Fellowshipp & Company or to soe many of them as shall bee there p'sent a true pfect & iust accompt in Writeing of all & singular such goods Chattles Implements Utensills Fynes forfeitures Casualtyes Rents pfitts & Sumes of money whatsoever as (by reason of their or either of their said Offices) have come unto their or any of their Hands (all true reasonable & needfull disbursements to bee unto them allowed & deducted) and imeadiately (upon such Accompt made) shall deliver to the said new Master & Wardens all the said pticular thinges & Sumes of money upon the penalty & forfeiture of Twenty Shillings the same to bee levyed by way of Distresse & Sale as is aforesaid.

ITEM itt is ordered & agreed that the Moyety & halfendeale of all the penaltyes & forfeitures aforesaid other then of such only as are wholy lymitted to bee to the said Maior Bayliffes & Comynalty shall bee unto the said Maior Bayliffes & Comynalty & their Successors & shall bee iustly and truely paid to the Receiver Generall of the said City for the time being within the space of Twenty Dayes next after the said new Master and Wardens of the said Fellowshipp & Company have received the same upon the making & yeilding upp of such an Accompt yearely as is before menconed & expresse, and the other Moyety & all Fynes to bee received for the admitting of any pson or psons to the Freedome of

the said Fellowshipp & Company shall bee to the only use of the said Fellowshipp & Company.

ITEM to the end & purpose, that ignorance may not bee the occasion of any offence to bee comitted & done against these Ordinances & decrees It is ordered & agreed that the Master of the said Fellowshipp & Company (for the time being) shall cause & pcure these Ordinances & Decrees to bee publiquely read twice in every yeare, that is to say, once in every Six Moneths in the open Hall before the said Fellowshipp and Company, and if the said Master doe fayle to pforme his duty therein then he shall forfeit & pay to the said Maior Bayliffes & Comynalty & their Successors ye sume of Tenn Shillings the same to bee levyed by way of distresse of the goods & Chattles of the said Master by ye Bedle of the said Fellowshipp & Company, & by the sale thereof by the then Wardens, & ye surplusage of the value of such goods & Chattles as shall be soe distrained & sold shall be delivered to the said Master who was the owner of them imeadiately before the said sale.

ITEM it is ordered & agreed that every pson & psons hereafter to bee admitted unto & to bee made free of the said Fellowshipp and Company shall bee (by the pcurement of the Master & Wardens of the same for the time being) within Three Moneths next after such admission made Free alsoe of the said City of Exon at the Cost & Charges of every pson soe admitted upon paine to forfeit Tenn shillings to bee levyed as is aforesaid of the goods and chattles of the said Master and Wardens to the only use of the said Maior Bayliffes and Comynalty & of their Successors the same to bee levyed by distresse & sale to bee made by the Bedle of ye said Fellowshipp & Company for the time being.

ITEM itt is ordered & agreed, That the Master & Wardens for the time being with the assent of the greater number of the said Fellowshipp & Company shall from time to time as often as occasion shall require elect & Choose in their Comon Hall a Bedle to serve the said Fellowshipp & Company, which Bedle shall or may bee againe displaced for his negligence carelessnesse or misdeameanor by the said Master & Wardens for the time being with the consent of the greater pte of the said Fellowshipp & Company or at any other time when they shall please.

ITEM itt is ordered & agreed, That none of the Articles & orders before menconed shall bee hurtfull or p'iudiciall to the Authority of ye Maior Justices Aldermen or other Officers of the said City of Exon for the time being, but that they & every of them shall & may have full power & authority to use & exercise their Offices over all psons being free of the said Fellowshipp & Company as amply & as largely as if these Acts Orders & Ordinances had never been made or agreed upon. These p'sents or anything herein comprised and contained to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding.

ITEM itt is further agreed & Ordered, that if any pson within ye said City & County of Exon having served an Apprentishipp of Seaven yeares at the least with some member of the said Company shall not within Six Moneths next after the end of his said Terme take his Freedome of the said Fellowshipp & Company, that then he shall forfeit & pay the Sume of Twelve pence Quarterly to the Master or Wardens of the said Company for the better support & maintenance of the said Society.

ITEM itt is further agreed & ordered, that noe Master of the said Socyety shall p'sume to make any pson Free of the said Company but only upon one of the Quarter Dayes aforesaid, and in the open Hall on payne of forfeiting Five Pounds to bee recovered by way of Distresse & Sale as aforesaid.

ITEM itt is lastly agreed & ordered, that all psons Free of the foresaid Fellowshipp & Company shall keep themselves within the Bounds & lymitts of their own pper Trade Arte Mistery or pfession & shall not p'sume to intrench invade annoy or make use of any other of the foresaid Trades upon paine of forfeiting of Five pounds to bee levyed by way of Distresse & Sale as aforesaid.

FRIDAY, 5th OCTOBER. 1928.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. W. Covey-Crump, I.P.M., as W.M.; J. Walter Hobbs, P.A.G.D.C., I.G., as S.W.; T. M. Carter, P.Pr.G.St.B., Bristol, Stew., as J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary: Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; and Lionel Vibert, A.G.D.C., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondene Circle:—Bros. Jas. J. Drought, P.G.D., W. H. E. Carr, Jas. R. Potts, L. Shaw, W. B. Brook, Ed. M. Phillips, J. R. Dashwood, Walter Dewes, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., R. J. Sadleir, L. G. Wearing, Col. T. M. Wakefield, W. Digby Ovens, P.A.G.St.B., A. E. Gurney, Percy H. Horley, F. J. Asbury, P.A.G.D.C., W. T. J. Gun, H. Spencer, E. P. Gambs, A. L. Rider, P.A.G.D.C., Col. Fred. S. Terry, J. Ed. Whitty, Augustus Smith, C. Lobanov-Rostovsky, Arthur Sice, Ed. B. Holmes, B. Ivanoff, Henry G. Gold, B. Telepneff, W. R. Hurst, R. C. Lemin, Ivor Grantham, O. W. Dunscombe, Geo. D. Pooley, Robt. Blake, A. Platonoff, Richard Latham, Harold M. Pinnell, A. Putland, H. Johnson, Geo. Simpson, A. F. Ford, Wm. Lewis, W. Young Hucks, D. Warliker, J. Fitz-Gerald, T. W. Scott, P.A.G.D.C., I. Nesteroff, G. E. Wells, G. W. Richmond, F. K. Jewson, E. Warren, F. M. Atkinson, R. Wheatley, J. W. H. Eyre, P.G.D., W. R. Semken, W. Brinkworth, A. Y. Mayell, A. I. House, H. Forbes George, and D. A. J. Kessler.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. Roland Y. Mayell, P.M., Hiram Lodge No. 2416; Henry S. Phillips, I.P.M., Unity and Prudence Lodge No. 4156; A. S. Merritt, Chingford Lodge No. 2859; M. Smirnoff and T. Chatelain, Grenadiers Lodge No. 66; L. M. Read, La Belle Sauvage Lodge No. 3095; A. Ruperti, Pentalpha Lodge No. 974; B. Seymour Whidban, W.M., Friends in Council Lodge No. 1383; and T. M. Timms, P.M., St. Marks Lodge No. 857.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Geo. Norman, P.A.G.C.D., W.M.; Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., P.M.; Rev. H. Poole, P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland & Cumberland, S.W.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., J.W.; Ed. Conder, L.R., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; Rodk. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Gilbert W. Daynes, S.D.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; W. J. Williams, I.G.; C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; Ed. Armitage, P.G.D., Treasurer; W. Watson, P.A.G.D.C.; J. E. S. Tuckett, P.A.G.S.B., P.M.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; and S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.

Bro. Rev. H. Poole was elected Master of the Lodge for the ensuing year; Bro. E. Armitage, P.G.D., P.M., was re-elected Treasurer, and Bro. J. H. McNaughton was re-elected Tyler.

Six Lodges, two Lodges of Instruction, one Study Circle, one Library and Seventy-five Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The following paper was read:—

JOHANN AUGUST STARCK AND HIS RITE OF SPIRITUAL MASONRY.

BY BRO. BORIS TELEPNEFF.

> 'There is not a life in all the records of the past, but, properly studied, might lend a hint and a help to some contemporary.'
> ('The Morality of the Profession of Letters.' by Robert Louis Stevenson.)

JOHANN AUGUST STARCK[1] was a remarkable personality belonging to a remarkable period of European history—the second half of the eighteenth century. He played a conspicuous rôle in the German Freemasonry of his time, and traces of his doctrines have persisted in some by-ways of Continental Masonry to the present day[2]: in fact, very few Masonic leaders have excited such general sensation and such divergence of opinion as Starck.[3]

The second half of the eighteenth century was a period of general unrest.[4] Long-established ethical and political values were being reviewed, and new horizons seemed to open before the searching gaze of the agitated human mind. The culminating point and a visible expression of this restlessness was the great French Revolution of 1789 with its subsequent conquests in Europe. This overt political revolt was long preceded by a fierce intellectual struggle and a clash of opposite ideals and aspirations. Secret societies with hidden political aims were formed by antagonistic camps; some for the sinister purpose of spreading revolutionary and anti-religious ideas, others to protect the tottering banners of Monarchy and Church. In Germany the struggle was aggravated by a bitter hatred and suspicions nourished by the Lutheran Church against Roman Catholicism, and especially its secret emissaries—the Jesuits. At the same time a strong national feeling arose, clamouring for restitution of ancient German customs,[5] and defying the traditions and manners of German society, which had become subservient to the fashions of the French Court. The turbulent chaos of these several parties and widely diverging interests was distinguished by one general feature—an incessant search and longing for the discovery of 'Truth.' The methods and results of this search were different: some applied methods of logic and scientific experiment; some, those of mystical processes and mediæval recipes of alchemists, astrologers and 'magicians'; but all were obsessed with the haunting desire of new discoveries in the fascinating region of 'Mysteries of Nature and Science.'[6]

[1] Sometimes spelt 'Stark.'

[2] See, for instance, a curious article in *Le Symbolisme*, June, 1926 (Le Septenaire de la Maçonnerie mystique).

[3] *Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., 307.

[4] *Notes on Rosicrucians*, 6-7.

[5] This revival of German nationalism led in some circles to a strong interest in legends and tales of German mediæval chivalry.

[6] *The Life of Goethe*, 63, 97, 104, 107, 125.

Most of these cross-currents found their reflection in 'high' grades of German Masonry, grafted on to the orthodox three degrees during that turbulent period. Among those who invented, developed, or introduced such grades into German Lodges, were many charlatans and dubious adventurers, ready to use the existing state of ferment for the purposes of their own advancement or enrichment: there were also leaders with political ambitions, trying to exploit new Masonic Systems for the benefit of their political parties. Yet, there existed as well a number of sincere seekers for 'Truth' who, though sometimes self-deceived, believed honestly that they had drawn aside a part of the mysterious veil hiding its sanctuary: having obtained 'Light' they endeavoured to illumine with its rays their fellow-Masons through suitable grades and instructions.

Starck stood on the side of those who were upholding traditions, religious beliefs and reigning houses against destructive negation, atheism and revolution.[7] A staunch supporter of Monarchism and Religion, he always professed, however, one liberal tendency,—a general tolerance towards all ramifications of Christianity. Starck sought for 'Truth' according to the mystical recipes of mediæval philosophers; at one time he attempted to impress his spiritual attainments upon German Masonry. He wandered, together with so many of his contemporaries, along strange and adventurous by-paths of Masonry of his days, but only to discover in the end its real and abiding value.

For many years Starck led a restive and wandering life, not unlike those mysterious 'Masonic adepts' of the period, who traversed Europe in search of Masonic mysteries or to advance the aims of some occult societies. This in itself was a romance, and an adventure, considering the discomforts, difficulties and dangers of travelling in those days.[8] It fitted well into the conception of those people who then believed in the existence of mysterious teachers of hidden sciences: such 'Masters' were supposed to be travelling round Europe in order to select and to instruct worthy students. Sometimes Starck was taken to be one of that mysterious confraternity of adepts—a possessor of occult knowledge and supernatural powers.

Starck was born on the 29th October, 1741, at Schwerin, in Mecklenburg.[9] His father was a clergyman and President of the Schwerin Consistory; he was distinguished as a strictly orthodox Lutheran cleric by the rigidity of his religious views. Starck was educated in the schools of his native town and was also well grounded in his own home. He studied theology, philosophy and Oriental languages at the University of Göttingen and afterwards became Master of Arts, Doctor of Theology and a member of the Society of Sciences. From 1763 to 1765 Starck was a teacher of Oriental languages and archæology at St. Petersburg, and then left for a short visit to England. From November, 1765, until August, 1766, he occupied the post of an interpreter of Oriental manuscripts at the Royal Library in Paris, where he brought letters of introduction from the Marquis de Baunet, the French Ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg; Starck's salary was 1,000 livres. After that, Starck suddenly transformed himself into a modest co-rector of a school at Wismar, and at the beginning of May, 1768, for some mysterious reason proceeded again to St. Petersburg. From 1769 to 1777 he was a professor of theology and a Court-Chaplain in Königsberg. There he married in 1774. His wife was the daughter of a certain Schulz, a well-known and generally esteemed theologian of Königsberg. She was deeply attached to her husband, and a lady of considerable abilities and knowledge.[10] In 1776 Starck was appointed Chief Court-Chaplain and General Superintendent; in fine, he obtained in Königsberg the highest rank and position possible for a Protestant clergyman.[11] He achieved this in spite of some antagonism provoked by his 'liberal' or rather tolerant views concerning Christian dogmas, and also by

[7] *Triumph der Philosophie*, 530. Biographie Universelle, v. 40, 168-169.
[8] *The Life of Goethe*, 199.
[9] For the main points of Starck's biography see *Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., and *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. Band 35.
[10] In 1805 she published 'A letter on Paganism and Christianity,' *Blum*, 24.
[11] *Abgenöthigte Fortsetzung*, 146.

his advocacy of Masonry and its doctrines. This antagonism against Starck resulted chiefly from envy,[12] although his views were undoubtedly somewhat unusual by their broadmindedness and courage. Starck's ideas were vividly reflected in the book then published by him under the title *Hephästion*, the assumed name of an Egyptian priest. In this book Starck asserted that Christian dogmas and cult owed their primal origin to Egyptian religious doctrines[13]: he dwelt on the esoteric side of the Ancient Mysteries and the science of the sacerdotal caste of priests, their custodians: he drew attention to some analogy between Pagan Mysteries and primitive Christianity and showed himself a severe critic of the Old Testament and its reflection of the Jewish religion and God, purely local and jealous of other peoples[14]: he spoke of the union of Christian Churches.[15] It is small wonder that those envious of Starck's position had abundant material to complain of his 'heresy,' but the Grand Consistory in Berlin itself took Starck under its powerful protection,[16] and an excellent post was offered him at Wismar.[17] Once more, in spite of high protection, advantageous offers and honours, some secret motive drove Starck away from Königsberg towards the East: he unexpectedly demanded to be discharged from his distinguished office, and in January, 1777, went to Mittau, in Courland, where he had nothing better in view than the position of a junior professor of philosophy in an ordinary school! In September of the same year Starck was recommended by the future Duke of Brunswick—Oels, Frederick Augustus,—for a post in Brunswick, but without success: the reason may have been that enquiries concerning Starck's activities at Mittau did not prove as satisfactory as expected, for Starck certainly indulged in those days in some vague Cabalistic and Magical studies. Most probably, however, his religious opinions were then considered not sufficiently rigid for the projected ecclesiastical appointment.[18]

At this period of his life Starck had already acquired a high reputation as a learned scholar, and also a wide-spread renown as a Masonic adept, well versed in the sublime 'Spiritual' mysteries of the Masonic Order.[19] Towards the end of 1777 he was approached by Prince Karl of Mecklenburg-Strelitz and by the Princes of Hesse-Darmstadt with a peculiar demand: they asked Starck for instruction in those hidden sciences of which he was the reputed adept. Starck replied that such instruction was not possible at a distance.[20] Thereupon, the capable and enlightened Prince Ludwig of Hesse-Darmstadt, the future reigning Grand Duke[21] and faithful protector of Starck, procured for him in 1781 a post at Darmstadt. Between 1785 and 1789 a controversy raged round Starck and his numerous writings; some accused him of being a secret Catholic, others of personal ambitions and even of charlatanry. Starck replied by a vigorous refutation of these accusations. Neither insinuation nor direct attack could shake his firmly established position at the Ducal Court and in the Lutheran Church. He evidently was able to satisfy the secular and ecclesiastical powers as to his beliefs and intentions. Moreover, he seems to have been in possession of some mysterious knowledge of sufficient import for the inquiring mind of the ruling Prince—obviously the latter should have been the first to detect either charlatanry or deceit.[22] Starck's fame spread not only among the local society but also far and wide in Germany.[23] Many strangers travelled to Darmstadt

12 Blum, 25.
13 *Hephästion*, 27-28. 14 *ib.*, 75-78. 15 *ib.*, 12.
16 Blum, 30. 17 *ib.*, 31.
18 *Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., 303.
19 *Etwas über* . . . , ii.
20 *Signatstern*, iii., 177-200.
21 Under the name of Ludwig I.—Born June 14th, 1753, died April 6th, 1830. Unlike some other princelings of his time in Germany, he was a just and talented ruler, who kept well abreast of the advanced ideas of his time, although not giving in to the extremists: protector of Freemasonry in his domain, himself a zealous Mason and a seeker of 'higher Mysteries' (*Allgemeines Handbuch*, i., 622). In spite of the exceptional difficulties of his reign (wars against the revolutionary France, in which he took part: Napoleon's invasion of Germany, etc.) he preserved intact the greater part of his possessions.
22 The Prince *was* initiated into Starck's Rite (Pulpin, 18th century, 292).
23 *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, B.35, 465-466.



From the Frontispiece to Starck's *Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche*, in the British Museum Library. Reproduced by the courtesy of the Authorities of the British Museum.

attracted by his reputation and sought an audience of him. He gradually retired from all disquiet of outward activities and passed his life among a small circle of friends, seldom leaving his seclusion.[24] Starck held the highly honourable and important office of Chief Court-Chaplain and Consistorial Councillor: in 1807 he was decorated with the Grand Cross of Merit, in 1811 elevated to nobility and created Baron. He died on the 3rd March, 1816.

Starck wrote a number of learned treatises on theological and historical subjects, most of them emphasizing his views of Masonic tenets, their origin and significance. Although some of the latter writings are in places distorted by the heat of polemics or made tedious by frequent repetitions, several chapters still present an edifying reading, especially in the two editions of his *Apology for the Order of Freemasonry*,[25] which were published anonymously. Some of his writings were translated into several languages. His *Apology* was re-printed many times, and an especial edition was published by the Lodge of Cassel and within a few years rendered into Danish, Swedish and Russian.

Starck had been initiated in 1761 in a French military Lodge at Göttingen. During his sojourn in Paris he became acquainted with several 'high degrees' then in fashion. He was one of the founders of the Lodge of Three Lions, established at Wismar on the 17th February, 1767, under the authority of the Rostock Lodge of Three Stars which worked under the Templar Rite of Strict Observance.[26] Starck took the office of Deputy Junior Warden of the new Lodge. Two other important founders of this Lodge were Baron von Vegesack [27] and von Böhnen.[28] To the ordinary or 'St. John's' Lodge of three degrees a 'Scottish' Lodge of 'higher' grades was attached—'Gustavus of the Golden Hammer'; to the latter a hitherto unknown body was joined, a 'Clerical Chapter,'[29] to complete the circle of 'perfect initiation.'

Soon after the foundation of the Wismar Lodge Starck applied to an influential Rostock official of the Strict Observance System, von Schröter,[30] with the astonishing assertion that he, Starck, was in possession of some Masonic knowledge, higher than any so far revealed to ordinary members of the Craft and even to adepts of its Templar Grades; this mysterious knowledge was obtained and entrusted to him at St. Petersburg; he was also in contact with other Masters of 'the true Art' in France; and he now would like to enter into communication concerning these grave matters with the Grand Master (or Commander)[31] of the Strict Observance Lodges. Such was the nature of Starck's extraordinary message, and it is a characteristic sign of the time that Starck's somewhat peremptory demand was neither laughed at nor rejected.

[24] *Biographie Universelle*, v., 40, 168-169 (the claim contained in this biographical note concerning Starck's alleged Catholicism appears to be devoid of foundation—see *Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., 312-313). The following account of a visit to Starck's house is of some interest:—"C'est dans les rapports de la vie, un homme assez vif, mais là aussi, comme dans ses œuvres, il ne peut dissimuler une certaine application pénible qui se trahit plus encore dans ses sermons, aussi sont-ils moins frequentés que, pour leur valeur intrinsique, ils ne mériteraient de l'être. Sa femme paraît avoir beaucoup d'intelligence et de raison, mais elle parle peu, et il y éclate tant de goût qu'on s'y trouve à l'aise à peine y est on entré! Leur union est heureuse, bien qu'ils n'aient pas d'enfants. En retour, ils aiment les oiseaux et les chiens" (*Voyageur à Darmstadt*, 1784).

[25] A fairly complete list of Starck's writings is given in an Appendix.

[26] Starck's name in the Strict Observance was 'ab Aquila fulva' (*Abgenöthigte Fortsetzung*, 130).

[27] Baron Friedrich von Vegesack, born in 1726, asserted that he was accepted into the Templar Order in 1749 by the Grand Master of Auvergne, Comte de la Tour du Pin; called himself as Knight of the Order, Fredericus a Leone insurgente; in 1770 introduced Starck's Rite in Stockholm; worked for some time diligently for the propagation of this Rite, but gradually dropped out. Starck often referred to him as the real chief of the Rite (*Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., 404; *Abgenöthigte Fortsetzung*, 150, 160).

[28] Joh. von Böhnen, born in 1726, a lieutenant in the Swedish service, later colonel and commandant of Wismar, known in Starck's Rite as Augustus ab Hippopotamo, took part in the introduction of this Rite into Sweden; Starck also referred to him as one of the chiefs of his Rite (*Abgenöthigte Fortsetzung*, 160).

[29] Gould, iii., 104.

[30] Joachim Heinrich v. Schröter, born in 1725, known in the Strict Observance as Henricus Eques a grue; in civil life—Secret Juridic Councillor.

[31] 'Heermeister.'

So strong was the wide-spread belief in the existence of 'hidden sciences' and their mysterious keepers, that von Schröter decided to give Starck an opportunity of writing direct to the Grand Master. Yet, von Schröter was considered to be an enlightened man, free from any superstitious seeking after occult mysteries.[32] The only precaution taken by von Schröter was not to disclose to Starck the actual name or the whereabouts of the Grand Master: he himself forwarded to the latter a communication especially written for the purpose by Starck.[33]

In this letter Starck reiterated that there was a Lodge outside of Germany, the leaders of which possessed knowledge of concealed inner mysteries of the Order. He further affirmed that he had some influence in this mysterious Lodge or Chapter and desired to bring the leaders of the Strict Observance into contact with the repository of hidden knowledge. Starck also announced his intention to visit shortly this important centre of mysterious knowledge, and asked the Grand Master to let him know his wishes. Before replying to this address, the Grand Master decided to communicate first with members of his Council, and this considerably delayed the answer.

In the meantime, Starck approached another influential member of the Strict Observance, who had by then replaced von Schröter in Rostock; this was Ernst Werner von Raven.[34] Known in the Strict Observance under the motto of Ernestus Eques a Margarita, von Raven was generally considered to be a thoroughly honest man, worthy of all esteem, but unfortunately not very far-seeing, and hence an easy tool in the hands of clever adventurers and charlatans.[35] A man of von Raven's high standing in society and in Masonry was naturally a desirable acquisition for anyone who tried to propagate new ideas or simply to gratify personal ambition through false pretences of mysterious adeptship. Von Raven was deeply interested in the discovery of occult wisdom, and the dreams of alchemists were for him realities, could one but know how to accomplish the Great Work—to prepare the philosopher's stone, then to achieve the transmutation of base metals into gold, of which, incidentally, he sometimes stood in need. Means of communicating with the world of spirits were also an object of his strange studies. He was ever eager to listen to anyone who promised him new instructions of such nature. Apparently, Starck gave him some hints of the chance of such occult revelations, especially in the regions of alchemy[36]: moreover, he persuaded von Raven that a great service might be rendered to the Strict Observance by his intervention on Starck's behalf. Von Raven agreed to use his influence in the Order and urged the Grand Master to give Starck an opportunity of adding further knowledge to that already possessed by the Strict Observance leaders. Accordingly, Starck was allowed to correspond directly with the Grand Master and could at last formulate in a more definite manner his desires and promises.

To understand clearer the nature of Starck's promises and their effect, a glance at the aims and position of the Strict Observance itself is necessary.

Under the Masonic Rite or System of Strict Observance is understood a certain revival of the Templar Order as organized among German Masonry by Baron von Hund.[37] This revival was based on the assumption that Freemasonry

[32] *Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., 202. [33] *ib.*, iii., 305.
[34] Born 1727, died 1787.
[35] *Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., 18. [36] *ib.*, iii., 18.
[37] This paper obviously cannot be concerned with the origin of the System, ascribed by some writers to the Jacobites in France or in Scotland, who, scheming for the restoration of the Stuarts, tried to use Masonry in the development of its high grades for political purposes; then initiated into a Templar degree, perhaps founded upon some vestiges of Christian chivalry among old Masonic traditions and ritualistic fragments, the said von Hund, who certainly knew nothing of their real motives; when their political designs had crumbled, they left von Hund to his own devices and uncertainties. This view, quite plausible at first sight, though contradicted by other writers, does not affect this paper, which deals only with the shape and form the Strict Observance presented in Germany during Starck's Masonic activities. *No trace* of Jacobite intrigues was to be found in von Hund's system. An inclination towards Catholic ritualism could, however, be observed, and this may lend a little colour to the alleged influence of the Jesuits on the developments of some 'higher' Masonic degrees on the Continent. (See *A.Q.C.* xxxii., 30, 31, 37, 38, 46.)

was the continuation of and the cloak for the mediæval Order of Knights Templar, dissolved in 1313. It was sought to establish this continuity by some legendary claims. It was affirmed that the Grand Prior of Auvergne, named D'Aumont,[38] made his escape from prison during the persecution of the Templars and after devious wanderings landed on an islet near the Scottish coast. According to another version of the legend, one Pietro di Bologna was made the chief hero of the whole story: he was supposed to belong to the ecclesiastical or 'clerical'[39] branch of the Templar Order and escaped to Scotland by the way of the domains of the Teutonic Knights and Finland: he encountered D'Aumont during his travels and brought him to Scotland. Ultimately, having met some other Knights of the Order, D'Aumont appeared in Scotland as Grand Master of the Templar Order disguised under Masonry. The following fantastic list of Grand Masters succeeding to the last historical Grand Master, Jacques de Molay, was adopted by the Strict Observance:—

1313.	Amanus I. (D'Aumont) restaurator Ordinis, 1312-1313.
1313-1330.	Harris.
1330-1332.	Sylvester a Grumpach.
1332-1370.	Stewart.
1371-1392.	Obrack, Hibernus.
1427.	Battes, Scotus (electio incerta-1427).
1427-1459.	Lindwerth, Hibernus.
1460-1500.	Galbert, Gallus.
1501-1504.	Glocester, Anglus.
1504-1538.	Aumont II., Nepos ex fratre Amani I.
1538-1589.	Aumont III., filius antecedent.
1589-1592.	Aumont IV., filius antecedent.
1592-1595.	Hawkins, Scotus.
1595-1627.	Steward II.
1628-1659.	mense Martii gremi Schettwin.
1659-1679.	Eques a Tonitru.
1679-1695.	Eques ab Equo nigro.
1695-1717.	Eques ab Oceano.
1717-1732.	Eques a Leone aureo.
1732-1743.	Eques ab Unione.
1743- ? .	Eques a Sole aureo elect.
? .	Eques a Victoria.
? .	Eques a Leone resurgente.

The last three Latin pseudonyms were believed to refer[40] to the Young Pretender, Prince Charles Edward (a Sole aureo): Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick[41] (a Victoria), and Karl, Prince of Hesse-Cassel[42] (a Leone resurgente). Whereas the participation of the last two in the restored Order of the Temple is undoubted, there is not so much likelihood of any real connection between the Young Pretender and the Templar Order, of whatsoever system.[43]

Unhistorical as is the alleged succession of Templar Grand Masters, still there may be a germ of truth in the legendary history believed in by members

[38] History does not know of such a Prior.

[39] It should be noted that the essential meaning in which the word 'clerical' was used by Starck, was the meaning of the word 'ecclesiastical': further, in Russian the word 'clerical' with the meaning of 'ecclesiastical' is equivalent to and synonymous with the word 'spiritual.'

[40] *A.Q.C.*, xxvi., 64-66. *Allgemeines Handbuch*, ii., 475, and i., 618.

[41] Born in 1721, died in 1792. A celebrated military leader of his time, a zealous Mason and a student of Hermetic lore.

[42] Born in 1744, died in 1836. An ardent Mason and an adept of many 'higher' grades.

[43] *Die Tempelherrn*, 59-60 and 66. Starck himself had evidently also strong doubts concerning the Young Pretender's Masonic or Templar activities (*Signatstern*, iii., 140). The Young Pretender did not seem to have actually denied his membership of the Order; he appeared to evade a direct answer when such was required from him (Blum, 8).

of the Strict Observance. A few ardent Knight Templars comparatively safe in Scotland from the worst afflictions which befell their Order, may perhaps have continued its gatherings under a disguise and infused part of its secret doctrines and customs into some Masonic Lodges. The Order of the Temple, which had covered Christendom with its Churches and strongholds, presumably included some architects and workers in stone,[44] hence an easy connection with Masonic Lodges in Scotland. This theory, however, must for the present remain only *a pure conjecture*; there are so far no corroborating facts.

A further part of the Strict Observance beliefs was the possession by mediæval Knights Templar of occult knowledge and teachings of mysterious nature. There, again, some truth may be hidden under the extravagant assertions of this kind. Among the Knights of the Templar Order there might have been secret groups professing their particular secret ideas, and perhaps working their own rituals, developed through contact with Eastern mystical associations.[45] In fact, the Templars were believed by many to have been the custodians of wondrous mysteries and occult lore.[46]

The chief propagator of the Templar System of Strict Observance which had absorbed these theories and connecting legends [47] was von Hund, who began to spread the System in Germany from 1751.

Karl Gotthelf Baron von Hund and Altengrotkau, Hereditary Lord of Lipse etc., was born on the 11th September, 1722, and died on the 8th November, 1776. He was initiated at Frankfort in 1741, received the degree of Master-Mason at Gand during the summer of 1742, and proceeded to Paris at the end of the same year, where he is said to have been introduced into the Templar Order by a mysterious Knight of the Red Plume in the presence of Lords Kilmarnock and Clifford; he is also believed to have been then presented to the Young Pretender whom he thought to be Grand Master of the Order. Contradictory opinions are held concerning von Hund's character. Some, like Dr. Begemann,[48] go so far as to accuse von Hund of complete ignorance and even forgery, as well as of hidden political motives of an ambitious nature.[49] Some of the leaders of the Strict Observance most probably did cherish political and personal aims,[50] but von Hund can hardly be accused of such. A man of extremely good social position and of considerable fortune, generous and well-intentioned, von Hund seems to have been in reality a person of high integrity though not of high intelligence or deep knowledge. He was not without faults,[51] somewhat hasty and ambitious, a lover of pompous rituals, and easily misled by pretentious revealers of new rites and 'hidden wisdom.'[52] His ardent seeking for Masonic mysteries and rituals cost him a great deal of money; as one of his friends had put it: 'The Order and the Brethren ate up his great wealth.'[53] One contemporary author [54] is probably right when having expressed a very good opinion of von Hund, he deemed the Baron worthy of much better treatment than accorded to him in Masonry and, one is inclined to add, in Dr. Begemann's writings.

The activities of the System, propagated by von Hund, were developing at the time of Starck's application in the following directions.[55] Its chief aim

[44] *Quelques refiexions*, 37. [45] *ib.*, 17, 19, 29, 45.
[46] Gould, iii., 104. *Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., 36.
[47] There existed several variations of the legend, but the substance did not differ much.
[48] It is difficult to follow Dr. Begemann in many of his conclusions; this erudite German Mason seems often to have used a microscope where an ordinary human eye might have embraced much better the general view of the entire picture. (*Compare A.Q.C.*, xxxiii., 40, etc.)
[49] *Die Tempelherrn*, 63 and 66. *A.Q.C.*, xxvi., 66-70.
[50] See Baron J. T. Schroeder's Diary.
[51] *Anti-Saint-Nicaise*, 53 and 60.
[52] *Allgemeines Handbuch*, ii., 5, etc. Blum, 2.
[53] *Abgenöthigte Fortsetzung*, 291.
[54] *Bemerkungen*, 59. The author did not think much of many of those who surrounded von Hund (*Bemerkungen*, 72).
[55] *Allgemeines Handbuch*, ii., 6, etc.

was to increase the number of Knights Templar [56] and for this purpose to bring over to the Rite of Strict Observance most of the German Masonic Lodges: then to select the best members from this vast field and to elevate such chosen Masons to Knighthood. Besides an increase in numbers, the Order contemplated the strengthening of its finances which was required for several worldly schemes.[57] The establishment of charitable institutions was planned by the chiefs of the Order, and among such foundations were orphanages, which would be later transformed into military schools. Strict military discipline and unquestioned obedience to the Superiors of the Order,[58] many of whom were unknown both to the 'profane' world and to Knights of junior grades, were demanded and observed by the leaders: hence the name of Strict Observance. The aim of the Order, reinforced numerically and financially, bound up by rigid discipline, military hierarchy and careful observance of all instructions issued by its unknown Superiors, would be to do good to humanity by the practice of charity and the defence of Christianity,—a combination of Masonic and Templar ideals. The Order would acquire landed estates to be put under the control of prominent Knights as in feudal times.[59] In its highest grades the Order should reveal to the deserving Brother-Knights mysteries of esoteric Christianity, leading to the Union with Christ and cognisance of His Wisdom, hidden from the outside world.[60] Thus equipped with numerical, financial and moral strength, the restored Order of the Temple would eventually triumph over its enemies. Here it must be clearly understood that this triumph, according to all reliable evidence so far available, did not mean any combat or vengeance against 'Pope and Emperor,' inheritors of those who ruined the mediæval Order, as, unfortunately, is only too readily assumed even by responsible Masonic writers. It was a triumph over man's evil passions and over the enemies of the ideals of the Order, pre-eminently Christian and monarchical, that was naturally desired by its leaders. Perhaps the best refutation of the alleged vendetta directed against the successors of Molay's persecutors, the Papal and Royal powers, is that von Hund himself died, still a high dignatory of the Order, a long converted Catholic and a faithful and trusted servant of the Imperial Court.[61]

Two insurmountable difficulties presented themselves to the leaders of the Strict Observance,—firstly, they could not procure the necessary substantial funds, and secondly, there were no mysteries to reveal, except pompous rituals. Communications from some hidden Masters of the Order were eagerly expected

[56] Some leaders thought of the restoration of the Order in all its ancient splendour! (*Anti-Saint-Nicaise*, 75). They revived the provinces of the mediæval Templar Order, some even hoped to restore its international position as a powerful financial and military factor. A curious project existed at one time—to procure for the reconstituted Templar Order the hospitality of the Russian Government and to found a Templar colony in the district of Saratov: the Russian Resident in Hamburg, Count Mussin-Pushkin, was approached with the intention of bringing this scheme into life (*Saint Nicaise*, 165).

[57] Some members intended to build tobacco factories for the purpose of making money for the Order and, incidentally, for themselves (*Anti-Saint-Nicaise*, 119-120).

[58] *Anti-Saint-Nicaise*, 70. The Order is therein described by one of its own defenders as 'a Society strongly bound together, working for one ultimate aim under the guidance of the Superiors.'

[59] Some of its members, like Schubart von Kleefelde, were chiefly interested in developing the materialistic aspects of the Order by acquiring land and factories, establishing a Treasury for distribution of monetary grants and pensions to 'deserving' Knights, etc. (Blum, 3).

[60] Even that defender of the Strict Observance, von Sprengeisen, had to acknowledge the existence of these ardent seekers for mysteries (*Anti-Saint-Nicaise*, 127, 179, etc.) 'To follow Christ' was one of the main doctrines and instructions of the Strict Observance (*Anti-Saint-Nicaise*, 123, and others).

[61] *Allgemeines Handbuch*, ii., 8. In France the case might have been and probably was different, the vengeance motive was certainly present in some of the 'higher' and Templar grades worked in that country (*Le tombe de Jacques Molay*, 118, etc.). The idea of vengeance entered the French ritual of the grade Kadosh (Lantoine, 192), and this prejudiced many a writer against the whole of Masonic Templar degrees. It is highly doubtful (contrary to Lantoine's assertion) that the Kadosh device played the dominant rôle in the establishment of the Strict Observance: if it had been so, its idea must have undergone a complete transmutation in the German Masonic alembic.

in its Councils, but were not forthcoming even to the Grand Commander, von Hund, the titular Provincial Grand Master of Germany.[62] Von Hund was ready to provide the Order with money as far as he could, and did so until his worldly affairs got into disorder; but he was too honest to invent sham mysteries and revelations.[63] Therefore, von Hund and his disciples were diligently seeking for some great personage who could unveil to them at least a part of the hidden doctrine, embodied in the ancient Order of the Temple, and, incidentally, in his great wisdom, also help them out of their financial embarrassment. Moreover, von Hund could not up to then produce any documents weighty enough either to justify his own claims to be Provincial Grand Master of the Order or to give higher instruction to its members.

At this moment Starck appeared on the stage. The ground for a quick germination of his projects was evidently well prepared; he was promising a revelation of higher Christian mysteries, his proposals were veiled in the dark language of the alchemists, with a hint at physical and spiritual transmutation, and he professed to have some highly valuable documents. His scheme was clever and much better worked out than any possessed by the Strict Observance.[64] The mysterious ambiguity of some of Starck's statements, who sometimes liked to express himself in dark hints at occult truths without vouchsafing any clearer explanation,[65] might have led to the belief that he possessed powers to transmute base metals into gold. Starck himself was not engaged in the disentanglement of physical experiments in alchemy, although he might have held a belief in their efficiency: he was concerned with the process of spiritual transmutation[66]—regeneration of Man. There was no alchemical charlatanry about him.[67]

The substance of Starck's declarations directed to the Grand Master of the Strict Observance could be summed up thus.[68] Ordinary Knights of the Temple did not possess the knowledge of the 'high mysteries' hidden in the Order; this knowledge was limited to a circle of the ecclesiastical members of the Order [69]—'the Clerics.' [70] The latter, through an uninterrupted succession, had preserved these mysteries till modern times. The mysteries were originally revealed to Hugo von Paganis in a cave by seven 'wise men of the East':[71] where properly presented, these mysteries induced an illumination by Heavenly Light; hence the high import of these Rites of Light for the Order, in the past and present. For many years the Clerics were separated from the lay branch of the Templar Order, which was therefore deprived of the true Enlightenment by means of the ancient esoteric knowledge. A part of this

[62] 'Grand Commander' is probably a better translation of the actual German title—'Heermeister.'

[63] Gould, iii., 104.

[64] Keller's *Geschichte,* 150.

[65] *Etwas über,* 71, 92, 95.

[66] *Signatstern,* iii., 288-289.

[67] *Etwas über,* 71, 92, 95. Some of Starck's friends, however, attempted, at a great expense to themselves, physical alchemical operations as well (*Signatstern,* iii., 315). Bro. Speth in his interesting note on Starck in *A.Q.C.*, ix., p. 24, is not quite correct in his conclusions: there is no reliable evidence whatsoever that Starck promised to his followers the transmutation of metals on the physical plane; all his personal and direct utterances prove the contrary of this assertion. Starck frankly considered those who tried to delude by such promises, like some Rosicrucians, 'a dangerous sect' of people.

[68] *Allgemeines Handbuch,* iii., 305.

[69] One must bear in mind that ecclesiastical members of the Templar Order actually played an important rôle in its history. They even obtained, through the Papal Bull of 1162, a complete independence from local Bishops, being responsible to the Templar Grand Master direct. (Lantoine, 152.)

[70] 'Clerici Ordines Templariorum.' First notion of the existence of a Clerical branch of the Templar Order belonged apparently to the adventurer Johnson, who mentioned 'Clerics' already in 1764; the idea seems to have appealed to von Hund. (Blum, 5.)

[71] *Signatstern,* iii., 224. 'The wise men of the East' were supposed to have belonged to the Essenes, who in the manner described imparted to 'the Christian Fathers of the Templar Order' the secret Israelitish doctrine, learnt by their forefathers in Egypt. The Jewish nation proved to be an unworthy guardian of the Sacred Doctrine and thus the Teaching had to be delivered to better men. (*Signatstern,* ii., 127.)

knowledge was brought from Italy, where 'Count Sackville' was said to have held the office of Grand Master,[72] to St. Petersburg by the celebrated engraver, Natter. A Chapter existed in St. Petersburg with leaders possessing occult knowledge: Starck was a member of this Chapter, and was prepared to bring its Chiefs into contact with the secular Templar Rite of Strict Observance, on certain conditions. Starck demanded for himself and other Clerics a complete independence from the superior hierarchy of the Strict Observance, recognizing only its Grand Master, *i.e.*, Commander of the VII. Province: he also claimed a sovereignty for his Wismar Lodge, so far dependent upon its mother-lodge at Rostock.

Two men were thus assigned in this assertion as having played an important rôle in transmitting the torch of Enlightenment according to ancient tradition—Lord Sackville and Natter.

Lord Charles Sackville, Earl of Middlesex, son of Lionel Cranfield Sackville, Duke and Earl of Dorset, was born on the 6th February, 1710. In his honour as ruling Master of a Florentine Lodge, a medal was struck by Natter in 1733.[73] To him was attributed the custody of the mysteries, kept in a hidden circle of the Clerics in Italy. The following is of some interest:—This supposed custodian of the great occult knowledge of the Templar Order seems to have been a staunch adherent of the reigning English dynasty and occupied high offices in its service, which would be in obvious contradiction to many hints as to the rôle of Stuart partisans in the revived Templar Order. The Florentine Lodge[74] appears to have been in existence already about 1730 and working without any warrant whatsoever; its traces disappear after 1739.[75] In spite of Sackville's allegiance to the reigning dynasty, it should be remembered that Stuart partisans were to be found during this period in most Italian towns, and particularly at Florence and Leghorn.[76] It is significant that not only Starck but also the leaders of the Swedish and Zinnendorf Masonic Systems attributed to the Lodge at Florence the preservation of 'true Masonic Science.'[77]

John Laurentius Natter, the celebrated cutter of precious stones and a talented engraver, was born in 1705 at Biberach in Swabia, and lived for a time in Rome. In 1733 he entered the service of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, which he left in 1735; afterwards he worked during a considerable time for William IV. of Orange and the English Court. Later he visited Copenhagen and Stockholm, and in 1762 went to St. Petersburg, where he died in 1763. Natter was the alleged propagator of Florentine mysteries in St. Petersburg—the seat from which they were to spread to Germany and Sweden. It must be borne in mind that even the most jealous adherents of this tradition did not pretend that either Natter or they themselves had obtained a full disclosure of ancient secrets.[78] The whole story might have been founded on some vague statements or fragments of distorted rituals imported from Italy to St. Petersburg. Starck's character and life do not yield themselves to the conclusion that his statements concerning Florence and St. Petersburg mysteries were nothing else but invention.

[72] Later Starck hinted at the possibility of Grand Mastership of 'Sole aureo,' *i.e.*, the Young Pretender, but, as already mentioned, Starck himself had grave doubts and seemed to be hesitating in this assertion: he held Florence for a *possible* seat of a Chapter possessing 'real knowledge': adepts of the True Order were, according to him, dispersed in many countries.

[73] Merzdorf, *Denkmünzen*, 116, N. 1. See also *A.Q.C.*, xxxii., p. 31 (with quotations).

[74] Its actual name is not known.

[75] *Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., 122-123, and ii., 319.

[76] *A.Q.C.*, xiii., 149; xxxii., 31.

[77] *Allgemeines Handbuch*, i., 355. In 1775 Starck said that he had been in actual ccorrespondence with a Chapter in Florence: at the same time he produced certain documents purporting to refer to his own initiation and the right of establishing Ecclesiastical (Clerical) Templar Chapters, but the nature and origin of these documents is not clear. (*Signatstern*, iii., 151-152.)

[78] *Allgemeines Handbuch*, ii., 401.

Whatever the foundation of Starck's claims and demands might have been, they were accepted and agreed to by von Hund,[79]—not a very surprising result, considering the period and the difficulties of the Strict Observance leaders. Von Raven obtained permission from the Grand Master to confer Knighthood on three Clerics who in their turn acknowledged von Hund to be the true Grand Master of the Seventh Province of the Templar Order as revived by the Strict Observance. The Chancellor of the Order, Mylius, was instructed to proceed to Wismar and to enter fully into Starck's claims, teachings and ritualistic work.[80]

Mylius,[81] a zealous member of the High Council of the Strict Observance, was offended and refused to go, for he considered that a lack of trust in his judgment was shown by von Hund's intention to send another delegate with him.[82] The General Examiner or Inspector of the Order, Schubart, was then asked to undertake the task, but he also declined the mission under the pretext that he knew nothing about previous negotiations with Starck and mistrusted the whole matter.[83] Von Hund then instructed another prominent member of the Strict Observance, von Prangen,[84] to go to Wismar, accompanied by the young Secretary of the Order, Jacobi.[85] Both delegates arrived at Wismar in February, 1768.

Von Prangen was given an opportunity not only to examine the 'Clerical' rituals but also to witness their working.[86] During an impressive night-ceremony he was solemnly made a member of the Clerical Rite[87] and received the name of Frater Eugenius a Pavone; afterwards he became 'Presbyter Clericorum in Expectantia' and 'Legatius Clericorum' to the Grand Master, von Hund, and was instructed to open a Clerical Chapter in Bohemia. Von Prangen was delighted with everything he saw and heard; he reported accordingly to the

[79] *Die Tempelherrn*, 66.

[80] *Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., 305.

[81] Engineer-Lieutenant Johann Wilhelm Mylius, born in Saxony on the 24th January, 1723, died on the 3rd October, 1791, a personal friend of von Hund, known in the latter's Rite as Eques a Stella.

[82] *Allgemeines Handbuch*, ii., 370.

[83] *Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., 203. Johann Christian Schubart, known in the Strict Observance as Christianus Eques a Struthione, born in 1734 at Zeitz, in Saxony, was during the Seven Years War the military commissioner of Great Britain. After 1763 he gave up other occupations, to work exclusively for Freemasonry, particularly for the Strict Observance, in its practical and financial aspects: in 1768 he left the Strict Observance and devoted himself to the management of his large estates, which he did very efficiently. In 1782 he received the first prize of the Berlin Academy of Sciences for a treatise on agriculture. He was Deputy-Master of the Berlin Grand Lodge of Three Globes. On the 25th May, 1764, he was made Knight of the Strict Observance by von Hund. He travelled extensively in the interests of the Strict Observance and attracted into its fold a number of German Lodges. His zeal was not questioned, but he was often accused of personal ambitious designs, pride and arrogance. (*Bemerkungen*, 41.) Later, von Hund cooled towards Schubart, who then retired from the active work in the Strict Observance although always willing to advise and to assist his former friends in this Rite.

[84] Franz von Prangen, known in the Strict Observance as Eques a latere, was born at Kiel in 1737. He seems to have been a man of patriotic and honourable sentiments, but, following the trend of his era, somewhat credulous: at one time he was an adherent of the Masonic adventurer, Johnson, at great financial cost to himself: later he entered Russian military service and became a source of some embarrassment to Starck, having discovered that a Superior of the famous Chapter in St. Petersburg was a simple watchmaker Schürzer (referred to as Pylades ab arce, *Signatstern*, i., 240), and evidently in the end not much thought of by Starck himself (*Signatstern*, iii., 142): yet, the world had known simple artisans to become 'mystics' and instructors in mysticism (*Allgemeines Handbuch*, ii., 606). Von Prangen's consecration as a Cleric was done by Starck in the presence of von Böhnen ('a Hippopotamo' and Dr. Günther ('a Cruce aureo').

[85] Karl Heinrich Jacobi, born in 1745, Councillor and Secret Secretary of Saxe-Coburg-Meiningen, known in the Strict Observance as Carolus Eques a Stella fixa. He described Starck as an amiable and obliging man who tried to gain confidence by a display of great courtesy: other 'clerical' Brethren were seemingly of little significance. Jacobi was somewhat mistrustful of Starck (Keller's *Geschichte*, 148, 149).

[86] It was said that these rituals were communicated to von Prangen in Latin, a language he did not know too well.

[87] With von Hund's approval.

Grand Master. Jacobi was meanwhile commanded to make copies of rituals and other Clerical documents presented by Starck. These copies were sent to the Grand Master, but, unfortunately, perished on the way during a shipwreck. In further development of his theory, Starck told von Prangen that both branches of the Templar Order, the senior and the ecclesiastical, were preserved in Scotland, where the original acts of the Order could probably be found, and he contended that both branches were active in France. The name of the Grand Master or Commander in Scotland seems to have been given by Starck as Sir James Steward, and of the Grand Master in Genoa[88] as de la Tour du Pin. Starck showed several Masonic and Templar rituals as well as some instructions 'as used in French provinces.'[89] When considering reports of conversations with Starck one must not forget his frank acknowledgment that he had never been supplied with any original documents, but only with copies; moreover, he was of the opinion that many 'legends, superstitions and peculiarities' had crept into the history of the Order, due to an uncritical and erroneous attitude of 'ancient Brethren.'[90] What ceremonies were worked at Wismar, what rituals were shown to the delegates, one cannot say with precision, but a fair idea of the 'Clerical' working may most probably be obtained from the Russian ceremonial of Melissino's Rite and the German rituals of the Order of Light or Spiritual Masonry. The consideration of these rituals is closely bound up with the question as to the source whence Starck derived the germ of his assertions and ceremonies, which were later developed by him into the system of the Clerical Rite.

In the introduction to the first volume of the *Signatstern*, an important collection of rituals and other Masonic documents of the second half of the eighteenth century, there occurs a very significant statement. The first volume is described as containing the actual ceremonies of Starck's Clerical Rite; these ceremonies are said to be founded on those general truths which underlie other religious ceremonies, among the latter[91] 'the old Greek ritual and the old liturgy have still the greatest truth.' The Greco-Catholic Church, of which the Russian Orthodox Church is an autonomous branch, is thus brought into connection with Starck's Rite. Starck had, of course, during his visit to Russia, the opportunity of learning the Orthodox Church ceremonial, distinguished by ancient Oriental splendour externally and by deep mysticism in its inward life. It is also important to bear in mind that Russian Masonic leaders of the eighteenth century considered the Church ceremonies of Russian Orthodoxy as containing doctrines and even some rites of 'Mystical Masonry.'[92] Starck showed himself in St. Petersburg to be an ardent and diligent Mason;[93] he had the reputation of a great Masonic adept, possessing knowledge of 'Spiritual Masonry';[94] an interchange of ideas between him and prominent Russian Masons undoubtedly took place.[95]

Johann Fischer seems to have hit on the true explanation of the origin of Starck's assertions when he says in the *Altenburger Zeitschrift für Freimaurerei*[96]:—

[88] And in France?

[89] *Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., 305. The whole of this report concerning Starck's assertions is doubtful, it is difficult to ascertain how far Starck really affirmed anything. He might have been giving, as was his wont, only mysterious hints at certain rumours to the all-believing von Prangen; von Hund failed to obtain proofs of several of Starck's reported assertions (*Allgemeines Handbuch*, ii., 119).

[90] *Signatstern*, iii., 148-150. It must be remembered that much was easily accepted in Starck's days, even by the most enlightened historians of that age, if it fitted their pet beliefs and theories.

[91] *Signatstern*, i., Vorrede.

[92] See, for instance, Eshevsky (iii., 482).

[93] *Triumph der Philosophie.* Neubearbeitet, v.

[94] *Etwas über*, ii.

[95] One of Starck's defenders, von Grolman, stated that Starck had obtained superior knowledge at St. Petersburg from an important personage (not from the watchmaker Pylades). *Etwas zur Erläuterung*, 22.)

[96] Quoted in the *Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., 307.

> I believe that I have solved the riddle, how and when Starck has come to the general idea of the Clerical System. One is usually inclined to look for its origin in France where Starck also dwelt for a time; some even look to the Jesuits for its beginnings and link the System with the Throne of the Holy Father in Rome. I consider all this but a fable which people, with gross ignorance, have put together out of chimeras of Catholic proselytising machinations. I believe the first source of the Clerical System is to be found in Russia. It must be remembered that Starck was already in St. Petersburg when quite young—before he had any thought of Paris. Just then there was flourishing in St. Petersburg Melissino's System, into which he was probably introduced.[97] In Melissino's System the idea of Knights, servants of God, was developed into a Chapter of Knights Templar which in its tendency and essence had more priestly than secular [98] Knightly aspects, such as are met with in the Swedish System. To construct imposing ceremonies one cannot borrow from a better place than from the essentials of the Catholic Church. That Freemasonry is a continuation of the Templar Order is a tradition which haunts all higher grades; that Knights Templar had their own priests is known from history; that Knights Templar by themselves were rough Cavalrymen, and, if the Order did have any mysteries, such should be sought among their learned Brethren, the Priests.—all this could be easily conjectured. No wonder that higher Templar degrees assumed more and more a clerical or ecclesiastical appearance, and this tendency showed itself in old-fashioned imposing ceremonies, in fasting, praying, and even in Sacramental offices! Yet, all participants remained good Protestant Christians, as they mostly were, and did not transplant the secret ceremonies into their public or private exercise of religion. Now when a learned young man of vivid imagination saw at St. Petersburg a System which lacked in contents and a firm foundation, he grasped clearly its basic idea which was confused in other minds, developed and fixed it, then planned to unite this System with the secular branch of the Order and to play a great rôle himself. He remained in good relations with the Petersburg Brethren after his departure, and he considered them well prepared to receive his Clerical System as something more reasonable and more ordered.

There is not much precise knowledge of the ceremonial of the original Rite of Melissino. Peter Melissino,[99] of Greek extraction, lieutenant-general of the Russian Imperial Army, was a man of brilliant abilities but of a rather weak character. He founded about 1765 in the Petersburg Lodge of Silence a peculiar system of his own. This System recognized seven grades:—

1. Entered Apprentice [100]
2. Fellow-Craft [100]
3. Master-Mason [100]
4. Dark Vault
5. Scottish Master
6. Philosopher
7. Spiritual (Ecclesiastical or Clerical) Knight, Magnus Sacerdos Templariorum

[97] In fact, it was known that Starck did frequent Melissino's Lodge at St. Petersburg (Blum, 13).

[98] The ideal of an Ecclesiastical or 'Spiritual' Knighthood took strong root among Russian Masons (see, for example, I. Lopuhin's 'Spiritual Knight').

[99] Born in 1726, died in 1797.

[100] Not essentially distinguished from the regular working of these degrees.

The idea of Spiritual or Clerical Knights may then have originated somewhere in St. Petersburg, but it is difficult to decide whether it was grasped first from some unknown source by Starck who then influenced Melissino, or *vice versa*.[101] Melissino endeavoured to combine in his System Templar Rituals and semi-Catholic Church ceremonies with mystical teachings, later successfully propagated in Russia by adherents of German Rosicrucians.[102] Assemblies of the adepts of the 7th degree took place either in a church or in a chapel specially consecrated for the purpose. First a liturgy was celebrated, accompanied by a solemn rite of Benediction of rose-oil. These meetings were described as 'assemblies of true disciples of ancient wise Teachers of the world, now called Brethren of the Rosy Cross and also Clerics.' At the same time Melissino's followers did not identify themselves with German Rosicrucians, although both were pursuing similar studies of occult Chemistry, Kabalah, Magic, etc.[103]

The fourth grade of Melissino's Rite dealt mainly with a story of the search for and burial of the dead body of one of the Masters. The legend of the 5th degree was concerned with the later finding of the coffin and also of the foundation-stone and the treasure of the Temple. The sixth degree was described as a motley agglomeration of solemn oaths and prayers, inculcating the fear of God, humility and self-denial; according to some versions, the secular Knighthood was conferred in this degree. It seemed to be rather chaotic and out of sequence with other degrees of the Rite, which generally lacked uniformity and continuity. The seventh grade, as already mentioned, had an ecclesiastical aspect, those present wore tunics and mantles of Knights Templar adorned with mysterious hieroglyphics. After the solemn service a lecture was given dealing with revelations of occult Wisdom. Cognizance of God and Nature was the object of these revelations. Cabalistic notions, magical and theosophical 'secrets' were expounded to the members of the conclave. The Grace of God was believed to descend upon them during such celebrations—at the least, they were assured that It would one day descend into their souls.[104]

Still more insight into Starck's System is provided by the *Signatstern*. The introduction to its first part declares: "The System of the Clerics of Knight Templars which was so strongly advocated by the Chief Court-Chaplain in Darmstadt, Brother Archidemides,[105] who tried to spread the same with all his power, appears here printed, true to documents.[106]

The first ceremony reproduced in full[107] in the *Signatstern* is that of the Entered Apprentice.[108] In its principal features the ritual was very much the same as that practised in other Lodges of the period. The following points present, however, some interest. Before initiation, the candidate was blindfolded and admitted into the Lodge, and earnestly questioned concerning the reasons and the seriousness of his desire to join Masonry. He was warned that those present 'could read in the most hidden recesses of his heart,' and was informed that 'a Mason must be faithful to his God, his Country and his friends, and abhor all vices.' After satisfactory answers the ceremony was resumed. During the candidate's 'third journey' which was also called 'the road of pain,' his purification by fire, water and air took place. Before taking an obligation the candidate was asked, 'Are you prepared to sign the Obligation with your blood?' And then: 'Brother Surgeon, are you in readiness? If so, do your duty,'—When the bandage from the candidate's eyes was removed, he found himself surrounded by Brethren, the points of their unsheathed swords

[101] *Allgemeines Handbuch*, ii., 307.

[102] Under the auspices of the celebrated Wöllner (1732-1800). (*Rosicrucians in Russia*, 12.)

[103] *Russian Masons*, 7-8; *Novikov and Moscow Martinists*, 168-304.

[104] *Allgemeines Handbuch*, ii., 307.

[105] *i.e.*, Dr. Starck

[106] *Signatstern*, i., Vorrede.

[107] With the exception of the usual Masonic secrets—the modes of recognition.

[108] Candidates had to be *elected* by Brethren present not only for the initiation into the first degree but *also* for reception into the second and eventually into the third degree. No deacons are mentioned in the printed ceremonial. The office of '*a terrifying Brother*' was of considerable importance.

directed towards him. At the end of the ceremony the newly-initiated Brother was informed that Freemasonry owned its origin to the famous Temple erected by King Solomon in honour of the Great Architect of the Universe, and that Masonic ceremonies were symbols behind which were preserved 'mysteries of ancient times.'

In the second or Fellow-Craft degree the candidate was conducted to a pillar, and the Flaming Star was revealed to him.

In the Master's degree the candidate was carefully examined by Brother Orator, before being admitted into the Lodge. On the candidate's entering the assembly, his Masonic clothing was torn off him, he was loudly declared to be unworthy of wearing it, and a sign indicative of horror was made by all Brethren when he approached them. He then made nine journeys round the Lodge and each time was reminded in a muffled voice of the coming end—'Memento mori.' He was lowered into a grave, and whilst lying in it all Brethren stood around pointing with their swords at his helpless body. Throughout the ceremony the candidate was treated as if he were a traitor. A voluntary confession, the only way of saving himself, was demanded from him, and a search for a murdered Master was made in the Lodge, the candidate still remaining in the grave. At a later stage of the ceremony it was explained to the candidate that the accusation and his consequent embarrassment were only means to try him and his fitness to be a Master-Mason.

The subsequent four degrees show unmistakable signs of Starck's handiwork, the general style being in places identical with other documents written by him.[109]

The degree of 'Young Scotsman' was worked in a 'Lodge of St. Andrew.' A prayer for granting of Wisdom was said and repeated by the postulant who knelt outside the room of reception. His apron was then taken from him, his hands were washed in token of purification, and he was stretched on a green carpet in the form of St. Andrew's Cross. Scottish Brethren with drawn swords stood on guard around him, while some admonitions were addressed to him. Then his neck was made bare, and a cord of green silk was placed around it, his eyes were bandaged and in this condition he was admitted into the reception room. An explanation was given, purporting to show that the three first or St. John's degrees had been established by predecessors of the 'Scottish' Brethren, with the purpose of selecting from the ordinary Brethren of the Craft candidates suitable for further advancement. In this manner the new advancee was selected, and now was his chance of acquiring fuller knowledge. After this discourse the candidate had to make four journeys, passing symbolically to the four cardinal points. He was instructed that in order to attain Wisdom, Art and Virtue, it was necessary to honour the Supreme Being, to love Brethren and all mankind, to be temperate, courageous, steadfast in misfortune, humble when fortunate, and not to fear death. An oath was then taken by the candidate, to work for this end, to keep inviolate the secrets of the degree and to support the Brethren. His eyes were then unbandaged and his gaze directed towards a Star of 81 lamps, flaming over the head of the Presiding Master. The secrets of the degree were entrusted to the newly obligated member, a Scottish apron, adorned with four green rosettes, put on him, and the symbolism of the colour green was explained as that of hope, to attain through the help of the Order the furthering of one's temporal and eternal welfare. By four strokes the candidate was made Young Knight of St. Andrew. A sword was put into his left hand and a small silver trowel in his right hand, with the words 'Thus have Scottish Young-Masters defended their work against Saracens—armed with swords when working.' A lengthy and somewhat nebulous instruction followed. The Knight was then allowed to have a glimpse of Light through a half-opened door leading to 'The Temple of Secret Doctrine.' Afterwards the St. John's

[109] Compare, for example, with Starck's letter to von Raven (*Signatstern*, iii., 142-143).

degrees were further explained to him. The Entered Apprentice degree was described as representing seven divisions of knowledge:—

1. The first movement of the Eternal Light.
2. The first understanding of Nature.
3. Nature, the first object of knowledge.
4. The beginning of all being.
5. The creation of Lucifer, seven Angels and Spirits of Light.
6. The fall of Lucifer.
7. The cause of Chaos.

It is truly wonderful how much the Apprentice degree contains according to these notions, and how little those who profess to know it, have dreamt of such depth and wealth of the instruction received, but marvels of 'symbolical interpretations' are indeed often past ordinary understanding!

The second grade was supposed to teach:—

1. The primary matter of all being.
2. The beginning of physical creation.
3. Its progressive stages.

The third degree was described as instructing in:—

1. The origin of active and passive principles.
2. Their four states.
3. Three planes of their existence.

All this was explained as represented by different Masonic symbols. For example, the rough Ashlar signified primary matter, the power of Light was enclosed in it, and Light could be extracted by skilful treatment of this first material—then appeared, instead of the crude Matter, a pure Spiritual Being. An allusion to the seven steps of the alchemical processes of dissolution, purification and perfection, was made in the course of the address to the new Scottish Mason.[111] Besides alchemical symbolism, it contained, though in a somewhat confused form, Cabalistic expressions and ideas referring to the hidden significance of Hebrew letters and the meaning of numbers.

The following curious reference to the unknown Superiors was made:—'The greatest number of our Brethren misunderstand the right aim . . . they either are building a tower like that of Babel, constructed of every sensual pleasure, or dream of conquests, and produce, incidentally, a financial plan: obedience and servility are extorted so that the so-called high Superiors, forced upon them, could consume unmolested the tribute extracted from the credulous weaklings lulled to sleep'[112] This was obviously an attack on the Strict Observance and its irresponsible Unknown Chiefs. It should be remembered in this connection that Starck, right at the beginning of his negotiations with the Strict Observance, demanded a direct communication with the Grand Master himself and did not recognize other Superiors.

Further, some 'historical' notions were imparted to the new member. The martyrdom of the Templar Grand Master Molay and the flight of some Knights to Scotland with the hidden treasure of the Order were dwelt upon. The mysterious treasure was said to be contained in three cups. A King James protected the Brethren; the Order was continued, first under the guise of the Order of the Thistle and later as the Order of St. Andrew.

The catechism of the grade consisted of questions and answers. The following example will suffice to illustrate the general tendency of this catechism:—

[111] It is perhaps not without interest for Masons of a certain degree that Noah's Ark figured during the alchemical part of the discourse, it was described as a symbol of a vessel ready for an occult alchemical operation.

[112] *Signatstern*, i., 88.

Question: What is the object of your work?
Answer: To obtain health and to ennoble the six immature metals.[113]

There was also an instruction in the knowledge of the *one* beginning, *two* sexes, *three* substances, *four* powers and *seven* properties.[114]

The fifth grade was that of the 'Scottish Old Master and Knight of St. Andrew.' An assembly of the Old Masters was usually opened with the curious invocation: 'In the name of the Almighty, the Wise, continual in Himself, Eternal, the Most Holy Three equal to One, Who through his mighty Words produced Heaven and Earth from an indeterminate mixture, and Our first, Primeval Father of the sixth day, who formed the world from the fifth essence of inferior bodies and animated the Spirit thereof with his Divine Power, who communicated to Our Father the sacred doctrine of the Order which is still being propagated in true assemblies. This doctrine has been revealed to you in part . . . We alone, Scottish Old Masters, possess the knowledge, how to prepare from four powers contained in the Creation the primary Matter and then the great Medicine for health and riches . . .'

This is a good example of the style and contents of the whole ritual, somewhat nebulous and pompous, but well in keeping with the period of its fabrication.

Among the opening questions of the ceremony occurred such as:—

Question: What is the meaning of 4 in the historical sense?
Answer: Four Brethren who brought to Scotland the precious Treasure.

Of other questions the most sensible seems to have been, 'How much is 3 plus 4?' and the eminently satisfactory reply, 'Seven.' The sobering effect of such 'mathematical' digression must have been quite useful in bringing to plain earth the befogged minds of some members of the high assembly!

Further explanations of the mystical meaning of numbers and alchemical terms were given, together with allusions to the astral plane and to the ultimate discovery of the 'Lost Word.'

The candidate for reception into the fifth grade had previously to wash his face and hands in token of 'purification' and to put on a short white tunic.[115] In one hand he carried a drawn sword, in the other a silver trowel. His eyes were bandaged and a green silk cord was placed round his neck. The candidate was supposed to arrive for the defence of the assembled Chapter of Scottish Old-Masters and Knights of St. Andrew and for furthering their work. He was declared to be yet unfit to take part in the secret work of the Chapter; accordingly the sword and the trowel were taken from him. He was then placed on a red carpet, his body forming the figure of a cross, and the descent of the Holy Spirit was prayed for. After a profession of belief in the Holy Trinity by all present, the first verse of St. John's Gospel was read, and the presiding Master approached the candidate asking him with an entered apprentice's grip, 'What does this inform you of?' The expected answer was, 'I recognise a Mason who understands how to prepare a square of equal sides.' The candidate was informed that all his former work was but preparatory; now 'he will see the Light of Creation,' he will learn how 'to build and to create.' A promise of secrecy was exacted, after which the candidate was conducted towards 'three golden cups,' his eyes were unbandaged, and the Flaming Star was revealed in all its splendour. In its light glimmered the drawn swords of the Brethren, directed menacingly against the postulant, to remind him of their vengeance should he break the promise, but also to assure him of Brotherly support should he prove loyal. He was afterwards solemnly robed and armed as a Scottish Old-Master and Knight. A lecture followed, dealing with alchemical terms in

[113] *Signatstern*, i., 103.

[114] The new member was called a Frater Latæ Observantiæ, in contra-distinction to the Brethren of the Strict Observance: the latter used the description indiscriminately, applying it to the rest of Masonry, not chained by their strict discipline.

[115] Or shirt.

their application to man's nature and with cabalistic ideas of numbers and the mystical names of God, the whole couched in the obscure and highly-involved language of the period. There was, however, one clear and rather illuminating passage as to the real object of the degree: 'Oh, let it ever be your care to preserve your inner man's purity, listen constantly to the voice of the Spirit of Wisdom—then you will discover in yourself the clearest mirror of Revelation and will understand how to use the great power of Light.' The postulant was promised the joy of communion with the Beings of Light, and more was taught during the succeeding *secret* assembly of the Chapter.

Among the closing questions were such as:—

Question: Where have you been accepted?
Answer: In the Scottish Islands.
Question: What have you seen when accepted?
Answer: Three gold Cups. In the first Cup the letter J was depicted, in the second the letter G. I saw nothing in the third. These three cups were found by the Grand-Prior Aumont together with three Letters in the ruins of the Temple of Jerusalem and brought by him to Scotland.

The three Cups were further 'mystically' explained as 'the visible being,' 'the purified one,' and 'matter ready for perfection.'

A reference was then made to the seven metals of the alchemists, their transmutation and the application of this process to the mystical regeneration of Man, freed from unclean impulses, his soul united with Light and Spirit. The faculty of clairvoyance was promised on this path of mystical transmutation—the Flaming Star should become a true Philosopher's Stone, elevating Man's faculties and putting under his command the lower spirits of nature.

Further catechism followed:—

Question: How many Grand Masters have been in our Royal Craft?
Answer: Seven, namely—Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Moses, Solomon and Christ.
Question: How many after Christ?
Answer: Six, namely—John the Evangelist, Peter, Paul, Jarimund, Jacques Molay and Aumont.
Question: Through how many periods of misfortune did the Order pass?
Answer: Seven—(1) Adam's Fall, (2) Deluge, (3) Israelitish Captivity, (4) Devastation of the First Temple, (5) Devastation of the Second Temple, (6) Diocletian's Persecutions of our Eleusinian Brethren, (7) Dissolution of our Order, then known under the name of Knights Templar.

The sixth grade was that of 'a Provincial Capitular of the Red Cross.' A secret cipher for confidential correspondence among members of this high position in the Order was attached to the ritual.[116]

An elaborate description of the magnificently planned assembly-room and of the preparation-chamber, also of several rich garments worn by officers of the Chapter, precedes the ritual itself.

The opening of the Provincial Chapter began with a solemn prayer, all Brethren kneeling, arms crossed on their breasts, swords laid down. The prayer said by the Senior Officer, invoked 'the Omnipotent Builder and Lord' and alluded to the Emanation process by which Creative Activity had manifested itself; to seven Regents of the Cosmos, to Beings of Light and Celestial Hierarchies. It also mentioned a knowledge which being attainable by Man, animated by Divine Spirit, led to nearer approach to Deity.

[116] Secret ciphers were very much in vogue in those days, and Starck's Rite was by no means an exception in this respect. German Rosicrucians had their secret code and so did their opponents, the Illuminati; higher adepts of the Strict Observance also seem to have had one.

During the opening ceremony some curious questions were asked. For example:—

Question: Who are you?
Answer: I have ceased to be a Freemason—I have been initiated as Superior Master into our Sacred Mysteries and elevated to the rank of a Priest of Contemplation.

The actual ceremony was of a twofold nature, one for the reception of a new member and another for imparting secret oral instruction to members already admitted.

Any postulant of this grade had first to undergo a careful examination. The latter was said to be not only of a theoretical or catechising aspect, but also to include investigation of the postulant's *practical* achievements.

After such an examination, if approved, the postulant's hands were once again washed, he was undressed and robed in a long white vest.

A red curtain, embroidered with cabalistic figures and St. Andrew's Cross, concealed from his eyes the Sanctuarium Capituli. He was informed that he would be admitted among the Superiors of the Order and instructed in its deeper secrets. The Chapter was described as 'an assembly of the Fathers of the Fraternity, an abode of tranquillity and concord.' The postulant gave a solemn promise of secrecy and constancy; in addition, he undertook not to reveal to anybody, not even to a Scottish Old-Master, the names of those assembled in the high Provincial Chapter.[117] The curtain was at last drawn aside, and the great Oath was taken by the postulant; he passed 'under the iron Arch' formed by the crossed swords of the Brethren, and the obligation was pronounced 'under the iron Cross' formed by two swords. The great Oath emphasized the promise to keep secret the names of the assembled Brethren, 'even unto martyrdom.' After the Oath he was robed in the garments of 'a Capitular' with words appropriate to each; an accolade was given, and he received a new name as Knight of the Order.

The ceremony continued with a prayer addressed to 'God the Source of Light, imparting Light to those assembled who are Children of Light.' The postulant was anointed with 'the Liquor of Life,' whatever this might have been, and he partook of bread and wine. After benediction, the new member of the Chapter had to sign the Statutes, and a diploma was delivered to him. A preliminary instruction of a secret nature not revealed in the printed ritual followed.

The seventh grade was that of Magus or Knight of Clearness and Light. The ceremony of this grade seems to have been of a peculiar nature. The account published does not show its precise character nor the mode of working. No usual rituals, similar to those of any other 'higher' Masonic degrees, were said to have been used. The ceremony was described as dealing with actual visions of spirits, induced by means of imagination brought into a suitable state, and as some pretended, assisted by optical instruments and delusions. Fragments of instructions assigned to adepts of this grade and preserved in the *Signatstern*, seem to indicate, however, that such practices, even if indulged in, were not the real or chief object of the grade. Thus, Brethren were taught to ask the Great Architect for 'the *inner*-Light'—'without such Light kindled in their innermost self, and the Grace of the Great Architect, all instructions of the Order would be ineffective and dead.' The alchemical process was again referred to, and it was stated that chemical terms were not to be understood in the ordinary sense but according to mysteries of the Sanctuary. Observation of Nature, study of Magic and Kabalah were alluded to, but the main object of the instruction was undoubtedly the mystical process of regeneration through separation of Spiritual Essence of Man from his Terrestrial Nature, as expressed in terms of Spiritual Alchemy.[119] Paracelsus, Kunrath, Sendivogius, Eugenius

[117] A promise rather difficult to reconcile with the previous caustic remarks concerning Unknown Superiors and their dupes.
[119] See also *Signatstern*, iii., 223 and 286.

Philalethes and Hermes Trismegistus were mentioned. The language of the instruction was, so far as it is possible to judge from fragments transcribed, somewhat obscure and not easy to follow, but in one place the object of its teachings was expressed with a greater directness, as 'Liberation through Crucifixion, Death, Putrefaction, Glorification and Baptism with Spirit.' Mystical imitation of Christ was apparently the key to the process of Alchemical transmutation of the lowest into the highest, of Darkness into Light, of a rough ashlar into a perfect cube.

Mysteries taught by this grade were supposed to have been known to the Fathers of the first Christian Church, of which the Roman Catholic Church retained the outward pageant and imagery, but lost the Spirit. These mysteries, in part already known to the ancient world, were transmitted from one succeeding generation of initiates to another. They were not destined 'for the world and its princes' and not for ordinary warrior-knights. *The Clerics* possessed these ancient ceremonials and the true history of the Order. Freemasonry was meant to afford the means of judging men's hearts and selecting suitable candidates by the Superiors of the Clerical Order.[120]

Besides the ceremonies described there existed other solemn rites in Starck's System, such as the Liturgia Festi Mysteriorum on the first of November,[121] which included Blessing of Water,[122] Consecration of Oil and Frankincense; a solemn and impressive torch-light procession formed part of these celebrations.[123]

The second volume of the *Signatstern* contains 'An Explanation of the highest aims of the Order according to the System of the Clerics of Templar Knights.' It deals once more with ancient knowledge preserved in small circles of initiates, dedicated to the glory of the Creator and the welfare of His Creatures.[124] These associations had nothing whatsoever to do with any political aims.[125] The ultimate object of the Mysteries, preserved in these secret circles of adepts and partly embodied in his Rite, was described by Starck in the following terms:—'The chief aim of hidden sciences is the attainment of a nearer connection with higher Beings . . . also a great experiment in the domain of Nature . . . , a direct knowledge of our eternal continuance and of the immortality of our soul.'[126]

Starck believed that it was possible to invoke spirits and to enter into communication with 'Beings of Light,' hence the dual character of the seventh degree of the Rite of Light. Prayer and study of the Kabalah were deemed necessary for such operations. 'With the last stroke of midnight,' narrated Starck of one of his personal experiences, 'we heard knocking, and a Spirit appeared . . . it was of a bright, blinding whiteness, enveloped in a sort of gauze, its features were of manly beauty, plainly seen, even to the movement of the lips when the Spirit spoke . . .'[127] Starck also believed that he himself attained some results in the process of approaching to a closer union with the Deity.[128]

[120] To these fragments (*Signatstern*, i., 268-276) are added extracts from Starck's original letters. He speaks in them of the same process of Spiritual Alchemy, very often in identical expressions and in terms such as 'Our nature is under a curse . . . My body purified through putrefaction and then glorified through Spirit shall be beautified and renewed . . . These my arms shall embrace My Saviour.'

[121] For higher adepts of the Order only.

[122] A very important rite in the Russian Church.

[123] *Signatstern*, iii., 290-291. Similar 'greater Mysteries' and their rituals were communicated by Starck to his most trusted followers alone. He spoke of 'a Novice of the Order,' 'a Canonicus' and 'a Brother of the last Initiation' who at the feet of His Master, amidst chants and holy incense, received the Initiating Instruction.' (*Signatstern*, iii., 187.) Other ranks of his Chapter were: Presbyteri, Senior Commissarius, Claviger, Lector, Capellani. (*Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., 117.) Ceremonies reminding of Church Sacraments were celebrated (confession, absolution, unction, etc.). (See Blum. 72-73.) Starck's own full title was:—Frater Archidemides ab Aquila Fulva, Cancellarius Capituli generalis Canonici VII. as Provincial Superior Congregationis Regiomontanae.

[124] *Signatstern*, ii., 126. [125] *ib.*, ii., 128.

[126] *ib.*, ii., 134. Compare also *Signatstern*, iii., 164.

[127] *ib.*, ii., 137. [128] *ib.*, iii., 165.

From Starck's rituals and his personal beliefs, which must have found an ampler reflection in secret instructions attached to the higher grades, the main outlines of his System can be gathered with a great degree of certitude, and they are confirmed by a closer study of his other voluminous writings and varied correspondence.

On the basis of the three usual Masonic degrees, Starck endeavoured to erect a super-structure of additional grades; their alleged purpose being to impart to the approved candidate some secret knowledge brought from the East by the Crusaders (their Clerics, to be more precise). The object of this knowledge was to learn how to approach nearer to a perfect union with the Deity; the method included the process of regeneration of Man's fallen nature—its transmutation from the base state of a rough ashlar into the 'golden' state of a perfect cube. Starck, who evidently was a visionary,[129] no uncommon thing in those days, considered practical results possible and tried to show the Path to the adepts of the high grades, expressing himself in terms of 'Spiritual Alchemy.' Masonic symbols then acquired quite a different 'spiritual' interpretation and hence Starck's reputation as an adept of the Rite of Spiritual Masonry.[130]

Explanation of symbols and the working of rituals was accompanied by studies of Alchemy, Theosophy, Magic, and also Theology. Starck certainly shared many superstitious and cherished dreams of his contemporaries, although undoubtedly he possessed a mind not only inquiring, but also critical, [131] *for his time.*

Besides his ritualistic and other studies, Starck elaborated the legendary history of the Templar Order. In 1768 he sent to the Provincial Chapter of the Strict Observance 'An Extract from the newer History of the Order from 1312 to 1744.' There he narrated the escape of D'Aumont, the alleged Grand Prior of Auvergne, from Philip IV., the persecutor of the Templars. D'Aumont, to better disguise himself, was described as wandering through France in a Mason's attire, then fleeing to Ireland and ultimately to Scotland.[132] Pietro di Bologna, with two other Clerical members of the Templar Order, brought to D'Aumont and his followers in Scotland a knowledge of 'true Mysteries' of the Order, which was continued under the cloak of Masonry.[133] In 1320 a Scottish degree was added to commemorate the restoration of the Order in Scotland. In 1330 the Grand Master ordered that in future every new Grand Master should be invested as such by the Clerical Brethren of the Order. A further fantastic story of the deeds and ordinances of succeeding Grand Masters followed, and the importance of the Clerical branch of the Order was, naturally, underlined throughout this compilation.[134]

[129] Or *believed* himself to be. See *Signatstern*, iii., 306.

[130] *Etwas über*, ii., 52.

[131] Compare, for instance, his attitude towards that Masonic adventurer who was known as Gugumos. (*Signatstern*, iii., 156-157.) Starck devoted himself mostly to the study of Theology, Theosophy and Magic. He particularly recommended a perusal of Jamblichus and Porphiry's works. Starck seems to have been practising at one time some of the operations of the so-called 'White Magic.' Whilst at Mittau, he was considered to be a bitter opponent of the renowned charlatan, Cagliostro; the latter was described by Starck's disciples as 'black magician,' *i.e.*, conducting magical operations for selfish or harmful ends. Cagliostro, in his turn, accused Starck of 'black magic' as against his own excellent practices, which in the mouth of the famous deceiver sounds rather like a compliment. The halo of mystery which surrounded Starck and which he did not care or perhaps did not want to disperse, made many credulous people believe in every hint he gave and in every story he chose to relate, either from hearsay or personal experience. (*Nachricht*, 38, 39, 41; *Etwas über*, 12.) Some thought that he had discovered the secret of 'the ever-burning lamps,' others that he had unearthed once again the dreadful idol of the Templars, Baphomet (*A.Q.C.*, ix., 117.) Von Raven, who directed the Clerical Rite in Germany during Starck's absence, was particularly interested in the study of Alchemy both on the physical and 'spiritual' planes.

[132] Island of Mull.

[133] Up to about 1500, then a Chapter was alleged to have been established in France. (*Signatstern*, iii., 230.)

[134] *Allgemeines Handbuch*, ii., 476.

Von Hund and his Provincial Chapter were very pleased with Starck's elaborated story, it was done very cleverly and an explanation of Masonic symbols according to the Clerical theory was attached.[135]

In April, 1768, Starck demanded 200 thalers[136] from von Hund for the purpose of a journey to St. Petersburg. Von Hund, whom his own Rite of Strict Observance had already cost a great deal of money, refused.[137] Starck replied in such an arrogant manner that von Hund stopped further correspondence with him.[138] Starck, nevertheless, proceeded to St. Petersburg; he was evidently somewhat disappointed in his endeavours to unite the Clerics with the lay branch of The Templar Order, and in von Hund himself.[139]

Returning to Germany, another Clerical Chapter[140] was established by Starck in Königsberg.[141] Thus Starck's Rite was in actual practice at the least in three German towns, namely, Wismar,[142] Königsberg and Darmstadt.[143] Besides Germany, the Rite was worked in Russia, Sweden[144] and Courland.[145] The great majority of the Strict Observance Chapters did not, however, display any intention of including Clericals in their midst, in spite of Starck's injunction that every Chapter should have at least one Cleric to pronounce benediction over each newly-admitted member.[146] Starck also formed a few secular Templar Chapters[148] such as the Chapter Phœnix in St. Petersburg.[147]

The union of the two Clerical Chapters, of Wismar and Königsberg, formed the Clerical Provincial Chapter in Germany: at the head of this organisation stood a Prior, and the seat of the Priory was alternately at Wismar and Königsberg; this Prior was von Raven.

In May, 1772, Starck sent von Raven to the Congress convoked by the leaders of the Strict Observance at Kohlo, in Saxony. Von Raven submitted a project of a union between the Clerical Rite and the Strict Observance which was agreed to. The Chapters of Wismar and Königsberg were yielded up to the Clerics, after some discussion. Moreover, 'secular' Chapters accepted a ritual for the reception of 'novices' worked out by the Clerics.[149] At the same time von Hund had a better opportunity of obtaining knowledge of the Clerical rituals; the pomp and solemnity displayed by Clerical ceremonies pleased von Hund, and several leaders of the Strict Observance were favourably impressed; others thought that Clerical ceremonies savoured too much of the customs and ritualism of the Roman Catholic Church. An accusation was made that Starck was a secret disciple of the Jesuits, and this led

135 Blum, 69, 71. *Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., 305.

136 200 thalers=about £30 sterling, a considerable amount in those days of comparatively cheap living.

137 It should be noted that this refusal was not the ground for Starck's withdrawal from the Strict Observance. (Keller's *Geschichte*, 149.)

138 *Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., 305. 139 *ib.*, iii., 303.

140 This new Chapter worked on the same lines as the Wismar one and had five principal officers—Prior, Conductor Noviciorum, Cancellarius, Claviger and Lector. Latin was in use.

141 An interesting relic of Starck's working at Königsberg was found in that town. (See *A.Q.C.*, ix., 116.) When at Königsberg, Starck consecrated in 1770 as 'Canonical Regulares' the following Brethren belonging to the Lodge of Three Crowns: J. M. Hoyer, who received the name of Hugo ab Acacia; Theod. von Hippel, who received the name of Eugenius a Falce; Br. Behrend, who received the name of Aubertus a Septem Stellis.—Other Brethren also known to have been initiated by Starck into his Rite were: Court-Chaplain Lindner (as Andreas), von Osten-Sacken (as Hephästion), von Schröter (as Dominicus), Baron von Korf (as Leonhil), and Captain Alex von Korf (as Adelbertus). (*A.Q.C.*, ix., 116-117.)

142 Where a specially adapted and solemnly consecrated Chapel was erected.

143 Blum, 45.

144 Starck went so far as to accuse leaders of the Swedish System of plagiarism; probably they retained his idea of Spiritual Knighthood and some external parts of his ceremonial but did not indulge in those 'occult' doctrines and mystical practices which were reserved for the adepts of Starck's higher grades. (Blum, 51.)

145 On Starck's arrival at Mittau, the Lodge of Three Swords recognized his authority and worked seven Clerical grades. (Blum, 43.)

146 *Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., 305.

147 This 'secular' Chapter was followed by a 'Clerical' Chapter.

148 These Chapters recognized von Hund's authority. (Gould, iii., 105.)

149 *Allgemeines Handbuch*, i., 194.

later to some bitter attacks against the whole Clerical Rite. Fear of Jesuitic activities obsessed in those days even the most enlightened Protestant spirits to a hardly believable extent—some even asserted that Cagliostro, the future prisoner of Rome, was either a Catholic priest in disguise or a secret Jesuit. No wonder that some of Starck's rituals, reminiscent of the solemn celebration of Catholic sacraments,[150] provoked a similar accusation, albeit Starck himself openly affirmed that neither Jesuits nor Catholic priests were allowed to join the Clerical Rite.[151]

Among the leaders of the Strict Observance, von Hund, an admirer of the pompous ceremonials and gorgeous ceremonies of the Catholic Church, became the main support of Starck's working. For a time the Clerical Rite achieved a notable success and exercised a considerable influence.

With von Hund's death in 1776 this period of success nearly ended, and the influence of the Clerics among members of the Strict Observance declined. Dissensions had already begun before von Hund's death. Von Raven went to the Brunswick Congress called together by the Strict Observance chiefs in 1775; the pact of union was renewed, but very few Chapters applied for Clerics. Complaint was made to von Raven that 'lay Knights' so far did not hear much of the mysterious discoveries promised by the Clerical branch. Von Raven replied—the Clerics had given more than promised, they supplied not only rituals of Masonic degrees, but also of Scottish and Novice grades; they worked out the history of the Order and provided an explanation of Masonic symbolism. They also regularly paid their monetary contribution to the Order. This answer did not satisfy his antagonists. Von Raven was further questioned concerning the authenticity of some rituals which the Clerics pretended to derive from France, the existence of the Clerical Grand Chapter, and the actual extent of the Rite. Von Raven replied that he received his documents from Starck and had personally no ground to doubt their authenticity; Starck, in his turn, obtained the documents in question from a Priory which was then ceasing to work; he could not say anything positive about the Grand Chapter, as an obligation of secrecy had been imposed upon him; 'working Clerics' still existed in France, Italy and other countries, but he was not at liberty to divulge their names; he promised to make further enquiries.[152] In spite of many doubts and queries, the pact of union was again confirmed during the Wiesbaden Congress of 1776.

In 1777 a formal complaint against Starck and his 'bad character' was lodged with the Directory of the Strict Observance, in Brunswick, by a certain von Firks,[153] who had previously met Starck at Mittau. Von Firks went so far as to call Starck 'a wicked man' and 'a perfection of abhorrence.'[154] In this connection a few remarks concerning Starck's sojourn at Mittau may prove enlightening.

Many insatiable seekers after 'occult wisdom' not less numerous at Mittau than in other parts of Europe during that period, believed Starck to be 'a white Magician,' and his supposed knowledge of hidden truths attracted them greatly.[155] In those days, Starck, an ardent and ambitious young man, was himself passing through a period of 'seeking'[156] typical of his time; in several discussions with his Mittau friends Starck intimated that he considered possible a com-

[150] *Etwas über*, 36, 43, 44.

[151] *ib.*, 51. He considered the Order of the Jesuits to be a 'dreadful' institution. (*Apologie*, 52.)

[152] *Allgemeines Handbuch*, i., 193-194.

[153] Born in 1737, Lord of Ockten in Courland, known in the Strict Observance as Ernestus Eques ab Aquila rubra, Prefect of the Strict Observance at Mittau and a Subprior ab honores.

[154] *Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., 306.

[155] *Etwas über*, 13, 18.

[156] For a little while he even believed in the power of the ghost-conjuring Leipsic inn-keeper, Schröpfer. (*Etwas über*, 27, 32.)

munion with supernatural worlds, that magical rites may be effective and that cases of necromancy, thought-reading and clairvoyance were known, etc.[157] He was described as being full of enthusiasm and of 'ravishing eloquence,' and the effect of his vague hints and suggestions was probably far greater than he intended. His theories and curious intimations were taken by many credulous listeners for definite assertions and greedily swallowed in their entirety: yet Starck made it quite clear that such practices and pursuits, though perhaps possible, were neither the main thesis of his knowledge nor the object of his aims.[158] Starck's own opinion was later thus defined: 'Nobody, be he using for this purpose either black or white, green or yellow Magic, has the power to command and to pass spirits in review.'[159] But this was his later view: in his younger days he believed in a great deal more and had the dangerous way of clothing his enticing conversation with mysterious expressions and fantastic imagery, in a manner then so fashionable. Involuntarily, Starck excited expectations never meant by him, hence the accusation of deceit by those who saw in the end their long-cherished dreams unfulfilled and their fondly believed theories shattered to pieces. There were, at the same time, a number of worthy men whom Starck succeeded in attracting into the folds of Masonry, and to whom he did reveal the great object of his striving, the contemplation of Jesus.[160] It is therefore understandable that a double impression was created by Starck when at Mittau: some thought him to be a deceiver, others held him for a Protestant scholar and a sincere mystic. No accusation could really be proved and after closer enquiry nobody would take a definite stand against the learned Doctor. Under the circumstances, it is not surprising to learn that Firks in the end seems to have come to a perfect reconciliation with Starck.[161] His bitter attack on Starck and subsequent complaint against the Clerical Chief lodged in the very bosom of the Strict Observance, are, however, alleged to be the reason of Starck's ultimate withdrawal from the Strict Observance in 1778.[162]

The immediate result of Firks' formal complaint was of little consequence. Starck declared that his actions could be judged only by his equals, not by the secular branch of the Order. He was, nevertheless, prepared to recognize a mixed judicial commission. The complaint was eventually forwarded to von Raven, who destroyed the document without any further ado. All other letters directed against Starck were also destroyed according to the wish of the Grand Master-General of the Order, the Duke of Brunswick. The whole matter was dropped. In spite of that, in July, 1778, during the Congress of the Strict Observance, convoked at Wolfenbüttel, *the Clerics themselves* announced their withdrawal from the union with the 7th German Province of the Templar Order, that is to say, with the Strict Observance System; they declared their intention of continuing their work independently from other organisations.[163]

This event may be considered as terminating the first period of Starck's Masonic activities. The change in his views and intentions was gradual, not only concerning Masonry as such, but also kindred subjects and societies. His altered point of view seems to have crystallized more or less definitely towards the date of his withdrawal from the Strict Observance. The second, 1778, edition of his *Apology* is entirely different from the previous one, and his new

157 *Etwas über*, 19, 21, 24.
158 *ib.*, 14.
159 *ib.*, 25.
160 *ib.*, 22, 27, 34, etc.
161 *Allgemeines Handbuch*, i., 353.
162 *ib.*, ii., 119. It is perhaps this withdrawal which led M. Lantoine to style the Clerics as 'dissidents' from the System of von Hund—a quite unwarrantable statement, as well as Lantoine's further dismissal of the Clerics with an accusation of 'gold-making chimeras.' (Lantoine, 212.) No references are given by the author to justify his views: that Starck did not entertain the idea of such 'gold-making' is clear even from a cursory perusal of his writings (to name one instance only, *Apologie*, p. 46).
163 *ib.*, iii., 306.

attitude provoked the statement that in this second period of his life he was taking but little interest in Masonry.[164]

Changes in Starck's Masonic strivings and his general outlook may be well compared with the adventures and experiences of the hero of the Masonic novel *Saint-Nicaise*, in part either written or, more probably, edited by Starck.[165] The reader is first introduced into the midst of gaily drinking Masons who considered Masonry to be solely a joyous and fashionable pastime. From these harmless and entertaining Brethren the hero passes into the hands of Mason-Alchemists, and parts with a great deal of money in the search for the philosopher's stone. Magic is the next step in his 'Masonic' progress, and results in an imprisonment in the dungeons of the Roman Inquisition. He saves his life, thanks to some charitable Brethren, and at last discovers the true meaning of Masonry: he finishes his restless search for 'higher' Masonic mysteries, retires from all outward activity, and lives secluded from the turbulent world. A remarkable resemblance with Starck's Masonic aberrations and restless activities in the first period of his life and his secluded life during the latter period! Very scathing remarks concerning the Strict Observance, its Hidden Superiors, their financial plans and the toying with Knighthood, their pride and vanity, are contained in the *Saint Nicaise*, combined with bitter attacks on the best known leaders of the System.[166] Masonic Alchemy (of physical nature), Magic, Knightly and other 'higher'[167] degrees are passed in review and condemned, together with Masonic party-strife and ambitious designs. The hero considers Masonry to be somewhat analogous to 'lesser Mysteries' of the Ancient World—a preparation for higher revelations, preserved in a small circle of adepts.[168] Charity towards all Brethren is 'the especial duty' of every Mason.[169] The Order has nothing to do with politics and religion, it flees all immorality.[170] He approves the views held by English Masons[171] who 'consider the Order to be an institution—which serves them for pleasure and rest, also binds them together in the closest possible manner and makes it their duty to help each other in every possible way.' The real 'mystery' is not to be found 'in this wide-spread Society.[172] Charity and Symbols are its chief characteristics, but nobody can become a perfect Mason unless he be a Christian,[173] of whatever denomination. *Outside* the Society there exist the said "revelations" reserved for the few; the Truth becomes unveiled during such revelations and may lead even to a physical change in one's nature.[174] Those who possess it are no more interested in altering Masonry,[175] they behold the splendour of Deity in peace and quiet of seclusion.[176]

The second edition of the *Saint-Nicaise* contains 'Annotations by a German Hand' (the work itself being described as a translation from the French).

[164] Starck himself said that since 1777 he had grown rather indifferent to Masonic activities and that sometimes he would not even reply to his former Masonic friends. (*Allgemeines Handbuch*, i., 457.) It is interesting to note that Starck's name is among the signatures attached to the so-called 'Grand Constitutions' of the Ancient and Accepted Rite of the year 1786, which are said to have been signed and approved by Frederick the Great. Leaving aside the question of the validity of the claim as to the genuineness of these Constitutions, it is, to say the least, very strange and hardly credible that Starck should have been engaged in such weighty Masonic matters or retained such a high and active Masonic position as implied by this alleged signature during this latter period of his life, characterized by his withdrawal from most Masonic affairs. (*Allgemeines Handbuch*, i., 456-457.)

[165] There is, as already mentioned, a striking resemblance between Starck's adventurous life and St. Nicaise's wanderings. One example—St. Nicaise was treacherously attacked and incarcerated in a castle by occultists desirous to obtain possession of his secret papers, just as Starck himself was assaulted in Courland and imprisoned in the same manner and for the same purpose. (Blum, 54). Starck defended the contents of the *Saint-Nicaise* with considerable heat. (*Abgenöthigte Fortsetzung*, 166. *Etwas*, 47 and 49.)

[166] Especially on Schubart. (*Saint-Nicaise*, 155-156.)

[167] Such as the French grades of Ecossais of St. André, Elu, Illustre and Sublime. (*Saint-Nicaise*, 30-31.)

[168] *Saint-Nicaise*, 115. [169] *ib.*, 137. [170] *ib.*, 192. [171] *ib.*, 307.
[172] *ib.*, 332. [173] *ib.*, 351. [174] *ib.*, 351. [175] *ib.*, 359.
[176] *ib.*, 359-360.

Among these 'Annotations' are some further interesting statements concerning Masonry, such as:—

'Freemasonry has nothing to do with Mysticism and Theosophy on the one side, nor with unrestrained Freethinking on the other.[177]

'Masonic Mysteries are not identical but comparable with the Mysteries of the Ancient World.'[178]

'First Lodges formed in England were nothing else but clubs . . . therefore, it is seldom that in England Freemasonry is looked upon as a great mystery. . . How happy were Germans so long as they did not think otherwise.'[179]

Starck's mature thoughts on Masonry found their reflections in the later, entirely changed edition of his *Apology* of the Order.[180] To elucidate Starck's views of the second period of his life, it is well worth while to dwell in some detail on the contents of this edition.

First, the origin of the Ancient Mysteries from a primal source in Egypt is discussed.[181] The Author considers that the fundamental truths imparted in the Ancient Mysteries were—the Existence of One Supreme Being, the Deity: the Immortality of the Soul and the reward or punishment according to one's deeds during the earthly pilgrimage.[182] Secret meetings and rites of the early Christians are considered next, and their relation to the Ancient Mysteries. A parallel between the latter and Masonic ceremonial is then drawn.[183] 'I will not affirm,' concludes Starck, 'that an exact parallel can be established between the Mysteries of the Ancients and the secrets of Freemasonry: yet here and there, similarity between these two can be discovered.'[184]

Then follows a defence of the Order against the following accusations:—

1. *Secrecy*, practised by the Order. The question is often asked—if there is something good in Masonry, why conceal it from the rest of the world? The reply is: whereas some good things are of advantage in the hands of a few, it is doubtful if they would be of service when delivered to multitudes, the latter are hardly ready to receive such things and would only misunderstand, misapply or ridicule them: this circumstance is the main reason for Masonic secrecy.[185]

2. Does not *Freemasonry* eventually become '*a State within a State*' and thus a danger to the Realm? The reply—Every Mason must be an honest citizen and a good Christian. Far from interfering with the civil duties of its members the Order encourages them to persevere in such.[186] Freemasonry in this respect can be likened to a beneficial Religious Order. 'Masons are quiet citizens acknowledging Authority and subject to it.[187] Reigning sovereigns and ruling princes have often penetrated into its innermost mysteries and afterwards felt that it was desirable to show benevolence towards this useful institution.[188] for as they have found there is nothing in the Order against State, Church or Morality.[189]

3. The alleged *terrible Masonic oath*. Nobody is bound to take any Masonic oath unless of his own free will and accord, and the oath itself means nothing else than keeping inviolate the secrets of the Order, but Masons also promise to pay all due obedience to Authorities and Laws of the Realm; nothing against Religion or Morality is included in any Masonic oath.[190]

[177] *Saint-Nicaise*, 2nd edition, 26. [178] *ib.*, 2nd edition, 121.
[179] *ib.*, 2nd edition, 133.
[180] '*Apologie des Ordens der Frey-Maurer von dem Bruder * * * * Mitgliede der * * * , Schottischen Loge zu P. * , Philadelphia Im Jahr 5651, d.i. 3882.*' This is the second altered edition of the Apology (namely, of Berlin, 1778).
[181] *ib.*, 25.
[182] *ib.*, 30. Compare also with '*Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche*,' i., iii.
[183] *ib.*, 38. [184] *ib.*, 39. [185] *ib.*, 50. [186] *ib.*, 53. [187] *ib.*, 57.
[188] *ib.*, 58. [189] *ib.*, 59. [190] *ib.*, 65.

4. *What is, altogether, the good of the Order?* It procures to its members 'tranquillity and innermost contentment.' As they are also members of their respective State and Society, this must be of benefit to both.[191] Masonic philanthropy is another great and beneficial factor for the general welfare, as already 'recognized in England and Sweden.'[192]

5. *Freemasonry* is not something *extraneous to the Realm.* Freemasonry exists under the laws of the Realm, and Masons do not deny the right of the State to allow or to forbid their meetings.[193]

6. Some people say: *Perhaps there is evil in Freemasonry but those who have joined it are too frightened to reveal this evil to the outside world?* This is evidently absurd, for who could prevent powerful ruling Princes from doing so?[194]

7. *Does not Freemasonry teach 'Brotherhood of the whole Universe'?* This might be a dangerous thing from the point of view of State and Church?—An explanation of the meaning of Brotherhood in the Masonic sense is given in reply. Freemasonry is not a religious sect and is therefore tolerant: 'All Christians are allowed to join the Order.'[195] It conducts no propaganda, neither does it endeavour to change people's convictions and allegiance to their national Churches. Freemasonry extends Brotherly Love to all joining its ranks: 'It is enough for Masons that they are human beings . . . to practise towards them Brotherly Love and Tolerance!'[196] Neither is Freemasonry a political institution, nor does it belong to any political party,[197] otherwise Masons would be accused of being republicans in a monarchical state or of being monarchists in a republic.

At the conclusion of this defence Starck emphasizes that 'Masons have nothing to conceal from any worthy man' who may want to be admitted into their mysteries.[198]

Further, Starck deals with complaints against individual Masons. He frankly admits that some Masons justify these complaints.[199] There exist even Masons who are such only by name,[200] but, surely, one could not judge of the whole Order by its few unworthy members. No society is so perfect as not to include some bad members, not Christ's Church itself is free from such 'black sheep.'

'Some account of the charges and secrets of the Order' follows. It is again emphasized that none of the 'Masonic Charges' are in conflict with one's duties towards State, Religion or good Morals. Neither is anybody compelled to remain in the Society against his desire.[201] It is every Mason's duty to show love and friendliness to all his fellow-men without being prejudiced by their private opinions,[202] especially to those who are bound to him by Masonic Brotherhood. A Mason should consider Christianity as the only way to eternal welfare, ordained by God Himself.[203] Masonic Mysteries inculcate reverence to Religion, and obedience to Authority and enjoin the members to follow the path of Virtue. To appreciate Masonic Mysteries no outside conclusions or conjectures will help—one glance into the Masonic Sanctuary would give more than all possible descriptions.[204] Masons would love to throw the doors of their Temples open and their secrets to be secrets no more, but unfortunately the hearts of men are not yet ready for this.[205] Masonic rituals are not religious

191 '*Apologie des Ordens der Frey-Maurer von dem Bruder * * * * Mitgliede der * * * , Schottischen Loge zu P. * , Philadelphia Im Jahr 5651, d.i 3882,*' 69.
192 *ib.*, 69-70 193 *ib.*, 74. 194 *ib.*, 83. 195 *ib.*, 88. 196 *ib.*, 89.
197 *ib.*, 91-92. 198 *ib.*, 90. 199 *ib.*, 96. 200 *ib.*, 98.
201 *ib.*, 109. 202 *ib.*, 110. 203 *ib.*, 110. 204 *ib.*, 111.
205 *ib.*, 115.

ceremonies, but, still, 'thanks to them one can live with more pleasure and die with better hope.'[206]

Starck ends by a warning: 'There are some who call themselves Freemasons and yet are not—they differ from true Masons as much as darkness differs from light,' for there are some so-called Masonic Lodges which have distorted true Masonic doctrines. Before considering a Lodge to be truly Masonic, one should enquire if it is recognized as such by the old Masonic Lodges of long standing[207]—obviously very sound advice.

In 1781 Starck published a book, further illustrating his Masonic views, namely: *On the Aim of the Order of Freemasons.* This aim, he says, in reality is not secret. The good sides of the Order are evident—its wide-spread philanthropy, facilities afforded to its members, especially when travelling in distant countries, etc. The other great merit of the Order is Brotherly Love; social distinctions are of course admitted by Masons, but everyone participating in their gatherings can equally enjoy that happiness which characterizes them. Masonic Lodges are Sanctuaries of rest and joy, undisturbed by religious or political divergencies.[209] Such are the advantages of true Freemasonry. There are many who pretend to follow the right Masonic path but who do not, they claim to possess the keys to Masonic Mysteries—in fact they often have wondrous keys to unlock the gold chests of their disciples. A story is related illustrating this point. Another story in the same book deals with a London tavern, situated in Bartholomew Lane, at the sign of the Unicorn and Lion: the hero perceives the notice displayed beneath this attractive sign: 'Here one can be made a Freemason'[210] and accordingly takes two degrees on the same day. He proceeds to enjoy the meetings of this rowdy but easy-going Lodge, till one day it is visited and closed by an inspecting deputation of the Grand Lodge of London. Afterwards, he visits an Ancient Lodge, in St. Paul's Churchyard, and finds there everything much the same as in the previous Lodge.[211] The narrator happens to meet the Master of the Bath Lodge at the Bear, and is introduced to its Orator, in whose eloquent lecture on Masonry figure, mixed together, the Tower of Babel, Columns of Seth, Egyptian Mysteries, the Temple of Jerusalem, also Greek and Roman Mysteries. The aim of Masonry, in this worthy's view, is nothing more nor less than the discovery of the philosopher's stone. This adept and his eager disciple start 'the great work.' The experiments are conducted on different costly substances and even on the disciple himself. He has for instance, to drink for one whole week only wine and to eat only wheat bread: the state of the faithful disciple after seven days of such regime can be easier imagined than described! The purpose of this particular experiment was to get out of the disciple 'water of chaos'—there must have existed after this performance a considerable chaos in his head, but it seems, that chaos could not be properly extracted, for the experiment proved to be a failure. The adept, however, succeeds in extracting the disciple's money. They start another experiment—the manufacture of spurious silver: this proves to be a most profitable operation, albeit somewhat perilous—so much so that the disciple has to leave England rather hurriedly. In France he acquires many high-sounding titles, such as Maitre Parfait, Elu, Illustre, Sublime, Chevalier de l'Orient, Chevalier du Soleil, Chevalier de la Lune, etc.; he becomes a Rose-Croix Mason and Frondeur du Devoir.[212] The

[206] '*Apologie des Ordens der Frey-Maurer von dem Bruder * * * * Mitgliede der * * * , Schottischen Loge zu P. * , Philadelphia Im Jahr 5651, d.i. 3882,*' 114-115. Starck says: "The origin and contents of the Order belong to High wisdom: Virtue and Love to Humanity are its aim. It strives to pour into the soul of every one consolation and peace . . . Be wise, Brethren—be friends of Humanity and enjoy that peace which is given to you by the Order." (*Allegemeines Handbuch*, iii., 316.)

[207] *ib.*, 119-123.

[209] *Zweck*, 28.

[210] *ib.*, 63, etc.

[211] Similar descriptions of the English Lodges of those days are to be found in the *Bemerkungen* (32, 52, 53).

[212] *Zweck*, 84. This is curious and may possibly intimate some connection between certain Masonic degrees in the second half of the eighteenth century and the 'Compagnonnage.'

narrator then proceeds to Italy. There he meets, in the guise of a Mason, a spirit-conjuring magician. Theoretical, and later, practical, studies of magic bring him into the dungeons of the Roman Inquisition, from whence he is luckily saved by some faithful Brother Masons. At last he discovers what Freemasonry really means, and this gives him, after the turbulency of previous 'Masonic' adventures, 'tranquillity and contentment.'[214] In the next story an astrologer figures as a teacher of Masonic secrets; a deceiver is introduced who pretends to be sent from England by some mysterious chiefs, but who, strange to say, does not know a word of English; other charlatans are depicted who endeavour to trace a close connection between Masonry and mediæval Knighthood.[215] The narrator becomes a member of a Masonic Rite which hopes to re-establish the old Templar Order—a Rite neither consistent with true Masonic strivings nor with the modern organization of States; the main object of this System appears to be the filling of its treasury chest and subsequent procuring of pensions and rents for some of its members,[216] but as promises of such benefits have not been fulfilled, the whole System totters, and no wonder, for instead of Brotherly Love, its adherents are cemented by ambition and pride. Many other 'Masonic sects' are described, also some un-Masonic political organizations parading under the name of Masonry. He argues against the admission of atheists[217] and women into Masonry; Lodges accepting either are not really Masonic. He is against the decorations of 'higher' degrees being worn in ordinary Lodges. Again he compares the Ancient Mysteries and Freemasonry, finds a certain similarity between the two,[218] although, in essence, they are quite different, the purpose of the Ancient Mysteries being to preserve from the profane world some especial knowledge of the Deity, Nature and its laws. Of Masonic pursuits Starck speaks thus: 'We (Masons) enjoy in the bosom of Masonic Mysteries an ennobling tranquillity, they teach us to consider everything from a different and truer point of view, fill our life with merriment and bid us to await in comfort the coming change (death).'[219] The purpose of Masonry is to continue the ceremonies and mysteries preserved in Masonic Temples; they ensure to the virtuous enlightenment, felicity and peace of mind.[220] Around themselves Masons endeavour to spread happiness and contentment. The principle of Charity inculcated by Masonry improves every man and makes him a more useful member of society. There are, however, no outward Masonic activities, neither is Masonry concerned with religion.[221] The better a Mason fulfils his Masonic duties, the better citizen and the greater reverencer of religion he becomes.[222]

A further elucidation and confirmation of Starck's views is to be found in his other book, *Of Ancient and New Mysteries*.[223] He points out that the present-day Freemasonry dates from the great restoration of the whole movement in England at the beginning of the eighteenth century. He emphasizes a certain similarity between the aims of Masonic Lodges and the so-called Lesser Mysteries which also taught their participants how 'to live with more joy and to die with better hope.'[224] The Greater Mysteries of the Ancients were different. Accessible only to a select circle of adepts, they taught a closer union with the Deity and the means thereto.[225] He dwells on some further points of resemblance between Masonry and the Ancient Mysteries, for example, the dramatic passage from Darkness to Light,[226] but without identifying the two or

[214] *Zweck*, 115. [215] *ib.*, 131-132.

[216] *ib.*, 146-147. This is obviously a sharp attack on the Strict Observance System.

[217] He is also against the admission of Jews, *Zweck*, 162.

[218] And 'the ancient Schools of Wisdom,' such as 'existed in Egypt.'

[219] *Zweck*, 184.

[220] *ib.*, 185. He insists again that 'the true Initiation' is known to a small circle only.

[221] *ib.*, 194-195. [222] *ib.*, 196.

[223] In this book Starck shows a considerable erudition and a critical mind, not often met in his time (see, for instance, the Chapter on Mythraic Mysteries, pp. 169-183).

[224] *Ueber*, 37. [225] *ib.*, 33, 51. [226] *ib.*, 78, 79.

insisting on any continuity of Mysteries in the shape of modern Lodges. In the same book Starck expresses himself quite definitely and clearly concerning the pretensions of Templar degrees, especially as propagated by the Strict Observance System: 'If Freemasonry were nothing else but a continuance of the old Chivalry, it would be aimless, ridiculous and most superfluous.' [227]

Starck's ideas thus plainly stated in his several books are well exemplified also in his private correspondence. His letter addressed to the Princes of Hesse and Mecklenburg from Mittau, dated 5th April, 1778,[228] is in parts remarkably characteristic of his general utterances in other places. He speaks first of the sad position and internal strife of the several parties composing the Strict Observance System, of its coming downfall [229] and his personal desire to disentangle himself from the association with this System. Under such circumstances,' writes Starck, 'I considered it my duty to communicate the Mysteries of the Order, *i.e.*, the little which I know, to a small and strictly limited number of tried faithful Brethren: should everything around us crumble to the ground, these chosen ones will preserve the Order, they must become in our century what a few Scottish Brethren were in the seventeenth century.' Starck explains to his correspondents that one should strive to obtain that truth which lies behind outward expressions, for 'Truth is always the simple, plain, and single language of Nature and healthy Reason.' He proceeds to reply to the questions put to him by the Princes:—

Question: Is a closer Union with the Deity according to the doctrines and meaning of the Mysteries possible during their life, before death in the ordinary sense? [230]

Reply: One should first make clear what must be understood under *Union with the Deity*. Should this mean the advent of Grace or a closer belonging to God, there can be no doubt that this is possible of achievement, inasmuch as we become better instructed concerning the essence of His Being and His Will and fulfil more strictly our duties enjoined by the Mysteries; then we can certainly approach Him and attain closer Union. Yet I fear that a Union of another kind is meant here, namely, an Ability of conversing with God, seeing Him and uniting with Him in this manner. As far as I understand, such thoughts come from quite a wrong school.'

In amplification of this somewhat disappointing but perfectly sane and cautious statement, Starck finds it necessary to explain further that a certain 'exaltation of our present constitution' is possible.

Question: Could any one possessing a knowledge of the Mysteries, but not belonging to the Christian Religion, attain such a Union with the Deity?

Reply: It is quite impossible to admit to our Mysteries, in so far as they have been handed over to us, those who are not Christians.

Question: Could we obtain Initiation through Brother Archidemides? [231]

Reply: Yes, but not now, when I am bound in everything.[232]

[227] *Ueber*, 270

[228] *Signatstern*, iii., 182-200.

[229] Here Starck proved to be not a bad prophet. The Strict Observance System collapsed at the Convent of Wilhelmsbad (lasted from 16th July till 1st September, 1782). (An excellent account is to be found in *A.Q.C.*, v. xxx., 146, 163.) The claim of the descent of the Masonic Lodges from the mediæval Templars put forward by the Strict Observance was waived aside and, instead, the rectified Rite of Knights Benificent of the Holy City was approved.

[230] Implying that there is another kind of death—'the mystical or figurative death.'

[231] *i.e.*, Starck.

[232] *i.e.*, when he will be free from the agreement entered into with the Strict Observance.

Question: Does Initiation consist only of Symbols and Ceremonial, or do its external features tune up one's capabilities and powers to a higher plane and thus make it real?

Reply: There are certainly Symbols and Ceremonials in the Initiation but they are necessary, as without them Mysteries could not be imparted anywhere. This does not mean everything in the real Initiation. Its outward side does not transmute a Man . . . but makes him receptive of our secret knowledge.

The development of such mysterious abilities and powers must proceed 'in the simple and plain way of Nature.' One must avoid all spirit-invoking signs and words, such, for instance, as are given in the *Claviculæ Solomonis* and similar books.

Starck's utter disappointment in different supposed revealers of hidden Masonic mysteries and his modest claims in regard to his personal knowledge are shown in his letter to Prince George of Mecklenburg.[233] Starck writes: 'Do not expect from me, Serene Highness, more than I am really able to accomplish. If I have some knowledge, I also know that, like all human insight it is permeated with imperfection.' He deprecates such extravagant claims as were put forward by von Hund, Johnson, Schröpfer, Gugumos and others.

From these and other utterances by Starck, in his books and correspondence, a fair idea of his views and pursuits during the second period of his Masonic career can be deduced. Disappointed[233a] in the Masonic 'higher' degrees[234] and their legends, in the political and sectarian strivings of some so-called Masonic bodies,[235] cured of his beliefs in Masonic spiritualists, gold-makers and Templars, he viewed Masonry as an institution which guards and transmits from one generation to another certain ancient ceremonies: their origin and the chain of their transmission are lost in the days long bygone: they are analogous to the Ancient Mysteries, yet distinct from them. The main object of these ceremonies is to make the lives of Brethren more happy and also to teach them how to die. Good fellowship, absence of political and religious discussions, tenets of morality and charity: this all naturally contrives to make those who have gained entrance into Masonic Temples happier men; the doctrines of the Great Father in Heaven and of Immortality deprive death of the terror it presents to the uninitiated world. There is no further 'mystery' in Masonry, as the latter is known in the present days. Starck is convinced of the wide-spread good which Freemasonry is doing in its actual state. He has lost all his ambitious plans of elevating its higher degrees to a 'spiritual' plane and thus of 'spiritualising' the whole of the Craft which would then become 'Spiritual Masonry.' His only desire has become to attain among a small circle of friends that quietude and solace which those who were tossed by merciless waves of the worldly sea and had wisdom to perceive its hidden rocks, so ardently desire. To this friendly circle Starck was prepared to convey, in terms of Spiritual Alchemy, the process of regeneration of the human soul and its approach to and closer union with Christ. He believed that this was possible; in fact, he thought that he himself had partly achieved the "great work."

[233] Dated 8th December, 1777. *Signatstern*, iii., 180-181.

[233a] Although not an unpractical dreamer and a man with a clearer head than many of his contemporaries (Keller's *Geschichte*, 150) he was deceived and sometimes he even deceived himself—this in the end he discovered and became more prudent. (Blum, 54, 63, 87.)

[234] He insisted that the three degrees alone were orthodox. From Master-Masons could later be selected candidates for advancement into the inner circle. He did not believe in attracting a great number of members. (Blum, 56.)

[235] Starck's frequent references to Masonic factions and their mutual animosity had for their foundation the unfortunate and bitter division provoked among German Masons, principally by von Zinnendorf (1731-1782), who without authority, established in Germany in a peremptory and high-handed manner the beginnings of the Swedish Rite, and partly through the short-lived 'African Builders.' The latter seem to have been primarily a literary and learned Society of Masons. Von Raven endeavoured, without much success, to effect a reconciliation between Zinnendorf's Rite and the System of the Strict Observance.

According to this changed outlook Starck continued his Clerical System without advertising it at large, and limited to a small circle of chosen friends.[236] He believed that such a circle, albeit small in numbers, if united by mutual trust and concord, could be of great effect in the world.[237] The Clerics were still spoken of openly in 1792,[238] the movement flickered out with Starck's death, but to the end he exercised a considerable personal influence on his faithful circle.[239] A few sparks of Starck's ideas have, however, smouldered under the ashes of oblivion and new excrescences till our days.

Starck did not escape, however, from a violent literary assault, which raged around his name from 1785 to 1789. He was attacked from several sides; by Liberal theologians and by Radical political circles, the latter especially; by adherents of Templar Masonic degrees, old members of the Strict Observance, etc.[240] Starck was chiefly accused of being a secret Catholic and propagator of Roman Catholicism, possibly in connection with the Jesuits.

In 1785 appeared a Masonic novel, already discussed in this paper—*Saint-Nicaise or a Collection of remarkable letters*. Starck's hand in writing or editing of this work will be easily recognized. In it the author attacked with ardour Masonic 'higher grades,' especially those tinged with Spiritualism, Magic and Gold-Making; he directed his arrows most violently against the Strict Observance System, with its notions of Templar continuity in Freemasonry, and its two former leaders, von Hund and Schubart. Saint-Nicaise produced, undoubtedly, a very pernicious effect on Masonic Templar degrees previously connected with the Strict Observance System.[241] In defence of the Strict Observance aims and its leaders, the *Anti-Saint-Nicaise* was published in 1786.[242] In the first part of this publication von Hund's personal character and pursuits are vindicated. In the second part Starck himself is attacked and some of his letters from the Archives of the Provincial Chapter are quoted. The main point of this attack emerges, however, as hardly more than accusations of undue credulity.[243] Schubart is white washed in the third part. This defence of the Strict Observance is on the whole not very convincing and not very successful,[244] but other antagonists joined the fray, and Starck was attacked from

[236] *Signatstern*, iii., 176, 305. This Circle, apparently, did not practice any particular Rituals. The absorption of Starck's mystical instructions, in the terms of Spiritual Alchemy, was the main object of its work.

[237] *ib.*, iii., 179-180. A similar attitude is to be found in the *Saint-Nicaise*: 'Have I then ceased to be useful to the human race? Certainly the sphere of my activity is not so extended and wide as it was once, this sphere has now contracted and narrowed itself. Yet I continue to operate and, I trust, with stronger, because more concentrated, power.' (*Saint-Nicaise*, 10-11.) In 1787 in the course of his action against the *Berliner Monatsschrift*, Starck said that he had lost active interest in Freemasonry since 1776. This statement, which illustrated the change of his views just expounded, was often misunderstood as a complete retirement from Freemasonry; that this was not the case is proved by Starck's publishing in 1788 a new and revised edition of the Apology. This retirement from former ambitious and turbulent Masonic activities was quite voluntary, based on the judgment of a maturer intellect and experience; should he have so desired he could have continued to work and to spread his System. (Keller's *Geschichte*, 150.)

[238] Gould, iii., 114.

[239] *Handbuch*, iii., 304. In the *Krypto-Katholicismus* he affirmed that in reality there were only ten Clerics. He probably meant 'directing' Clerics, of higher initiations, for the Clerical System had at one time many adherents. (*Abg. Fortsetzung*, 221.) The circle formed, of course, an association exterior to Freemasonry. Starck did not put himself in the foreground, however. Princes of Mecklenburg and Hessia were its members. (Blum, 55.)

[240] Starck boldly opposed many other influential Masonic systems of higher degrees. (Blum, 63.) The attack on Starck started by liberal Protestants and Radicals had already begun in February, 1784, but at first he bore it with indifference and patience.

[241] *Abgenöthigte Fortsetzung*, 263.

[242] Its author was Colonel Christian von Kessler, called von Sprengeisen, born in 1730, died in 1809; he was known in the Strict Observance as Christian Eques a Spina; he was one of von Hund's most trusted friends. The book was dedicated to 'the Grand Master of all United Masonic Lodges inside and outside of Germany, Ferdinand the Hero.'

[243] *Anti-Saint Nicaise*, 90.

[244] *Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., 313.

several sides, particularly by the editors and contributors of the Radical paper. *Berliner Monatsschrift.* Starck was compelled to defend himself, and wrote in 1787 a voluminous work, *Ueber Krypto-Katholicismus, Proselitenmacherei, Jesuitismus, geheime Gesellschaften, etc.* In this book he repudiated, in places with undue heat but generally with great skill, his supposed allegiance to Roman Catholicism, Magic, Spirit-Invocations, charlatanry, etc. Quite unequivocally Starck denied his supposed connection with Roman Catholicism. He called the whole accusation only 'a chimera' and frankly confessed his belief in the Truth of the Evangelical Church.[245] On his side, he accused the editors of the *Berliner Monatsschrift* of subtle designs to reduce Chrisitianity to Deism.[246] He also continued his attacks, in strong and convincing language, on the Strict Observance and its Unknown Superiors.[247] The second volume of the *Krypto-Katholicismus* had a good reception and proved to be very effective against Starck's opponents.[248]

Nevertheless, further attacks in the Press followed and in such a violent manner that in 1787 Starck decided to appeal for protection to the Prussian Court and lodged a complaint against the editors of the *Berliner Monatsschrift.* Starck rightly considered himself to have been outraged in his capacity of a Protestant Clergyman. He applied to the Prussian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Herzberg, who, unfortunately for Starck, happened to be a friend and protector of the *Berliner Monatsschrift.*[249] Starck declared that he was a victim of the extreme wing of the Liberal Protestant clergy and of Radicals.[250] Berlin Judges found, however, that the editors of the *Berliner Monatsschrift*, Biester[251] and Gedicke,[252] did not overstep the usual liberties of the Press and were not called upon to prove Starck's culpability. They reproduced in their papers those suspicions and rumours which were afloat and which they honestly believed to be right.[253] A further effective argument used by Starck in the polemics with his opponents was that following their method of 'deduction' and 'deciphering,' he could easily prove them also to be secret Catholic propagators.[254] It is characteristic of the influential support given to Starck's enemies that his appeal against the judgment was not even heard:[255] he decided to defend himself by means of publicity.[256] As nothing of evidential value had transpired against Starck during the process, its result could not satisfy his opponents either. A lot of ink was thus spent in heated polemics, sometimes in a very undignified and hardly edifying manner. Starck's case was taken up and strongly defended by many well-known authorities of the conservative wing of the Protestant Clergy.[257] The campaign flickered out in 1789[257a] leaving Starck's reputation generally unspoilt and standing high among those who really mattered to him—the Darmstadt Court and Clergy.[258]

[245] See *Vorwort zum ersten Band des Krypto-Katholicismus.*

[246] *Krypto-Katholicismus,* i., 69-71.

[247] He emphasized their prevailing desire to acquire as many new adherents and as much money as possible, for the ambitious purpose of dominating the whole German Freemasonry. The Clerics on their side 'did not accept any unknown high Superiors,' a statement which was doubted—probably Starck with time and more experience had changed his views in this respect, as in many others.

[248] Blum, 139, 141. [249] *ib.*, 118. [250] *ib.*, 118, 120.

[251] Joh. Erich Biester, born in 1749, died in 1816.

[252] Friedrich Gedicke, born in 1754, died in 1803.

[253] Blum, 119. [254] *ib.*, 121. [255] *ib.*, 119. [256] *ib.*, 119.

[257] Starck justified himself with success in the eyes of the orthodox Protestant Clergy. (Blum, 154.) As in Freemasonry, so in his religious views, Starck changed with years (Blum, 113-115): his religious opinions of the earlier period were somewhat tainted with liberalism; eventually he became a Minister of the rigid Lutheran orthodoxy (Blum, 122), but he always retained a lofty tolerance towards Christians of other rites and dogmas, provided they were believing Christians, including Roman Catholics,—a bold thing for his days and surroundings in Germany.

[257a] Another unsuccessful attack on Starck from Courland was contained in the pamphlet *Erklärung an das Publicum, etc.* It is the same old story of accusation of secret Catholicism and Jesuitism. The book mentioned a certain person who could prove all this but would not do so for some private reasons!

[258] Blum, 112.

The best that could be said concerning his opponents' allegations was that they were inconclusive in the highest degree.[259]

An important point of this attack on Starck was that his most bitter opponents belonged to the anti-Christian and revolutionary Society of the Illuminati.[260] One of them was Bode, who strongly accused Starck's System of subserviency to Roman Catholic directors, and to whom von der Recke *dedicated* her pamphlet against Starck.[261] Another opponent of Starck's views was Baron von Knigge,[262] also a prominent member of the Illuminati.[263] To the same camp, antagonistic to Starck, belonged Nicolai,[264] who openly confessed allegiance to the Illuminati,[265] though explaining the step as taken from mere curiosity and general attraction towards secret societies. Starck observed sarcastically that his opponents in Berlin attacked many existent societies, if not all of them,

[259] *Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., 313. Already in the *Abgenöthigte Fortsetzung* the author denied that he had accused Starck directly of being a Roman Catholic (p. 23), it was only 'a presumption,' based on some ambiguities in Starck's correspondence (p. 23. 26). See also Keller's *Geschichte*.

[260] The Society of the Illuminati (not to be confused with the Illuminés, which originated in France and dealt chiefly in theosophy and mysticism) was founded in 1776 at Ingolstadt, Bavaria, by Professor Weishaupt (Spartacus) and was officially closed in 1784, though it probably was continued after the closure in secret by isolated members and branches, which were extended from Italy to Denmark and from Warsaw to Paris. Politically its tendencies were republican, *i.e.*, in those days directed against the existing order of Government: in religion it followed the precursors of the French Revolution, Free-thinkers, having a distinct aversion to Christian rituals and dogmas. On admission, its members were pledged to blind obedience to the instructions of the Superiors of the Illuminati. This absolute subservience of the members was secured by an ingenious system of secret confessions and monthly reports checked by mutual espionage, recommended to be used especially at those times when the intended victims would be the least suspicious of it. The Society was modelled on the pattern of the Order of the Jesuits and believed in the idea that 'the end justifies the means.' The dangers of this System, ruled by a despotic Chief, are evident, and can be gathered even from a highly biassed account of the Society in the *Allgemeines Handbuch*. The real views of the Society on politics and religion were communicated only in higher grades, after the fidelity of the recipients of dangerous secrets had been assured. This utterly un-Masonic Society was unfortunately confused in the minds of the Bavarian authorities, who proclaimed its closing in 1784, with Bavarian Masonic Lodges. This erroneous belief still persists, and is sometimes violently emphasized in the Press which interests itself in such matters. Besides the incompatibility of the nature of the two institutions, that of the Illuminati being violently political, and that of Freemasons decisively non-political, the following facts may also be recalled to mind. In 1776, when founding his Society, Weishaupt was not even a Mason (*Allgemeines Handbuch*, ii., 14). Later he joined a Lodge, which was neither regular nor acknowledged by proper Masonic authorities. He himself thought Freemasonry not satisfactory for carrying out his purposes, and his main enemies were the Clergy and the Lodges. He certainly tried, with the help of some Masons enticed into his rite, to penetrate into Masonic Lodges and to influence at least some of them, but in this he failed conspicuously. His aims and intentions were just the opposite to those of the overwhelming majority of Masonic Lodges.

[261] Blum, 70. Joh. Joach Christop Bode was born in 1730 and died in 1793. First he worked for the Strict Observance System (being known therein as Lilio), together with Schubart. Then he turned against it and became an active member of the Illuminati under the name of Amelius. He was appointed Provincial Superior of the Illuminati and a member of their Directory. He tried to introduce the influence of the Illuminati into Freemasonry and other Orders (*Allgemeines Handbuch*, i., 116). Of a radical turn of mind, he was a fervent opponent of conservative opinions and traditions and an enemy of all mysticism.—Starck was defended against von der Recke by von Grolman, Consistorial Director of Hessia, in the latter's book, *Etwas zur Erlauterung*, containing a written statement by von der Osten-Sacken to the effect that no honest person in Courland could say he had been deceived by Starck (*Etwas zur*, 19-20).

[262] Adolf Franz Friedrich Ludwig, Freiherr von Knigge, born in 1752, died in 1796, known in the Strict Observance as Eques a Cygno and among the Illuminati as Philo, was an enthusiastic propagator of the latter's ideas and partly a compiler of their rituals: he disagreed with Weishaupt, who was jealous of Knigge's growing popularity, and left him in 1784, under promise of keeping inviolate the real secrets of the Illuminati.

[263] Blum, 81, 83.

[264] Christoph Friedrich Nicolai, born in 1733, died in 1811. He considered all outward show of Religion to be only hypocrisy (*Allgemeines Handbuch*, ii., 426): a friend of the radical movement 'of enlightenment,' an enemy of mysticism and piety, a believer in the power of the intellect alone, known among the Illuminati as Lucian.

[265] Friedrich Nicolai's *öffentliche Erklärung*, etc.

but never the Illuminati.[266] There is ground to believe that the cause of the Illuminati's attack on Starck was a fear of the union of all Christians, advocated by Starck as a bulwark against scepticism and unbelief.[267] Starck himself was strongly combating the attempted introduction of the Illuminati's influence into Masonry[268] and accused his enemies of sinister plots.[269] As regards Starck's knowledge his enemies themselves had to recognize the Doctor's scholarship,[270] which was remarkable for his time.

The advent of the French Revolution turned everybody's mind into another direction and, at the same time, enhanced Starck's authority and position. He was hailed as a man who had unmasked the anti-Christians and rationalists, precursors of the Revolution,[271] and who had preached the union of all good forces and of all Christians against this pernicious evil. Starck's further writings strengthened this reputation.[271a] It is interesting to note that it was Starck who furnished materials for the famous 'anti-Masonic' work of the Abbé Bareul, *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Jacobinisme*. Later he reproached Baruel with having made a good cause look ridiculous.[272] Starck emphasized in his book, *Triumph der Philosophie* (1803), that the cause of the French catastrophe was not *all* the secret societies, taken as such, at random, but the Illuminati and their preparatory course of general demoralisation; it was not Masonry but its outward imitation by such elements which was dangerous.[273] According to Starck, the Illuminati, in spite of being dissolved, still continued in secrecy their dangerous activities. They had strong allies among the Radical circles in Berlin.[274] They also had ramifications in other countries. They persisted in a subversive propaganda, leading to general discontent and disorder, irreligion and anarchy. Some monarchs were unfortunately too lenient towards these perilous elements.[275]

The violence of the polemics subsided as had previously subsided Starck's other activities. In the peace and quiet of his study, supported by the high esteem of the Darmstadt Court, Church and faithful friends,[275a] with a widely-known high reputation as scholar and preacher, Starck passed the last years of his life. Yet, to the end, he was a mystery to many of his contemporaries, and he remained somewhat of a mystery to the succeeding generations. He

[266] *Krypto-Katholicismus*, 156, 173.

[267] Blum, 85. They thought that a formidable organisation directed by the Jesuits stood behind Starck. (Blum, 108.)

[268] Blum, 85. When in 1782 a Lodge at Giessen was about to be founded by some adherents of the Illuminati, Starck vehemently protested against this foundation and urged them to leave the false teachings of the Illuminati and to follow instead the true Masonic principles. (*Allgemeines Handbuch*, iii., 307.)

[269] Blum, 123.

[270] Blum, 91. It is interesting to note that Nicolai's attitude towards Starck was different from that adopted by him towards Cagliostro. Whereas Nicolai was only too pleased to expose Cagliostro's deceit and charlatanry at Mittau (*Nachricht*, ix., xii.) with the assistance of that hysterical and changeable individual—Mme. von der Recke,—he was reluctant to let the same authoress issue her booklet directed against Starck. He would not condemn Starck as a deceiver or a charlatan, he considered Starck to be rather of that sort of temperament which likes to be shrouded in mystery: this led to misunderstandings and provoked contradictory opinions. Nicolai even advised von der Recke not to write the pamphlet in question, hinting that as a woman she could not know certain mysteries. (*Etwas über*, xiii., xix.) In the end he consented to be the editor but disclaimed any part in the arguments used by Mme. von der Recke. (*Etwas über*, xix.)

[271] Blum, 162.

[271a] In his 'Theodul's Banquet,' a book which was a great success and passed through several editions, Starck reiterated his ideas of a re-union of all Christians. He added, quite frankly, that in his opinion Roman Catholics were certainly preferable to rationalistic unbelievers. This statement probably made Catholic writers consider that Starck was one of the Roman Catholic adherents. (Blum, 177.)

[272] Blum, 164.

[273] In the second class of their ceremonies the Illuminati adopted Masonic denominations of degrees. Needless to say, these degrees as worked by the Illuminati were quite unlike their Masonic originals.

[274] Protests against Wöllner's religious edict, insisting on a strict observance of Church customs and dogmas, came from this quarter. (Blum, 169.)

[275] Blum, 171.

[275a] Men of intellect, insight and high integrity stood by Starck. (Keller's *Geschichte*, 150.)

was a man of a double, though not doubtful, reputation, admired and honoured by some, reviled and attacked by others, during and after his life. Contradictory opinions often were and still are expressed concerning Starck's personality.[276] Perhaps the key to this mysterious divergency of opinion is not so difficult to find as it may seem. In his youth, clever and learned, but ambitious and eager for new discoveries in the romantic domain of mysticsm and occult lore, Starck shared many of the superstitious and strange beliefs prevalent in his time. An ardent Mason, he tried to introduce some of his 'discoveries' into Masonic Lodges through higher grades of his peculiar System, and dreamed of 'spiritualising' the whole Order. The follies and aberrations of youth passed, and there remained a man, mature in years and judgment, who had thrown aside the fantasies and fancies of unripe experience.[277] They were, however, committed to the memory of other men and provided enough material for those who thought differently from Starck in Masonic, Political and Religious matters. Hence, a double view of Starck's life—a life which could be well summarized in Goethe's words:—

Yet e'en amidst delusions' darkest night
A Good man still is conscious of the right.

LIST OF THE WORKS OF J. A. STARCK.

I. Aeschylus and his tragedy Prometheus Vinctus. 1763.

II. Commentationes et Observationes philologico-criticae. Regiomonto. 1769.

III. Apologie des Ordens der Freymaurerei. 1769.

IV. Antrittspredigt zum Hofpredigeramt. 1770.

V. History of Greece, translated from the French, and annotated by Starck. Vol. 1. 1770.

VI. Apologie des Ordens der Freymaurerei. Von dem Bruder * * * * Mitgliede der * * * Schottischen Loge zu P. * . Philadelphia im Jahre 5651, d.i. 3882. Koenigsberg, Kanter. 1770.
A second edition in 1772; reprinted in 1778 and 1805. Rewritten and published at Berlin in 1778, with a second edition in 1783. A third in 1785, and a fourth in 1809.

VII. Dissertatio inauguralis de usu Antiquarum Versionum Scripturae Sacrae interpretationis subsidio. 1773.

VIII. A philosophical dissertation on variant readings in the Old Testament. 1774.

IX. De Tralatitiis ex Gentilismo in Religionem Christianum. 1774.

X. Hephaestion. 1775. A second edition in 1776.

XI. De Christo ad gloriam Dei e mortuis resuscitato. 1775.

XII. Predigten vom Verfasser des Hephaestion. 1776.

[276] The father of Russian modern history, Karamsin, expressed feelings of respect towards Starck: the present-day Russian historian, Puipin, biassed by his aversion to all conservative thought, imagined Starck to be 'a most impudent intriguer.' (Puipin, *18th century*, iii.) The Russian Empress Catherine II., whose sceptical mind was opposed to mystical tendencies, and who at one time was an admirer of French Free-thinkers, was highly pleased with the pamphlet directed against Starck by Mme. von der Recke. (See the Empress's 'Lettre de M. Starkovsky à son ami et parent M. Starck à Darmstadt.' A Moscow, 6 Août, 1789.) As against this attitude, during the 'reactionary' reign of Nicholas I., one of her successors, the expression of a disadvantageous opinion about Starck was considered inappropriate. (Puipin, *18th century*, 544.) It is also curious to note that Catherine II.'s correspondent in Germany, Zimmermann, joined hands with Starck in the latter's attack on the Radicals. (Puipin, *18th century*, 296.)

[277] Blum, 155, 156.

XIII. Davidis aliorumque Poetarum Hebraeorum carminum libri v. 1776.

XIV. Die Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche des ersten Jahrhunderts: 3 Bände. 1779-1780.

XV. Freimüthige Betrachtungen über das Christenthum. 1780.
A second edition, enlarged and improved, in 1782.

XVI. Ueber den Zweck des Freimaurerordens. 1781.

XVII. Ueber die Alten and Neuen Mysterien. 1782.

XVIII. Versuch einer Geschichte des Arianismus. 1783-1785.

XIX. Saint-Nicaise, oder Eine Sammlung merkwurdiger maurerischer Briefe, fur Freimaurer und die es nicht sind. Aus dem Französischen übersetzt. 1785. (Starck never acknowledged that he was the author of this book, but from internal evidence it is clear that he had a hand in writing or editing it.)
A second edition "mit berichtigenden Anmerkungen von einer deutschen Hand." 1786.

XX. Der Weisheit Morgenröthe, oder Reinhard Morgensterns, Epilog an meine lieben Bruder Freymaurer and zugleich ans Publikum. Athen [*i.e.* Leipzig]. 1786. Wolfstieg 36856. Kloss states that the author was Starck.

XXI. Ueber Krypto-Katholicismus, Proselytenmacherey, Jesuitismus, geheime Gesellschaften und besonders die ihm selbst von den Verfassern der Berliner Monatsschrift gemachte Beschuldigungen mit Acten-Stücken belegt. 1787.

XXII. Nachtrag über den angeblichen Krypto-Katholicismus, Proselyten-Macherey, Jesuitismus und geheime Gesellschaften, besonders seinen Prozess mit den Herausgebern der Berliner Monatsschrift angehend; mit Acten-Stücken belegt. Gniessen. 1788.

XXIII. Beleuchtung der letzten Anstrengung des Herrn Kessler v. Sprengseysen [etc.] Dessau & Leipzig. 1788.

XXIV. Auch Etwas wider das Etwas der Frau v. der Recke über des O.H.P. Starcks Vertheidigungsschrift. 1788.

XXV. Christian Nikolai Buchführers zu Bebenhausen. Wichtige Entdeckungen auf einer gelehrten Reise durch Deutschland [etc.]. Bebenhausen. 1788.

XXVI. Apologismos an das deutsche Publicum. Leipzic. 1789.

XXVII. Documentirter Anti-Wehrt, nebst einer kurzen Abfertigung der drei Berliner [Nicolai, Gedike, & Biester] und des Herrn Karl v. Sacken. 1789.

XXVIII. Geschichte der Taufe und Taufgesinnten. 1789.

XXIX. Die Geschichte der Androgynen. 1796.

XXX. Die Hyperboliden, oder Triumph der Philosophie in achtzehnten Jahrhundert. 1797.

[These two were shorter works appearing in contemporary journals, dealing with the origins of the French Revolution. They were re-written and expanded to form No. XXXI.]

XXXI. Der Triumph der Philosophie im achtzehnten Jahrhundert, oder Geschichte der Verschwörung des Rationalismus gegen Religion and Kirche. 1803.

XXXII. Theodul's Gastmahl, oder über die Vereinigung der verschiedenen christlichen Religions-Societäten. Frankfurt, 1809. Sixth edition in 1821. Translated into English in 1819, as: Philosophical

Dialogues on the Reunion of the different Christian Communions. Translated into French in 1821.

A work entitled Der Stein des Anstosses und Fels der Aegerniss [etc.], published at Berlin in 1780, was at the time attributed to Starck, but he formally denied its authorship (Blum, 135), and Kloss (*Bibliographie*, 2312) says that it is now recognized that he cannot have been the author, on account of the local allusions to the Rhine country in the text, and that the author was in all probability a certain Bro. Ditfurth of Wezlar.

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   Dritter Band, Leipzig, 1867.
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3. Dr. Wm. Begemann. Die Tempelherrn und die Freimaurerei, Berlin, 1906.
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5. Der Signatstern oder die enthüllten sämmtlichen Grade der mystischen Freimaurerei nebst dem Orden der Ritter des Lichts für Maurer und die es nicht sind aus dem Nachlass des verstorbenen hochw. Bruders W . . . an das Licht das Tages befördert von seinem Freund und Bruder B . . . Berlin. 1803.
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12. Ueber den Zweck des Freymaurerordens. Zweite revidirte Ausgabe. Berlin, 1781.

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A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Telepneff, on the proposition of Bro. W. W. Covey-Crump, seconded by Bro. J. Walter Hobbs; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. H. C. de Lafontaine, Gilbert W. Daynes, and B. Ivanoff.

Bro. W. W. Covey-Crump said:—

The paper is a valuable contribution, because although the subject is foreign it renders available to English readers many matters hitherto limited to German *literati*. Ideals in Continental Masonry had differed from those in this country; and this is particularly true, both in Starck's Rite and in that of the Strict Observance with which it was so closely connected. With our British Masonry, Bro. Chetwode Crawley said (*A.Q.C.*, xxvi., 63), "the Strict Observance has no connection except by way of comparison and contrast"; but we have the opinion of Bro. Gould that "of all the perversions of Freemasonry which owe their origin to the fervid imaginings of brethren in the eighteenth century none can compare, in point of interest, with the system of the Strict Observance." And, after devoting several pages of his book to an elucidation of the subject, the same authority affirmed in conclusion that during "nearly a generation the history of the Strict Observance is also that of Freemasonry over a great part of the continent of Europe" (*Hist.*, iij., 113). No further justification, therefore, of Bro. Telepneff's subject need be adduced.

Yet (as he has shown) Dr. Starck's ideals were not those of the Strict Observance. With those of von Hund the paper is only incidentally concerned; but, at all events, Bro. Telepneff's evidence may enable us to form a more extenuative estimate of his character than the system which he represented would favour. Starck's ideals were those of a mystic. The expression "mysteries of nature and science" had for many a visionary significance, and Starck in his youthful enthusiasm regarded a mystical experience as the *ne plus ultra* of Masonry. In this he was seeking something quite different from the hypnotism, spiritism, goety, necromancy and similar vain aberrations of his contemporaries. He found the Strict Observance permeated, however, with tenets gravely obnoxious to a Lutheran Chaplain; and his own effort to divert (or convert) them by introducing a superior caste of clerics of alleged Templar descent proved abortive. Starck retired disgruntled from that movement, and thereby earned its enmity.

Bro. Telepneff's account of Melissino's Russian Rite is another important acquisition, though in that case, too, Dr. Starck was (I think) eclectic; for his scheme of a Craft spiritualized by mystical union with Deity was only gradually and perhaps never entirely relinquished. But in the twenty years which followed 1780 his Masonic works exhibit a versatile scholarship somewhat comparable to that of Dr. Oliver in England, though lacking that critical acumen which we expect today. That he did to the end retain a hope of uniting all Christian denominations on a basis quasi-Masonic is apparent in one of his last books, "The Banquet of Theodulos," which breathes throughout a true Masonic tolerance and tact, and identifies him with the ideals of English Freemasonry.

Bro. H. C. de Lafontaine *writes*:—

I have read with the greatest interest Bro. Telepneff's paper. I esteem it to be a very valuable contribution to Masonic history. To those of us who are not proficient either in the German or Russian languages it conveys information which would otherwise not be available. To such a marshalling of facts, supported by an astounding number of references to authorities, it is difficult to add many details of interest. The personality of Starck is an interesting one, inasmuch as it touches at so many points various off-shoots of the Masonic system.

Bro. Telepneff does not afford us any information as to where and when Starck was ordained into the Lutheran ministry, and it is a point which seems to be omitted in accounts of his life and career.

When Starck communicated with von Hund through the agency of von Raven it is said that these terms were used in a letter recounting the powers that had been given him at St. Petersburg:—"I give to Bro. John August Starck, son and brother of the Fathers and of the family of 'savants' of the 'Ordre des Sages' by all the generations of the universe" (a curious wording) "the full power to receive and adopt all those that he shall find to be worthy and capable according to age, order, and personal conscience. Given and signed by us in suitable terms. Pylades of the third generation. In the civil year 1776." Whether this is a fictional account or a travesty of an actual document I cannot say, but I believe it is referred to in the "Anti-Saint-Nicaise."

The story regarding the continuity of the Templar claims may be related in many legendary forms. Bro. Telepneff alludes to two of these. According to a third, some Christians from Syria, being pursued by infidels, found sanctuary with the Templars. André de Montbars, one of the founders of the Order of the Temple and third Prior of the Canons, established perfect agreement between these Syrians and the Canons. The Syrians, prompted by feelings of gratitude, communicated their esoteric teachings to the Canons who became depositaries of the same until the suppression of the Order. (It should be explained that the Canons were really Clerks of the Temple, Priests of the Order, and they officiated at all liturgical offices.) At the time of the catastrophe that almost annihilated the members of the Order, these Clerks managed in their flight (they were, perhaps, not attacked with the same relentless ferocity as the lay members) to carry away with them many of their secret documents. These fugitive Clerks founded at Aberdeen a Clerical Chapter, of which the first Prior was Petrus de Bononia, he having arrived in Scotland with four other Clerks, and having met d'Aumont and his companions in the Island of Mull. All these legends are more or less fantastic, but I rather love the romanticism of this one. Whether they rest on any basis of fact is a matter of opinion.

Bro. Telepneff directs attention to the Lodge at Florence. Concerning this, Bacci, in his "Libro del Massone Italiano," says:—"The English Masons, who were residing at Florence, joined forces, and, by the aid of the Duke of Middlesex, formed the first Lodge, which met in the Via Maggio at an inn kept by a certain Pascio, whom the Florentines called 'Monsiu Pascio,' and also Pascione. Of this Lodge the first Master was a 'Monsiu Fox,' a great mathematician and a man of much learning. This Brother was supposed to be Henry Fox, Lord Holland, father of Charles James Fox, the celebrated head of the Whig party, and the rival of Pitt. The Lodge had as succeeding Masters the founder, Lord Middlesex" (this is here spelt "Middlessex") "and Lord Raimond." It is added that "Lord Raimond" was held to be "a deist and an unbeliever," a strange contradiction in terms. I notice that Findel says that this Lodge, or Society, was known under the name of the Company of the Cucchiara, the Society of the Masonic Trowel ("cucchiara" being the Italian word for "trowel"), and that it was not till a later time that its members were known as "Franchi Muratori" (the Italian for "Free Builders").

According to a French writer, Starck, in his System, had a full eye to the emotionalism and decorative adjuncts of Roman Cathlic rites. This same writer says that the candidate for the degree of Novice was introduced during the singing of a Latin hymn into a chapel adorned with red hangings, in which there was an altar draped in white. Surrounded by four Novices clothed in white cassocks and carrying torches, he was made to kneel at the foot of the altar to take the oath, having on either side the Initiator and the Conductor of Novices, whose violet cassocks were almost covered by white surplices. The aspirant to the dignity of a Canon was conducted into the chapel where the other Canons were assembled. These wore vestments almost resembling those of the Cardinalate. After the candidate had performed ritual ablutions, the Canons swung the censer and chanted Psalms. The Prior consecrated the water by

casting salt into it, making several signs of the Cross over it, and covering it successively with a black, a white and a red veil, he meanwhile repeating exorcisms in Latin. He sprinkled the candidate seven times with this holy water, censed him three times, anointed him on the forehead and on the right hand, and finally placed around his neck a collarette, to which was attached a little cross, and put on his finger a ring.

Bro. Telepneff points out that after the Congress at Wolfenbüttel the Clerics announced their withdrawal from the 7th Province. Starck blazed forth his resentment against the machinations of Fircks in a publication, "La Pierre d'Achoppement et le Rocher de Scandale." This, though issued under a veil of anonymity, would seem to have betrayed its author by its contents, but I should add that the attribution to Starck is now considered doubtful. It purported to be a complete exposure of the Order of the Strict Observance, and it created a feeling of consternation which was not easily set at rest.

With reference to another of Starck's works, "The Triumph of Philosophy" (published in two volumes), he therein not only disagreed with Barruel on Masonic questions, but he set out to prove that both Barruel and Robison really knew nothing about the German attitude towards Freemasonry. In the second volume of this work four chapters are devoted to the consideration of the Order of the Illuminati.

It is refreshing to hear from Bro. Telepneff that the violence of Starck's polemics subsided as he advanced in years. Still, I think it is true that he was to his contemporaries and to succeeding generations (perhaps countless in number) a man of mystery.

Bro. Gilbert W. Daynes *writes*:—

Bro. Telepneff's paper contains much which will interest the Masonic Student who attempts to follow the intricate windings of Continental Freemasonry during the second half of the eighteenth century. Fortunately for English Freemasonry, the Rite which has come down to us escaped the turmoil and troubles which overtook the Craft in Europe. As early as July, 1757, we have the D.G.M., Dr. Manningham, writing to Bro. Sauer at the Hague agreeing that certain Forms and Titles mentioned by Bro. Sauer might justly be called the "charlatanry of Masonry." In a later part of the same letter Dr. Manninham says:—

> "The only Orders that we know are three, Masters, Fellow-Crafts & Apprentices, and none of them ever arrive at the Honour of Knighthood by Masonry; & I believe you can scarcely imagine, that in antient time the Dignity of Knighthood flourishd amongst Free Masons; whose Lodges here-to-fore consisted of Operative, not Speculative Masons. . . . Use your utmost Endeavour Dear Brother to prevent a really valuable Society, from degenerating, and being lost in Obscurity, by aiming at Titles, to which the very nature of our Society can not give us a Claim." (*A.Q.C.*, v., 109-110.)

At a later date, August, 1775, there is a record of Bro. Hanbury, acting for the Grand Secretary, James Heseltine, explaining to Bro. Gogel, P.G.M. (Frankfort), with regard to the R.A. Degree that:

> "Masonry is Masonry with or without this degree. If it taught a new doctrine it would be quite different and must be rejected unhesitatingly. That is why we reject the high degrees of the Strict Observance. They are a confusion without sequence." (*Origin of the English Rite of F.M.*, by W. J. Hughan, p. 159.)

Passing on to the contents of the paper, I notice that Starck is shown as a Protestant throughout his life, and it may, therefore, be of interest to give

Findel's contrary opinion. Findel, in his *History of Freemasonry*, asks us to believe that Starck was, or rather became, a Roman Catholic. He writes that one of the reasons for Starck propagating his Spiritual Rite was for the purpose of "surreptitiously introducing Catholicism into the Masonic association, to which religion he had been secretly converted in Paris." To this statement there is a note directing the reader's attention to "Proceedings in the case of secret Catholicism. Berlin, 1787." (*History of Freemasonry*, by J. G. Findel, English Edition, 1871, p. 280.) A few pages further on Findel gives as one of the reasons for the death of the Spiritual Rite the fact that "their founder Starck was suspected of being in league with the Catholics." Here, too, there is a note which is as follows:—"This suspicion was well-founded, as is proved by documents in the possession of Br. Dr. Eckstein in Leipzig. Starck's funeral service was conducted according to the Roman Catholic ritual." (Ditto, p. 285.) In this connection we may also note Findel's statement that Baron von Hund became a Roman Catholic. He says: "We will here remark that von Hund's visionary fancies and his love of display led him to become a member of the Roman Catholic Church." (Ditto, p. 274.) In giving these excerpts I am not seeking to uphold Findel's statements, but am merely drawing attention to them so that, if possible, Bro. Telepneff can definitely refute them by further evidence.

It is interesting to note that Starck apparently visited England in 1765. At that date he was a Freemason, and had probably also become acquainted with several Continental Rites. It would be of great interest if a record of any visits to English Lodges could be discovered; for at that time there were certainly Lodges working in French in London, such as The Old French Lodge (constituted 13th April, 1742), The French Lodge (constituted 14th December, 1754), and The French Lodge (constituted 29th January, 1763), to name but three. Also, there seems to be no reason why Starck should not have visited Lodges working in English in the usual manner. In his book *On the Aim of the Order of Freemasons*, Starck refers to Lodges in England, and he may have drawn upon his memory of London Lodges when in England. We may note, however, that no Lodge ever met at the Unicorn and Lion in Bartholomew Lane. Also the reference to the Ancient Lodge in St. Paul's Churchyard is too vague to identify. With regard to the Lodge at the Bear Inn, Bath, the information must have been acquired before 1st December, 1767, as upon that day it removed to the White Hart Inn, Bath. It may, therefore, be that Starck either visited, or met a member of, the Bath Lodge in 1765. In passing, we may note the use of the word "Orator." This was an Office in Continental Masonry and had no existence at Bath. The only Officers appointed by the Lodge at that time were Master, Wardens, Treasurer, and Secretary.

One of the most striking periods of Starck's life, and one that certainly calls for further investigation, seems to me to be the time during which he resided at Mittau, in Courland. In 1776 Starck obtained in Königsberg an appointment which gave him "the highest rank and position possible for a Protestant Clergyman." He must have just been settling down to enjoy that position when he throws everything up and leaves for Mittau. Obviously, some very strong reasons must have prompted this action. Could it have been the death of Baron von Hund in November, 1776? Bro. Telepneff's paper gives us no inkling as to the reasons, but to Mittau Starck goes early in 1777, and remains there until 1781, when he leaves for Darmstadt, having been once more appointed to a post similar to the one he had resigned in 1777. It was during his residence at Mittau that attacks were made against him by von Firks: and we are told that it was in 1778 that he withdrew from the Strict Observance, after having become indifferent to Masonic activities. Whilst at Mittau he wrote the second edition of his *Apology for the Order of Freemasonry*, and probably other works were written by Starck during that period.

To the town of Mittau came Cagliostro in March, 1779. Trowbridge says that "Cagliostro went to Courland to further his great scheme of founding the Order of Egyptian Masonry." (*Cagliostro*, by W. R. H. Trowbridge, Cheap Edition, 1926, p. 118.) Prior to reaching Mittau we are told "wherever

he went he was sure of a cordial reception in the Lodges of the Order of Strict Observance. By the Freemasons of Dantzic and Königsberg he appears to have been treated as a person of great distinction." (Ditto, p. 117.) When at Mittau it would appear that many wealthy people of the highest distinction who resided there accorded Cagliostro their patronage. Could this wealthy coterie have been any inducement to Starck to go to Mittau two years earlier? Cagliostro must have known that Starck was at Mittau before he reached that place. Did he go to Mittau to seek Starck's co-operation, or help? Or, again, when at Mittau, did the two ever meet? Bro. Telepneff tells us that whilst at Mittau Starck was considered to be a bitter opponent of Cagliostro, who accused Starck of black magic. What evidence is there in support of this statement, and was the mutual hatred there from the first? Countess von der Recke undoubtedly came into contact with both Starck and Cagliostro whilst they were at Mittau, and subsequently published books, in 1787 and 1788, in which she attacked Cagliostro and Starck respectively. The attack on both seems to have emanated either directly or indirectly from the Society of the Illuminati. Both books were published by Nicolai, and the one against Starck was dedicated to Bode. Trowbridge tells us that it was not until 1784 that the Countess von der Recke came to regard Cagliostro as an impostor, and states, "to this opinion she was converted by one Bode whom she met in Weimar and who, she says, gave her the fullest information concerning Cagliostro." Undoubtedly Bode also gave the Countess equally full information for the book attacking Starck.

The extracts which Bro. Telepneff has given us from the rituals and correspondence contained in the three volumes of *Signatstern* are of considerable interest. He has obviously taken these volumes at their face value. Is there any independent evidence to support this view, or does this work fall into the same category as the so-called exposures of Freemasonry which appeared in England and France during the eighteenth century?

Bro. B. IVANOFF said:—

Bro. Telepneff's paper is interesting, not only because it deals with a very fascinating period of Masonic history the characteristic features of which are so well outlined in the introductory part, but also because it makes us fully acquainted with Starck's views on Freemasonry, which, in his later writings, are so sound and so clearly expressed that they are well worth knowing, especially by our younger brethren. Starck's example and his carefully worded answers to many questions arising often in the minds of young Masons may render them a good service on their Masonic path.

Very interesting is also Bro. Telepneff's short excursion in the legendary history of the origin of the Masonic Rite of Strict Observance so prominent on the Continent of Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century. Bro. Telepneff expressed a view that this legendary history may be something more than a pure fiction. I am not sufficiently conversant with the subject to pass personal comments on it; but quite recently I came across a newly-published book by Edward J. Martin, "The Trial of the Templars" (London, 1928), some statements of which strike me as confirming to a degree Bro. Telepneff's view. According to this book, well supplied with reliable references, there were three grades of membership in the Templar Order: "At the head were the Knights, the actual fighting force, all of which belonged to noble families: secondly, there were clerks who acted as chaplains, and, thirdly, the most numerous body, serving brethren, made up of poorer men of common birth, were artificers, millers, farmers, and attendants." (p. 15.) Of these three grades the "clericals" naturally represented the more educated and intellectual group in the Order, and they may have easily acquired some knowledge of Eastern mysteries and rituals while in Palestine, where the Templars lived for a long time and were in constant and sometimes in such a friendly intercourse with

the local people that they were even suspected of having betrayed the cause for which they went out to the East. (pages 19-20.) Bro. Telepneff's suggestion that among the members of the Templar Order there might have been secret groups professing their particular secret ideas and perhaps working their own rituals finds a certain corroboration in the following statement by Edward J. Martin:—"Their rule demanded absolute secrecy, and in fact the 69th section makes a double secrecy possible by allowing an inner circle within the Order itself." (p. 23.) And the trial of the Templars on the whole has shown that much concerning the Order was unknown to its ordinary members. Further we find in the book substantial confirmation that a number of Templars escaped imprisonment, tortures and trial in France by flight (p. 34), and that Scotland, to which the Templars came with the English army in the twelfth century (p. 21), was one of the countries where, during their persecution in the beginning of the fourteenth century, they were not accused of any serious crime and were generally treated very leniently (p. 60). If these statements are correct, the legend on which the System of Strict Observance was based appears to be somewhat less fantastic than it looks at first sight, and Bro. Telepneff's theory, styled by himself " pure conjecture " only, seems to deserve more serious attention than he claims for it in the paper read this evening.

Bro. TELEPNEFF *writes as follows*, in reply:—

I am deeply touched by Bro. Covey-Crump's eloquent and erudite tribute to my paper and his timely reminder of the importance of the Strict Observance System and the Rites connected with it.

I am also much indebted to Bro. Hobbs for his kind words, and to Bro. de Lafontaine for his most valuable contribution.

As Bro. de Lafontaine rightly says, the date when and place where Starck was ordained into the Lutheran ministry seem to be omitted from all accounts of his life and career—at least, from those which are at present available. For us he emerges like Minerva, fully armed, in the prominent position of a Court-Chaplain in Königsberg.

In reply to Bro. Daynes' interesting comments, the following must be stated:—J. G. Findel's assertion of Starck's conversion to Catholicism is but a simple repetition of the unproved accusation against the learned Doctor. The documents referred to by Findel have never been produced: moreover, Starck was buried as a high dignitary of the Protestant Church and according to its rites, though perhaps with more pomp than usual, the latter circumstance possibly leading to the astounding contention that this Lutheran Court-Chaplain and Member of the Protestant Consistorial Council was followed to his grave by the performance of some ceremony "according to the Roman Catholic ritual"! It is also not without significance that from the very beginning of his relations with von Hund, Starck became disappointed in the Baron, and, later, entertained a very poor opinion of this Catholic convert. There are available no documents, no reports of eye-witnesses, no authentic records of Starck's supposed Catholic conversion! On the other hand, his writings, his services rendered to the Protestant Church, his high and unshaken position therein, all demonstrate clearly, at least in the present state of our knowledge, the Doctor's faithful allegiance to the Lutheran dogmas and rites.

I quite agree that it would be of great interest if a record of Starck's visits to English Lodges could be discovered, and I hope that such will be forthcoming one day.

Considering Starck's sojourn at Mittau, it must be remembered that Masonry and kindred societies were particularly active there: in fact, it was a place of considerable reputation as a seat of mysterious rites and occult schools. I shall name but one instance, out of several, showing this repute of the Courlandish capital. When Russian Masons, of the same period, wanted to

probe further into "Masonic mysteries," it was to Mittau that their emissary, Schwartz, first of all went. At that time an insatiable seeker for these mysteries, Starck would naturally be attracted to that particular town. This, at any rate, seems to be a more plausible motive for his journey to Courland than any "wealthy coterie" expecting him in that country; for did not Starck, unlike Cagliostro, leave voluntarily, just before this journey, an excellent social and financial position? As regards Starck's constant animosity towards Cagliostro, this is confirmed by all contemporary witnesses of the Doctor's activities at Mittau, including von der Recke herself, and by Starck's own utterances. In fact, I believe that Bro. Daynes is the first to advance seriously the theory of Starck's co-operation with his open and bitter enemy, Cagliostro. Surely, if even Starck's contemporary implacable antagonists did not find it possible to advance against him such an additional accusation, Bro. Daynes will be prepared to dismiss this new doubt concerning the much-abused Brother! The difference between the attacks on Cagliostro and Starck is, that the latter was attacked exclusively by the Radical section of Society and chiefly by the Illuminati (not counting his personal enemies in the Strict Observance who had to defend themselves), and that he finished his life in an honourable position, his antagonists practically silenced; whereas Cagliostro was assailed from every side and everywhere and finished in prison, considered by most to have been one of the greatest rogues of his time.

I am afraid I cannot agree with Bro. Daynes that "undoubtedly Bode . . . gave the Countess von der Recke . . . full information for the book attacking Starck." Perhaps the point is not of great importance, but it is certain that the Countess and her relations, as well as their numerous friends, were in a prolonged and intimate contact with Starck during his sojourn at Mittau; the Countess and her close associates most probably knew a great deal more about Starck than Bode ever did! Neither do I quite see on what Bro. Daynes bases his opinion that I have "obviously taken the volumes of *Signatstern* at their face-value." These volumes contain an important collection of genuine Masonic rituals and documents gathered together by the well-known mystic-Mason,[1] Woellner, who himself belonged to nearly all the Masonic and kindred societies of his time. After Woellner's death they were put into order, verified and proved by another prominent Mason, Schroeder. Their importance is acknowledged by such an authority as the *Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei*. The publication itself does not belong to "the so-called Exposures of Freemasonry which appeared in England and France during the eighteenth century"—perhaps my foot-note stating that the rituals were carefully printed so as to avoid giving away "the usual Masonic secrets" has escaped Bro. Daynes' notice. Not being quite content with the above-mentioned authority, I made "a closer study of Starck's other voluminous writings and varied correspondence," and after discovering similarity of style, expressions and intention, in spite of all, I only made the guarded statement (too guarded, perhaps) that "a fair idea of the Clerical working may most probably be obtained from the Russian ceremonial of Melissino's Rite and the German rituals of the Order of Light or Spiritual Masonry."

I am very grateful to Bro. Ivanoff for his valuable and suggestive notes; still, I am afraid, the connection between the persecuted Templars and the Scottish Masons must, for the present, be relegated to the realm of those alluring legends of which Dr. Starck and his contemporaries were so fond.

In conclusion, I wish to express my hearty thanks to Bro. Songhurst for his very great help rendered to me in connection with this paper, as on so many other occasions, when both his invaluable time and rich experience were most generously put at my disposal.

[1] Of the second half of the eighteenth century.

Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

THURSDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1928.

THE Lodge met at Mark Masons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. George Norman, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; Rev. H. Poole, P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland & Cumberland, S.W.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; W. J. Williams, I.G.; Lionel Vibert, A.G.D.C., P.M.; J. P. Simpson, P.A.G.R., P.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, I.P.M.; A. Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; and Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. J. J. Tesoriere, F. G. Lightfoot, W. B. Brook, H. F. Mawbey, P. H. Ketnor, W. J. Harrald, O. M. G. Davies, F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., J. Arthur Topham, C. C. Roberts, G. Vere Montague, A.G.St.B., Ivor Grantham, H. T. Gurner, G. E. W. Bridge, Chas. J. Laker, S. W. Rodgers, P.A.G.R., F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., Lewis Edwards, A. Heiron, H. E. McMeel, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., E. S. M. Perowne, Hy. Wilsom, Wallace Heaton, Edw. B. Holmes, S. Keville, L. G. Wearing, Jas. S. Charters, L. R. Jepson, George Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., J. Johnstone, A. E. Gurney, H. E. Cooper, Col. Cecil Powney, P.G.D., E. Eyles, Chas. H. Lovell, E. A. Uttley, P.G.D., L. Hemens, E. W. R. Peterson, W. E. Hobbs, Henry G. Gold, David Rich, Harry Bladon, P.G.St.B., B. R. James, S. Hazeldine, Walter H. Brown, W. Young Hucks, B. Ivanoff, H. W. F. Hooker, Fred. G. Whittall, David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., Wm. Butcher, Geo. P. Simpson, J. J. Nolan, and F. A. M. Taylor.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. R. Pollard Barr, Acacia Lodge, Chantilly, France; G. Crowe, St. Richards Lodge No. 4469; R. A. Hill, Mt. Lebanon Lodge No. 73; Edward H. Miller, P.M., Parthenon Lodge No. 1826; W. H. Dickie, S.W., St. Marks Lodge No. 857; T. Morrell Gilder, W.M., Chaucer Lodge No. 1540; H. Willis, Mt. Edgcumbe Lodge No. 1446; T. M. Cochran, W.M., Social Lodge No. 48, Minnesota; A. W. Caddy, Wayfarers Lodge No. 4600; Charles C. Hills, Old Haileyburian Lodge No. 3912; and C. H. S. Godwin, Lady Margaret Lodge No. 4729.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; John Stokes, P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M.; Rodk. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Gilbert W. Daynes, S.D.; Ed. Conder, L.R., P.M.; J. Walter Hobbs, P.A.G.D.C., J.D.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; and Ed. Armitage, P.G.D., Treasurer.

The Worshipful Master referred to the irreparable loss that the Lodge had suffered, and read the following

IN MEMORIAM.

EDMUND HUNT DRING.

It is just sixteen years to-day since Bro. Dring was installed in the Chair of this Lodge, and his death, which has been recognized as a profound loss by bibliophiles and book-collectors all over the world, is one that will also be felt, not only by Masonic students in all countries, but in a very special manner by the Quatuor Coronati Lodge.

Bro. Dring was born on the 9th of March, 1863, being descended from an old Yorkshire family of yeomen, who, since the middle of the sixteenth century, have been associated with Marfleet, Hedon, and Hull. The name Dring is of great antiquity, being pure Saxon, and indicating a holder of lands by military tenure. As 'Dreng' and 'Drench' it comes in Domesday Book, the later Mediæval form being 'Le Dreng.' Quite early he began to interest himself in his family history, and this no doubt gave him his first introduction to the study of old manuscripts, which were at a later date to be a subject on which he was recognized as being one of the leading authorities.

He was educated at the Anglo-German College at Brixton, under Prof. H. Baumann, a great philological scholar, and a graduate of Bonn and London. In his fifteenth year he attracted the attention of Bernard Quaritch, who took him into his employ. The connection thus established with the firm of Quaritch continued until the end, except for a period between 1884 and 1891, when Bro. Dring went to Calcutta, to the well-known firm of Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co. While in India he made a special study of Indian and Persian illuminated miniatures and manuscripts, a subject in which he soon became an expert.

Bernard Quaritch had died in 1899, and the business was carried on by his son Alfred. On the death of Alfred, in 1913, Bro. Dring was in charge of the business on behalf of the sisters, with all the responsibility that that implies. Subsequently the business was converted into a private company of three partners, of which he was one. He completed his fiftieth year of association with the firm only last autumn. His son is now in the business.

Bro. Dring was initiated on December 2nd, 1889, in Lodge Humility with Fortitude No. 229, at Calcutta. He was exalted in the Yarborough Chapter No. 554 in 1903. In January, 1899, he joined the Correspondence Circle of our Lodge, and was admitted to full membership on 25th June, 1906. His Inaugural Address in 1912 was a review of Masonic Literature in England before 1751, to which was attached what he himself described as a Tentative List of English References to, and Works on Freemasonry before that date. This was a task that he was peculiarly qualified to undertake: indeed, no one else possessed the special knowledge and facilities for research that it involved. To-day that List still stands as authoritative, and only a very few additional items have since come to light requiring inclusion in it.

He also wrote a paper on the Edwin of the Old Charges, and, from his special knowledge of old documents, was able to furnish the Craft with definite instances in which Athelstan's brother Edwin was described as a Prince ruling jointly with his brother, by a title which lent itself easily to misunderstanding: so that the error of the Old Charges was one for which Bro. Dring was able to show us there was at all events some excuse.

But the most important of his many contributions to our *Transactions* was his monograph on Tracing Boards, which will be found in vol xxix., and which involved him in an amount of correspondence, and trouble in getting photographs and descriptions of Tracing Boards in Lodges all over the country,

that the readers of the paper itself may perhaps never have realized. In connection with these enquiries he was the first to put forward what is, in all probability, the correct explanation of the term "Perfect Ashlar," and his explanations of the Tassels and indented Border, and the Laced Tuft of the eighteenth century writers, received general acceptance and were recognized as an ingenious and important addition to our knowledge of the question. At the time of his death he was actually investigating the problems connected with the first editions of Cole's *Constitutions*, of Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, and *Le Franc Maçon Trahi*, as well as having in hand arrangements for the publication of the translation of Begemann's *History of Freemasonry in England*.

He received Grand Lodge Rank as J.G.D. in 1917 with the corresponding collar in the R.A. of P.A.G.So. in 1918.

To the general public, and to scholars and Bibliophiles he was known as a prominent figure at all great book sales, with a shrewd knowledge of the true value of rarities, for which, nevertheless, American buyers were at times prepared to pay higher prices. To the authorities at the Bodleian and British Museum he was known as an expert in his particular subjects, whose services were always at their disposal, and his loss is one they will feel very keenly. In Grand Lodge, as a member and then Chairman of the Library Committee he put his immense knowledge freely at the disposal of the Craft, and here again his place will not readily be filled. But in his own Lodge we feel that we have lost a personal friend, as well as a student and an expert, and we shall miss not only his well considered judgments on our Committee and his practical advice in all our concerns, but the genial and charming personality of one who was to everyone who met him the embodiment of a profound erudition modestly borne. He died on Friday, 25th October, and was laid to rest in the beautiful cemetery at Sutton on Tuesday, October 30th. The Lodge was represented by Bro. Songhurst and Bros. Gordon Hills, Williams, and Vibert.

Twenty-five Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. Rev. H. Poole, B.A., F.R.G.S., T.D., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland & Cumberland, the Master-Elect, was presented for Installation, and regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge by Bro. George Norman, assisted by Bros. J. P. Simpson, A. Cecil Powell, and Gordon P. G. Hills.

The following Brethren were appointed Officers of the Lodge for the ensuing year:—

Bro.	H. C. de Lafontaine	S.W.
,,	Gilbert W. Daynes	J.W.
,,	Edward Armitage	Treasurer
,,	Lionel Vibert	Secretary
,,	Gordon P. G. Hills	D.C.
,,	J. Walter Hobbs	S.D.
,,	W. J. Williams	J.D.
,,	W. J. Songhurst	Almoner
,,	T. M. Carter	I.G.
,,	J. H. McNaughton	Tyler

The W.M. proposed, and it was duly seconded and carried: "That W. Bro. George Norman, P.A.G.D.C., having completed his year of office as Worshipful Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, the thanks of the Brethren be and hereby are tendered to him for his courtesy in the Chair and his efficient management of the affairs of the Lodge, and that this Resolution be suitably engrossed and presented to him."

When appointing his officers, the W.M. referred to the great work done for the Lodge by Bro. W. J. Songhurst, who had now found it necessary to give up his office of Secretary. The W.M. proposed, and it was duly seconded and carried unanimously: "That Bro. William John Songhurst, P.G.D., having retired from Office after serving for Twenty-one Years as Secretary of the Lodge, the heartfelt thanks of the Brethren be and hereby are tendered to him for his devoted Services, unfailing kindness, and courtesy, and that this Resolution be suitably engrossed and presented to him."

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. GEORGE NORMAN, of Bath.

CERTIFICATE, issued by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Guernsey, Jersey and Alderney, to Bro. Henry Gough Baylee on 20th March, 1816, in French, English and Latin, certifying that he is a Master Mason of Orange Lodge No. 141 on the Register of England.

By Bro. G. W. RICHMOND, of London.

Collection of Mark "Pennies" and Jewels.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to the Brethren who kindly lent these objects for exhibition.

The WORSHIPFUL MASTER then delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

BRETHREN,

IT is customary on such occasions as this for the newly-installed Master to address the Lodge on some aspect of Masonic research. But before I proceed to my duty in this respect, I must take opportunity of expressing my very high appreciation of the honour which has been conferred on me this evening, and my deep sense of the difficulty of following adequately in the steps of those great Masonic students who have occupied this Chair before me.

Masonry, I suppose, makes a different appeal to almost every member of the Craft, according as the periods of the day, as symbolised by the 24-inch gauge, are emphasised. To one, the labour; to another, the refreshment; to yet another, the opportunity of serving a friend or Brother in time of need; while to very many I fear that Masonry is little less than a religion.

For myself—I say it with less fear of criticism in this Lodge than in any other Masonic body—I have always found the archæological side to appeal most strongly: All that I have seen or heard in Lodge has tended to direct my researches to the past: to lead me to explore the history of our Order before, not after, 1717; and to attempt to strengthen the chain of evidence which may some day show us exactly what is our relationship to the great Craftsmen who erected our medieval Castles, Abbeys and Cathedrals, and to discover in the distant past the germ of the 'speculative' which has developed into the Freemasonry of to-day—that almost miraculous Fraternity over which the sun is always at its meridian.

And so I have chosen for my subject our legacy from the Craftsmen—a subject so wide that I cannot, fortunately, be expected to do more than touch lightly on any of the items referred to. I had it in my mind to speak of Craft documents of early times; but, I cannot help feeling that there is much to be learned by us to-day from the actual works in stone of our forefathers: and so I widened my scope to include all that the Masons of the past have left to us, and have taken as my title:—

VESTIGIA LATHOMORUM

(The Trail of the Operative).

That the art of building was a studied one, and not a matter of haphazard inspiration, must be obvious to everyone. That it had some sort of organisation in this country long before the Norman Conquest must be admitted by anyone who has studied the ecclesiastical remains of pre-Conquest times—whether to follow the development of 'style' chronologically, or to trace peculiarities locally. The earliest Craft document which we possess is the *Regius Poem*, of about 1390; but a comparison of this MS. with the somewhat later *Cooke* and *Watson* texts makes it very hard to believe that the material on which these documents were based—at any rate, so far as the 'Charges' are concerned—was not very much older. And the unanimous reference by *all* versions of the Old Charges to a great re-organisation in the days of King Athelstan, as well as the fact that our traditional history ends at that period, seem to me to point very strongly to a historical fact.

And yet I believe that there is not a single case in this country in which we can trace any sort of continuity of a Lodge of Masons for more than the shortest of periods anterior to 1717. That there were more or less permanent bodies of Masons attached to some of our great Cathedrals, at any rate, during their principal building periods, is shown clearly by Fabric rolls, and the like; yet there seems to be no connection (at least none has been shown) between, for example, the Cathedral and City bodies of Masons at York and the old Lodge there.

Very different is the state of affairs in Scotland. I do not propose to enter on the vexed question of the genuineness of Malcolm III.'s Charter to the Glasgow Incorporation of Masons, of 1057; but even if it emanated only from Malcolm IV., between 1141 and 1165, it still gives a hoary antiquity to the Lodge. Even if we deny its authenticity altogether, there is a Charter of William "the Lion," brother of Malcolm IV., who died in 1214. Even if this is disputed, which I believe is not the case, there is a Seal of Cause from the Provost and Baillies, of 1551. And there is no reason to doubt either the continuous existence of the Glasgow Incorporation from the twelfth century up to the present day, or that it was that very body which was responsible for the building and rebuilding of the Cathedral in 1115 and 1181.

This is not an isolated case. There are strong traditions associating present-day Lodges of Edinburgh, Kilwinning, and Stirling with the building of the Abbeys, respectively, of Holyrood in 1128, Kilwinning in 1140, and Cambuskenneth in 1147. And if there be any doubt as to the truth of these traditions—and Stirling's Charter of 1147 has been ruthlessly denounced as forgery—we have still the Schaw Statutes of 1599, indicating these Lodges as the three 'heid ludges' of Scotland: while in at least two of the three cases there is no reason to doubt the continuity of the body since at least the latter date. And, though the change from operative to non-operative preponderance was in progress throughout the seventeenth century, we can date, almost to a year, the emergence of the 'speculative' Lodges of to-day.

England has few, if any, parallels to these facts. This does not mean that the Masonic history of this country, if fully ascertained, would be less interesting than that of Scotland; the reverse would more likely be the case. For, instead of the continuity, relatively so complete in Scotland, we find in England a vast chasm to be bridged by the historian, which probably reaches from the Reformation until 1717—a gap, in fact, of roughly a century and a half.

And the problem of the historian is rendered more interesting, though by no means easier, by the fact that the 'personnel' of Masonry must have changed during that period from a largely operative to an almost entirely speculative character. To this period belong such incidents as Ashmole's initiation in 1646: and to this period belong certainly not less than 60 of our existing copies of the Old Charges. To this period also belong the curiously transitional "New Articles" of the Roberts Family.

Bro. J. W. Hobbs' recent and valuable paper on "The Travelling Masons and Cathedral Builders"—valuable perhaps even more for its outlook, the material brought together, and the lines of research which it suggests, than for the conclusions which he reaches—has fully proved the 'mobility' of the Craft in medieval times, though the writer seems inclined to doubt if it was, so to speak, permanently mobile. The question seems to resolve itself into—whether our great buildings were built by travelling Masons, or bodies of Masons, or whether 'localised' gilds were temporarily employed away from their usual situations, to which they returned at the conclusion of the enterprise. My own opinion is, that the former was normally the case in England, and the latter in Scotland; and that it is partly to this fact that Scottish Masonry owes that continuity to which I have already alluded. But the answer to such a question ought not in these days to be a matter of opinion: and one of my objects in this paper is to indicate some of the lines on which careful research may and should throw light on the whole subject.

To begin with, it seems to me that a localised or Town Gild of Masons capable of building a Church or Cathedral would be, generally, a rather unnecessary body. The standard of skill required, as well as the differences in *matériel* between this type of building and the domestic architecture of the town, would make it impossible for an ordinary town to support such a gild of its own; and one imagines the travelling Mason coming to build, and moving on to another neighbourhood at the completion of the work. This, in fact, constitutes the fundamental difference between the Masons' Craft and all others, and is perhaps the basis of the term 'Free' as rather peculiarly applied to the Mason. A Cathedral City, however, might well maintain such a body, at any rate during periods of building activity: and it should be interesting to see whether the fact is reflected in the City records of apprenticeships and freedoms conferred.

Norwich is fortunate in having a complete calendar of its freemen from 1317 to 1603 in print. Starting from 1360,[1] we find two periods—1421-50 and 1571-90—in which the figures rise to double or treble what would otherwise be an average of 5 per decade. Now Norwich possesses a very remarkable number—probably a record for its population—of Parish Churches, a large number of which appear to be of mid-fifteenth century: while the only large building operation on the Cathedral during the period was between 1580 and 1590. The figures thus seem to me to show that it was the Town Gild which undertook both the Churches and the Cathedral. If Norwich possessed the Chapter accounts for the period, it would perhaps be possible to check this, by identifying the men employed with names on the roll of freemen.

York is more fortunate, as both Minster and City records have been preserved. But here the state of affairs appears to have been different. Of 71 Masons, carpenters, and glaziers, employed at the Minster between about 1350 and 1440, only 23—12 Masons, 6 carpenters, and 5 glaziers—appear as freemen of the city. The Minster, then, had a separate body of operatives, though doubtless it drew on the city at times. And this probability is further emphasized when we find that several Minster operatives, who also appear on the city roll of freemen, did not obtain the freedom of the city until *after* they had worked at the Minster. Thus, William Colchester, Master Mason of the Cathedral from 1415 to 1419, did not obtain the freedom of the city until 1416; while John Coverham, glazier at the Minster in 1419, obtained it in 1425.

But York, like Norwich, has a remarkably large number of churches in the Perpendicular style—*i.e.*, built during a period commencing at about 1370: and there is a great increase in the number of admissions to the freedom of the city in the building trades at just that period. Considering the two centuries from 1300 to 1500,[2] in the early part the average entry per decade for Masons was under 4, and for all the building trades 16: while in the latter part the figures were respectively 5 and 45. But from 1360 to 1430 the average entries were 12 and 69 respectively per decade—figures which strongly suggest that it was the City Masons who built the churches.

My own view is that towns such as York and Norwich were probably exceptional in their possession of Town Gilds capable of doing such work: and that very likely the end of the fourteenth century marked a change (temporary or permanent) to a state of affairs in which this was the case. Previously, no doubt, the Town Gild would have assisted the 'mobile' or skilled element with the 'laying' and other comparatively unskilled parts of the work, just as the Cistercian monks probably took part with the trained Masons in the building of their own Abbeys. In this connection, it is interesting to read the story of Buckfast Abbey, lately restored from its foundations by the Benedictine Community which settled by its ruins in 1882. The present Abbey has taken eighteen years to build: the number of 'brothers' employed during that time having averaged four, while at no time did it exceed six. And of all those employed, with the exception of one who had been a Mason, and one who was "sent to

[1] See Table 1 at end.
[2] See Table 2 at end.

Exeter for a few weeks to learn stone-carving," every one learnt his Craft at this building. Again, at this very time there is proceeding an interesting restoration of the beautiful Norman church at Dalmeny, near Edinburgh, where all work is being done voluntarily by the parishioners under the guidance of two Masons.

Such facts as these may well revolutionise our ideas as to the training and functions of the men who built our medieval Abbeys, Churches, and Castles. But that in early days there was a distinction between the 'Mason' and the 'layer' there seems to be no doubt; and on this question I cannot refrain from referring to London.

London, if the membership of its Companies was known, would doubtless reveal decisive evidence as to the respective parts played by the local Mason and the visitor. As it is, we have one outstanding fact which *may* perhaps throw a little light on it: and at the risk of laying myself open to ridicule, I throw out the suggestion that the quarrel between the 'masons who were hewers and the masons who were layers,' in 1356, represents just the same turning point as seems to have occurred at Norwich and York. If the 'hewers' represented the skilled Church builders—by that time 'localised' in the City, owing to the scope afforded—and the 'layers,' the unskilled but old-established Town Gild, then the time was bound to come when the two bodies would merge into one another: and that is exactly what happened at the settlement which was effected between them. The operative 'charge' forbidding the 'Mason' to 'make mould, square, or rule to no layer' at any rate makes it clear that the latter belonged to a building trade on a definitely lower footing. It may not be irrelevant to mention that when visiting buildings in Scotland, I have repeatedly heard Masons' Marks referred to as 'hewers' marks.'

That a number of large towns had, by the middle of the fifteenth century, their own Gilds, capable of undertaking buildings of all classes, seems probable: but I cannot help thinking, on general grounds, that this must have been the exception, rather than the rule. If I am right, then the very interesting question arises, what happened to the 'mobile' Masons after the Reformation, when Church and Abbey building practically ceased for a time. It has often been suggested that they must have drifted into the towns, and been absorbed into the Town Gilds: and the rather marked advance in the standard of domestic building in the Elizabethan age has been pointed to as an indication of this. Rolls of freemen might reveal this: but the marked increase of admissions at Norwich in 1570-90 is probably too late to be due to this cause. My only other attempt to test the suggestion by reference to rolls of freemen has resulted in the discovery of the following most surprising fact:—

An analysis of the York records for the sixteenth century reveals a fairly steady increase in the number of admissions in the building trades generally, from 29 in the first decade to 60 in the last, with an average of 45. But during the whole century there are only recorded seven Masons and two Freemasons—the Masons occurring in the first four decades, while both Freemasons occur in the last. I do not at the moment propose to offer any explanation of this remarkable fact; I will return to it later.

But whether I am right or wrong in my belief that a mobile class of Mason persisted generally up to the time of the Reformation—*i.e.*, up to the middle of the sixteenth century—one fact seems to stand out clear: that it is to the Town Gild that we must look for the preservation of the esoteric element in Masonry (if, indeed, it existed) through the century and a half which preceded the formation of our Grand Lodge.

It is in the 'acception' of the London Company alone that we find more or less clear indications of anything of the kind much before 1700; and I am convinced that there is much important work waiting to be done. Some years ago I attempted the analysis of the records of the Borough of Kendal: and I satisfied myself, if no one else, that something of special interest, and entirely

different from ordinary trade business, was going on in the Trade Company of the Wrights (which included all the building trades) in the last half of the sixteenth century. So far as I know, no such records, outside London, whether reprinted or not, have ever been subjected to a similar scrutiny; and yet the rolls of freemen and regulations and accounts of Trade Gilds exist in many of our towns, and only such a scrutiny can reveal what we are seeking--the continuity of the Masonic tradition during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

As to the lines along which such a scrutiny should proceed, it is impossible to lay down any rules. Each case must be allowed to develop along its own. At Canterbury, for instance, there has survived a book of accounts of the Company or Fellowship of Masons, &c. (containing all the building trades), for a period of about a century previous to the formation of our Grand Lodge: that is to say, it covers a period during which extensive restoration work was carried out at the Cathedral, and reaches a point only a few years before the formation of the first Lodge in Canterbury. This Company was, of course, primarily a purely operative one: but there are several curious features, such as irregularities in the fees paid, and above all the impression that several of its members were well-to-do citizens who were not operatives, which seem to me to point to something esoteric. If any of its members could be identified with early members of the Lodge at the Red Lion, of 1731, there would be a strong case for this view.

I have already alluded to the sudden cessation in the series of Masons at York in the sixteenth century.[1] After 1540, there is only one entry in 110 years; after which, 27 names appear in the next 110. Entries of Freemasons *begin* at the end of the sixteenth century, and continue fairly steadily at an average rate of one per decade up to 1760. Whether the distinction between 'Mason' and 'Freemason' is significant or not, I am unable to say; but out of seven cases in which a Freemason is referred to a second time in the roll, in four cases he is described merely as a Mason. It is thus likely that of the 28 Masons appearing between 1590 and 1760, some should by rights be turned over to increase the list of 16 Freemasons of the same period. It is perhaps worth mentioning that an entry of 1744 describes one Charles Mitley as 'carver and free-working mason.'

But, however they were named, the remarkable fact remains that just when we might expect to see evidence of an influx of Freemasons, we actually find a break of some fifty years (from 1540 to 1590) during which Masons of no class appear; and then the Freemason appears for the first time on the York rolls. And, again at considerable risk, I venture to put forward a tentative explanation.

My suggestion is that a Company or Gild of Freemasons—one whose members did not appear on the City's roll of freemen—localised itself in York in mid-sixteenth century, and that it became the normal practice for a City Mason to join it. But it was growing increasingly speculative, and had, by the end of the century, become virtually non-operative. This is, after all, only just what is known to have happened, for example, at Edinburgh and Dumfries and probably Stirling, only about a century later. The operative Freemason is thus driven to appear among the other Trades on the City's roll of freemen; while the speculative body remains concealed (owing to lack of documentary evidence) until brought to light in the early Minutes of the old York Lodge. One thing is certain—that a careful scrutiny of all the names of known members of the old York Lodge shows almost every trade represented among its membership. A trace of its old operative connection is perhaps revealed in the fact that no less than six of its members were employed in the building of Castle Howard in the early part of the eighteenth century, only one of whom is also found in the City's roll of freemen.

But I want to leave the Town Gild, and return to the Travelling Mason. There is another line of research available, which I will try to indicate by

[1] See Table 3 at end.

examples. The rapidity with which the thirteenth century, or Early English, style of architecture spread and established itself over England has often puzzled the student; and has convinced many of the existence of a high degree of organisation in the Craft at that time. In a few cases we can actually trace the hand which helped to spread a new idea; in others we can see how an idea was copied. Thus, soon after Salisbury Cathedral was well begun, Bishop Poore, who had inspired the undertaking, was translated to Durham; and he took with him Elias de Dereham, the Architect of Salisbury. The earliest thirteenth century work at Durham is thus the Chapel of the Nine Altars, which in some of its details strongly resembles work at Salisbury, and which was planned by Bishop Poore and partially carried out by Dereham. But the idea of the Nine Altars, which was commenced in 1242, was undoubtedly suggested by the similar work at Fountains Abbey, which seems to have been finished by about 1247. So we see something of the way in which a new idea, or a new style, was carried about; though the style which was new to Durham was by no means new to the North, for the Nine Altars Chapel of Fountains itself presents a beautiful example of the Early English style. We can perhaps go even further afield. It has been said that architectural styles in Scotland are, roughly, a century later than in England. But among other exceptions we find Glasgow Cathedral, which is almost exactly contemporary with Salisbury, and which so reflects the spirit of that building that some have found it difficult to believe that the builders of Glasgow Cathedral had not actually been at Salisbury.

About a century before, Flambard had been at work at Durham, while Abbot Hugh's work at Selby Abbey seems to have been only a few years later. And a sufficiently close connection has been observed between the two buildings to make it exceedingly probable that the same Architect was employed for both. The resemblances do not stop at the general similarity of the plans, with their rather unusual circular columns, with spiral mouldings, placed in the same relative positions, but extend to actual ornamental details on the bases of the columns and in a string-course round the walls. This rather strongly suggests that some of the individual Craftsmen, as well as the Architect, went from Durham to Selby, and perhaps points to the migration of a whole Lodge. I may add, that at least one Parish Church—that at Kirkby Lonsdale, in Westmorland—bears a strong impress of the same hand or group.

Earlier still, among pre-Conquest remains, strong local peculiarities may be found, such as the basilican plan in south-east England, or the characteristic towers of Lincolnshire; while the very remarkable resemblance between the crypts at Hexham and Ripon would point to the same hand, even if we did not know that each was the work of Wilfrid.

Many other examples of known or inferred connection between buildings might be brought forward, but I think I have said enough to show those who are unfamiliar with the comparative study of Architecture that the story of the Craft is to some extent written in the works which it has left. I ought, perhaps, to apologise for going so far from speculative Masonry as we know it; but I must emphasise my opinion that one of the first steps towards the discovery of the esoteric in the medieval Craft must be a thorough understanding of the operative. The Old Charges point, as early as the fourteenth century, to a Fraternity spread over the Realm, with periodical meetings for business which they were bound to attend if within a certain distance; and the truth of the references is confirmed by the well-known Statute of Henry VI., of 1425: and no avenue of research should be left unexplored which may bring to light anything of the conditions under which they lived and moved and worked.

With this apology, I approach one more, to me rather fascinating line of speculation based on an actual building. The records of York freemen commence in 1272; and for a considerable period almost every entry is distinguished by a 'place-name' rather than a proper surname: the latter becoming the rule rather than the exception at about the beginning of the fifteenth century. We must, of course, hesitate before assuming that, say, Jacobus de Kirkham actually came

to York from Kirkham, as he might have been merely the son of one who did. But, bearing this in mind, it still seems to me a curious fact that, of the nine entries under the name of Patrington, or de Patrington, between 1352 and 1422 (and there are no others), no less than four are described as Masons, two as wrights, and one as a carpenter—the other two being respectively a 'barbour' and a skinner. And we must not forget that a William de Patrington, mason, was working at Westminster from 1351 to 1358. Now Patrington possesses what is, if not the most beautiful Parish Church in England, at least one which is second to none in the perfection of its detail, design, and execution. Is it a coincidence that this small village should have turned out so many men of the building trades: or is it possible that Patrington may have actually served as in some sense a school for Masons? And I will go a little further, and ask: Is it only a coincidence that, whatever we may make of the claims put forward for the St. Clair family, the Chapel at Rosslyn may fairly be described as the most perfect workmanship of its kind in the British Isles: or is it possible that the St. Clairs really did have (shall we say) special Masonic facilities as early as the fifteenth century, when the Chapel was built?

We know, in fact, extraordinarily little about the 'personnel' of the Craft in early days, and I know of very few writers who have attempted to get behind the works of the Craft, and to discover something of its organisation, the relative status and functions of the men, and the conditions under which they worked. That these subjects may before long receive adequate attention is suggested by the recent publication of two books which should be of the greatest interest to Craft students—I refer to M. S. Briggs' *The Architect in History* (1927) and G. G. Coulton's *Art and the Reformation* (1928)—both, I believe, by non-Masons. The whole subject is one in which members of our Fraternity might well lead the way: and in a number of cases I feel sure that a Freemason, going over the same ground with a keen eye for evidence, might have found still more abundant material of interest. And I throw it out as a suggestion to any Brother who wishes to do constructive work, and does not know where to begin, that probably a careful study of the fabric rolls or building accounts of any of our Cathedrals—and there must be much unpublished, as well as published, matter which has never been so examined—will furnish evidence of the highest value.

But when we go to the buildings of the past to learn from them what they have to tell us of the Craft and its organisation, there is one feature, hitherto almost untouched, which I believe may yield most fruitful results—the Masons' Marks. It is pretty generally admitted that these marks were virtually the signatures of the individuals who cut the stones: and so, by a careful search, we ought to be able to follow the Mason from building to building. But the marks are for the most part very simple; and we can be by no means sure that the same mark, even over a small area or a short period of time, always indicates the same Mason. But if we can trace a *group* of marks as appearing on several buildings, then we shall be able to reconstruct the travellings of something more interesting than an individual Mason, namely, those of a Lodge. So far as I know, only one complete county series, as such, has ever been collected, and this is to be found in the final volume of the Historical Monuments Commission on Essex. But that the possibility of tracing a group of Masons is by no means remote is shown in this collection by a group of no less than six marks, all appearing together in two fifteenth century churches about four miles apart.

I have written and spoken on more than one occasion on this subject: but I cannot resist the temptation to reiterate my belief that the complete and systematic collection of Masons' Marks over large areas is probably the most valuable work we can do at present towards the recovery of the lost story of the Craft: and that the results of such a collection would be as valuable to the student of Architecture as to the Freemason. And I am glad to be able to record two organized movements in this direction—in the Provinces of Shropshire and Durham.

I do not propose here to make suggestions as to the collection and classification of marks, but will content myself with saying that the work is simple, though valuable, and that any Brother with fairly good eyesight and a taste for old buildings can do good service.

Lastly, I come to perhaps the most intimate of all the relics of our Masonic forefathers—the Old Charges. It is, I think, hardly necessary for me to point out the importance of the study of these documents by any student who seriously undertakes the exploration of the early history of our Craft. Playing, as they seem to have done, an important part in the system of Masonry, and amended, as they certainly were from time to time, it is only natural that they should reveal much valuable information as to the organisation of the Craft.

But a great deal of this—perhaps most—has been extracted, and is to be found embedded in the classic works of such students as Hughan, Gould, and Begemann. The work which now awaits the student is of a rather different type, being largely of the nature of 'textual criticism.' I will indicate the sort of thing by an example, though here, as elsewhere, it is almost impossible to anticipate the lines along which the study of a MS. will proceed.

Till recently, the so-called Harris Branch was a small group consisting of three MSS.—one located at Dumfries, and the other two of doubtful provenance, though the latest of the trio (of the second half of the eighteenth century) shows evidence of a London origin. Within the last two years, however, two more copies have come to light. These are the *Wallace Heaton* and the *Brook Hills* MSS., both now in the Grand Lodge Library, and hailing respectively from Herefordshire and Nottinghamshire. Of course, we cannot say with any certainty that the origins of these MSS. are correctly represented by the places where they were discovered; but at least we have the appearance of a very wide-spread text, and one which suggests that the original, whether in the hands of an individual or a Lodge, travelled extensively during the latter part of the seventeenth century. The work to be done on these MSS. probably consists largely of the comparison of their text with other groups, to ascertain where and when it took its present form, and, conversely, influenced others. Such a comparison reveals at least one other locality associated with this text; for the *Tho. Carmick* MS., of early eighteenth century, which probably hails from South Lancashire, is to a large extent based on the Harris text.

The reconstruction of the wanderings of this text might thus throw a flood of light on Craft history in late seventeenth century. But it is tedious and difficult work; and though we are in real need of a few determined students who are willing to undertake it, it is only fair to warn them of the labour involved in the necessary collation of MSS. in search of the often very slight clues which may reveal the object pursued.

The whole question of the location of the known copies of the Old Charges presents features of interest: for, so far as we know the probable sources of these MSS., with the exception of one from Herefordshire, one from South Wales, and two from the Midlands, there are no copies of earlier date than 1700 hailing from south of lat. 53 (or, say, south of a line drawn from Anglesey to the Wash); while eleven can be associated with what I may perhaps be allowed to call the 'Warrington area,' in Lancashire and Cheshire, and no less than sixteen with Yorkshire. Five come from Northumberland and Durham, and eleven seem to belong rightly to Scotland. Even if we assume large proportions for the deliberate burning of "several very valuable Manuscripts" in 1720, referred to by Anderson, and account to some extent in this way for the paucity of south-country or London copies, the north-country preponderance still seems to have a significance which it would be hard to overestimate: and points to a chapter of Masonic history which is at present entirely unwritten.

Another chapter—a much more recent one—will be written when we understand fully the genesis of the Spencer Family, the latest group of all. A study of the half-dozen versions involved suggests strongly that the group represents an organized effort to evade or supersede Anderson's Book of

Constitutions, of 1723; and I am by no means without hope that before long the various clues afforded may enable us to discover what individual or party was responsible for the effort.

Such are a few of the problems with which the student of the Old Charges is confronted. The field is open and almost untouched; and the fact that every new-found version at once fits into the classification completed more than twenty years ago by Hughan and Begemann suggests that no discovery of new material is likely to do more than slightly modify any conclusions we may reach. As to the finding of new copies, the last few years have been rich ones: since the publication of Hughan's book in 1895, or thirty-three years ago, twenty-two new versions have come to light, no less than six of which have turned up during the last four years.

And now, Brethren, I have finished my somewhat sketchy survey of some of the possibilities open to the student of operative Craft history. That this is by no means the only branch of research available for the enquirer is made clear by the steady flow of original work which is regularly set before our Lodge. But I feel that the Master of this Lodge should welcome and avail himself of such an opportunity as this to point a way, if not the only way, for his fellow-students, and I have tried to do this. I have indicated a wide region in which I believe most valuable work awaits the doing: and if I have awakened in any of my hearers an inclination to travel that way, then I am satisfied that I have not wasted the opportunity.

TABLE 1.

Numbers of Masons obtaining freedom of Norwich.

1361-70	3	1441-50	10	1521-30	5
71-80	1	51-60	8	31-40	6
81-90	4	61-70	7	41-50	7
91-1400	2	71-80	6	51-60	4
1401-10	4	81-90	7	61-70	8
11-20	6	91-1500	3	71-80	16
21-30	11	1501-10	5	81-90	16
31-40	0	11-20	8	91-1600	4

I cannot explain the curiously complete blank in 1431-40.

TABLE 2.

Numbers admitted to the freedom of York, 1300-1500.

	Masons only	All building trades		Masons only	All building trades
1301-10	5	7	1401-10	7	41
11-20	3	8	11-20	19	92
21-30	2	16	21-30	13	83
31-40	3	20	31-40	6	58
41-50	6	22	41-50	6	53
51-60	2	19	51-60	7	41
61-70	11	50	61-70	7	44
71-80	14	62	71-80	4	47
81-90	10	66	81-90	5	44
91-1400	10	77	91-1500	1	31

TABLE 3.

Numbers of Masons and Freemasons admitted at York.

	Masons	Freemasons		Masons	Freemasons
1501-10	1		1631-40		
11-20			41-50		2
21-30	5		51-60	1 [1]	
31-40	1		61-70		1
41-50			71-80	2	
51-60			81-90		3
61-70			91-1700	1 [1]	1
71-80			1701-10		3
81-90			11-20	2	1
91-1600		2	21-30	5	
1601-10	1		31-40	9 [2]	2
11-20		1	41-50	1	
21-30			51-(59)	6	

At the subsequent Banquet, W. Bro. GEORGE NORMAN, I.P.M., proposed "The Toast of the Worshipful Master" in the following terms:—

Bro. Poole comes of a scholastic family, his Father having been an Assistant Master at Charterhouse and he himself is following the same profession, but having besides other occupations and interests.

Bro. Poole was born at Godalming in 1885, and received his early education at a Preparatory School there, from which he became an open scholar at Fettes College, Edinburgh, staying there from 1898-1904, when he became an open mathematical scholar at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and took a 2nd Class, Mathematical Tripos in 1907.

He was then appointed Assistant Master at King's School, Canterbury, his subjects being Mathematics and Geography; but he managed to find time for many other things as well, for he obtained a Commission in the O.T.C. in 1909, and was in command of the School contingent, with the rank of Captain, from 1913-15.

In 1912 he was ordained Deacon, and in 1913 Priest.

In 1908 he was initiated in the United Industrious Lodge 31; in 1910 exalted in Bertha R.A. Chapter 31; advanced 1911 in St. Martin's Lodge 262, and became a joining member of Q.C. Correspondence Circle in the same year.

At the outbreak of the Great War he desired to join up, but could not get away from the O.T.C. till nearly the end of 1915, when he resigned the School and received a Commission in the 4th Buffs (East Kent Regiment) reserve unit, Territorial Battalion. In July, 1916, he was sent to France and attached to 8th Royal Warwick Regiment, with which he had some experience of the Somme, and was then drafted to trench warfare about Hebuterne, where he got trench fever and septic poisoning, and had to go into hospital, and in November, 1916, was back in England on sick leave. Early in 1917, in response to a demand for Mathematicians, he offered for the R.G.A., and in April took charge of and trained a Battery of Siege Artillery, 6in. Howitzers, with which he went in July and joined the 5th Army, serving in front of Ypres during the latter part of the Messines affair, and also later at Paschendael. He was, however, taken ill and had to be sent home in November on sick leave.

In 1918, being better again and having passed through a course of Anti-Aircraft Gunnery, he was sent out again in March with Section 144 A.A., and

[1] Already free. [2] Two already free.

was for some months just behind Ypres, and was later transferred to lines of communication and subsequently down to the coast near Etaples, where he stayed till the Armistice.

Having been demobbed in February, 1919, he obtained a post as Assistant Master at Sedbergh School, and was also appointed Captain and Second-in-Command of the O.T.C., and in 1926 received the Territorial Decoration for having completed twenty years' service.

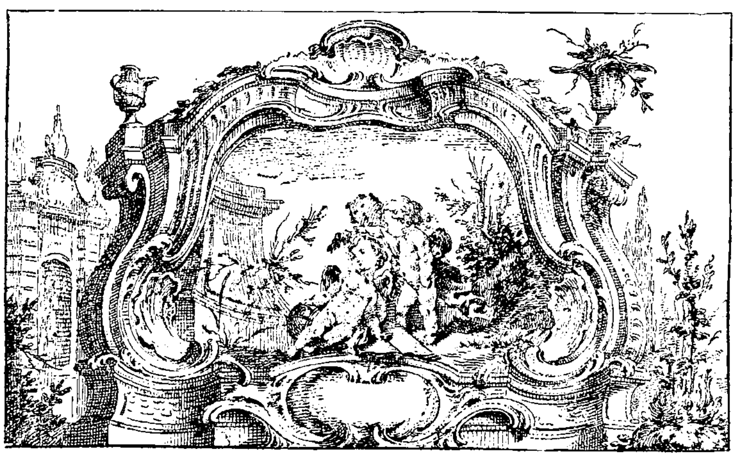
In 1919 he was a Founder of Winder Lodge 3984, and Master in 1923: in this same year admitted full member of Q.C. Lodge, and in 1925 was appointed Prov. Gd. Chaplain, Cumberland & Westmorland.

Bro. Poole has done exceptionally good work in Masonic Research, the following being some of his papers published in *A.Q.C.*:—*Thistle* MS.: Notes on the Trade Companies of Kendal; Masonic Ritual and Secrets before 1717; Masonic Song and Verse of 18th Cent.; also articles in *Misc. Lat.*, and *Masonic Record*, and a Book on "The Old Charges."

He is also an enthusiastic student and collector of antique Maps, and has edited Matt. Paris' Maps of Britain (1250, British Museum), and is doing similar work from material at the Bodleian, and has further work of the kind in prospect.

With all this he has also time for athletics, being fond of Rugger and Swimming—he is at the present moment suffering from an injury to his shoulder in the Football field, and in regard to the Swimming he is the holder of the Royal Life Saving Society's "Award of Merit," and is hoping for the Diploma some day. He is also Organizer for the R.L.S.S. at Sedbergh.

I think, Brethren, you will agree with me that our new W.M. has the gift of being able to devote himself to many different activities and in each case to do so with credit to himself and with advantage to others; and so there is no doubt he will show the same characteristics during his year of office, and I am sure we all welcome him most heartily as our new ruler.



REVIEWS.

HISTORY OF GUY'S LODGE, No. 395: 1829-1929.

By Bro. Stephen Mellows.

IN 1923 Bro. F. W. Bull published a work with the title *A History of Freemasonry*, which dealt mainly with Warwickshire. In that we were given a good deal of information as to Guy's Lodge with photographs of its many treasured possessions. The author stated, however, that as a result of the fire at the Hall in 1919, the Minute Books were "so damaged that they are of little use in writing this history."

On the occasion of the Centenary of this fine old Lodge, Bro. Stephen Mellows, P.Prov.A.G.D.C., and a Past Master of the Lodge, has produced a sumptuous history of it and has been able to make use of the Minute Books throughout, except for the period 1842-1847, and even here he has been able to make something of the fragments that were saved from the fire.

The original petition is signed by seven Brethren, and of all of these Bro. Mellows has given us more or less full biographical details. These founders all had some connection with Leamington, although three hailed from Lodges in Scotland, and one from Birmingham, while the moving spirit and first W.M., Bro. N. L. Torre, was at the time W.M. of Foundation Lodge, No. 121, at Cheltenham, of which another Founder was also a member. The seventh name is that of Captain G. G. Barrett, who gives as his Lodge Grand Oriel, Paris. Bro. Mellows takes this to be an address, but as all the other Founders give, not their addresses but their Lodges, there can be no doubt that it is a Masonic reference that is intended, and in that case what Bro. Barrett meant can only have been Grand *Orient*. But the writing in the original petition, which I have examined, is absolutely clear: the word is *Oriel*. The worthy officer was perhaps himself vague on the point. He never attended the Lodge and was, probably, none too well versed in Masonic phraseology.

The Lodge did not begin too well. By 1837 it was all but defunct, and there are indications too of internal dissensions. But the energy of one man, Bro. Adams, restored it to life. His first act, on reaching the Chair, was to strike off twenty members in arrears, and he re-opened the Lodge with nine other Brethren, none of them having been a Founder eight years previously. Since then, as this History records, the Lodge has progressed steadily. It met originally in the Bedford Hotel, which no longer exists. After several migrations it took up its quarters in the Masonic Rooms, Willes Road, formerly known as Victoria House. This property was purchased by a syndicate, and the final debt on it was extinguished in 1921, as a Peace Memorial. It was here that the fire occurred in 1919, in which the Lodge lost a Banner and other property and many of its records.

An interesting local custom is recorded: the E.A., apparently at the next meeting after his initiation, repeats in open Lodge his Obligation, having committed it to memory, as the author says, "despite Emulation." We may echo his hope that the Lodge will jealously preserve this interesting, and long-established addition to ordinary Lodge practice. The Lodge possesses a historic Gavel, which Bro. Bull had called the "Warwickshire Gavel," but Bro. Mellows, no doubt correctly, prefers to call it "Guy's Gavel." It has on it plates commemorating the numerous occasions on which it has been used for laying Foundation Stones.

At pp. 77 to 82 the author gives very full details of the Banquet on one of these occasions, which he twice refers to as the Fourth Degree; indeed he speaks of the "high standard attained in the Fourth Degree ceremony." One would have thought that this misuse of Masonic phraseology had long since gone out of use; it is surprising to meet with it in a work written to-day.

But the history generally has been carefully and lovingly put together, and is beautifully got up and printed, with a fine series of illustrations.

December, 1929. LIONEL VIBERT.

HALIFAX BUILDERS IN OXFORD.

T. W. Hanson.

In *A.Q.C.* xl., there was a passing reference, at p. 208, to John and Michael Bentley, Freemasons of the city of Oxford, John being one of the chief Masons at Merton. In the *Transactions* (1928) of the Halifax Antiquarian Society, Mr. T. W. Hanson has a valuable paper on Halifax builders in Oxford, which gives us a great deal of additional information. The Masons who went from Halifax to Oxford were John Ackroyd and John Bentley with two of Bentley's brothers.

John Ackroyd and his brothers had previously built the new Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth at Heath, near Halifax, of which nothing now remains but a rose window. They were almost certainly employed on many private houses in the neighbourhood, and the association with Oxford was due to the fact that Sir Henry Savile, Warden of Merton College, was born at Bradley Hall, close to Halifax, and Bradley Hall itself was built by the Ackroyd brothers.

The Bentleys, John and Michael, were trade partners with the Ackroyds, their native place being Elland.

Sir T. G. Jackson refers to the shortage of skilled Masons at Oxford at the time, which explains why the architects of Wadham were imported from Somerset, and those of Merton from Halifax. It appears that the Charter of Incorporation of the Masons of Oxford of 1604 (printed in full in *A.Q.C.* xl.) was not without its influence in producing this state of affairs. The incorporated trade was tempted to try and dictate to the University authorities, who promptly retaliated by importing craftsmen. Relations between the University and the City Gilds were very strained, and the imported Masons found things made very unpleasant for them in the City. So much so that Sylvester Pearson, an associate of Ackroyd and Bentley, appears to have formed some sort of Freemasons' gild for those working for the University authorities. This possibly explains why the memorial tablets in Oxford to Ackroyd and Bentley bore the arms of the Freemasons. In fact, these northern workmen came to Oxford as gild-breakers, and they succeeded in restoring peace at all events, since we find the names of Triplett, Maddocks and Burton, who are all mentioned in the Charter, in the Merton building accounts at a later date.

Merton Great Quad was built by John Bentley and John Ackroyd, and Anthony Bentley is also mentioned. Thomas Holt, another Yorkshireman, was associated with them as master carpenter. We also find Arthur Bentley and Martin Ackroyd. Mr. Hanson gives lengthy extracts from the building accounts.

From Merton they went on to Bodley's University Library, and the Schools Quadrangle with the celebrated Tower of the Five Orders, and we now find Michael Bentley associated with them. The monumental inscriptions to the Halifax Masons at Oxford are preserved for us in the copies made by Anthony Wood, and Mr. Hanson gives us full transcripts of their Wills as well and of the inventories made of their estates. The paper adds materially to our knowledge of a very interesting group of craftsmen.

December, 1929. LIONEL VIBERT.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE CENTENARY MEDAL OF THE GRAND MASTER'S LODGE OF IRELAND.—I have been lucky enough to acquire recently, through the good offices of Brother Harry Bladon, a specimen of the medal struck in the year 1849 to commemorate the centenary of the Grand Master's Lodge of Ireland, and both the Lodge and its medal are worthy of a note.

Spratt in his *Constitutions* (1751) tells us that on 3rd January 1749/50 it was reported to the Grand Lodge that the Grand Master had been pleased to form a new Lodge in Dublin to be known as the Grand Master's Lodge. Among the original members were: Lord Kingsborough, Grand Master, Sir Marmaduke Wyvill, Bart., Past Grand Master, John Putland, Deputy Grand Master, Boyle Lennox and the Hon. Roderick McKenzie, Grand Wardens. Contrary to the usual Irish practice, the Lodge received no number, and was formed with the express purpose of limiting the membership to Grand Officers. This limitation continued, more or less, in force, I believe, until the year 1893.

The Grand Lodge having received the report:—

> "Ordered that a register be opened in the Grand register-book for the said Lodge and that the same shall henceforth be distinguished and known by the denomination of the Grand Master's Lodge: and all or any of the members thereof, who may at any time think proper to visit the Grand Lodge, shall take place of every other Lodge on the Registry, or roll books of this Kingdom, and that each and every of them shall be as fully entitled to all and every of the privileges and freedoms thereof, as any other member or members that this Grand Lodge is composed of."

This privilege of a right to attend Grand Lodge and vote therein remained with every Member who was a Master Mason, quite irrespective of his ever having served as Master or Warden, right down to the year 1837. The members of the Lodge are still entitled to a Grand Officer's salute, and wear an apron that differs from a Grand Officer's only in having the letters G.M.L. on the flap. We own a specimen of this apron in our Q.C. Museum.

In addition to the foregoing privileges, for very many years the Grand Master's Lodge possessed the right of recommending to Grand Lodge the names of those to be elected as new Grand Officers. (Perhaps I should emphasize the fact that in Ireland from Time Immemorial in Grand Lodge and subordinate Lodges we have always elected all the officers, not appointed some of them, as in England.) As a matter of pure history, I had better add that the Grand Lodge did not always adopt the recommendation of the Grand Master's Lodge, but in the great majority of cases it did; and if any proof is needed of the almost invariable wisdom of such recommendations, it may be found in the biographical pages of the *Bicentenary History*. This honourable distinction of recommending Grand Officers only ceased in 1842, and it is said that the change was made at the instance of the Grand Master's Lodge itself. The free renunciation of a great privilege may confer more lasting honour than its retention: honour then to whom honour is due.

I cannot attempt to go further into the history of the Lodge in this place, and it will be enough to add that its name will ever be inseparably connected with all that has been best in Irish Freemasonry, that it has a standard of working which few other Lodges can equal and none surpass, and that throughout its long life it has been and still is the pattern of what such a Lodge ought to be. Incidentally, it is the prototype of all Grand Masters' Lodges that ever have

been or will be, and our English Grand Master's Lodge itself was founded in imitation of the Irish model.

These plain statements of fact seem a necessary prologue to what is about to follow, because it is obvious that when a Lodge such as this had to set about the preparation of a commemorative medal, it would demand a truly national symbolism in the design, and not be content to borrow light-heartedly from the symbolism of other Masonic Constitutions, as too many Irish Lodges often did, thus causing much darkening of judgment and gnashing of teeth among puzzled students. The obvious is what happened in this case. The medal is truly and typically Irish, in workmanship and in design.

Through the extreme fraternal kindness of Brother Colonel Claude Cane, Deputy Grand Master of Ireland, I have been able to discover the artist who engraved it.

It was struck by a Dublin silversmith, Brother Henry E. Flavelle, father of the late Deputy Grand Secretary of Ireland. Brother Flavelle, Senior, was also the maker of the beautiful silver Ark of the Covenant which forms a conspicuous object at our Grand Lodge meetings in Ireland.

The reverse of the medal has the following inscription:—

> THE MOST NOBLE | AUGUSTUS FREDERICK | DUKE OF LEINSTER | GRAND MASTER OF THE | ORDER OF FREE AND | ACCEPTED MASONS | OF IRELAND.

The Duke was Grand Master of Ireland from 1813 till 1874.

On the rim of my specimen is 1796, and if this is intended to mark a special date, I frankly confess my inability to explain it in connection with either the Grand Master's Lodge or the FitzGerald family.

The obverse of the medal has the legend in Roman lettering round the margin:—

> GRAND MASTERS LODGE. CENTENARY 3^{d}. JAN^{y}. 5849.

At the top is the All-seeing Eye. Immediately in the rays beneath it stands the Grand Master himself, wearing a cocked hat and the special apron of the Grand Master's Lodge, and having round his neck the Square pendant from a ribbon. Beside him is an Irish Masonic Altar (though perhaps this may be merely a pedestal), decorated with the Five-pointed Star, a symbol that played a very illuminating part in the ceremony when I was raised a Master Mason, though perhaps it may not be 'strict' Irish working.

On this Altar the Grand Master is resting a pair of Gold Compasses, the special implement of an Irish Grand Master. (Grand Lodge had to purchase a new pair in the seventeen-nineties, the former pair having unaccountably disappeared like Malachi's collar of gold.) In his other hand he holds a Trowel.

The Trowel, which has now disappeared from our Irish working (though, as I have been reminded by Brother Claude Cane, it is still retained *by Law* on the seal which every Lodge has to possess and use in official correspondence), had been from the days of Mrs. Aldworth and the Earl of Rosse an indispenable symbol to distinguish an Irish Mason, and the moral doctrines it inculcates are described at length in the Irish *Ahiman Rezon* of 1817. We may conclude from this medal that in the year 1849 it had not yet been thrown on the scrap-heap.

To the right of the Grand Master stands part of a Temple, two pillars supporting a pediment, and between them a walled-up Arch of masonry. The Keystone of the Arch has eight dots arranged in a circle to represent eight letters well known to every Mark Mason.

The presence of such symbolism on a Craft medal would appear strange to our ideas in Ireland to-day, but times have changed. In those days the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Ireland was much more closely united to the Grand Lodge than it is now. When the S.G.R.A.C. was founded in 1829, and for long years afterwards, the Grand Master and Deputy Grand Master by virtue of holding these offices held corresponding posts of honour and dignity in

the Grand Chapter, always provided, of course, that they were R.A. Masons. A change indeed has come over the scene to-day, when no Irish Mason can simultaneously hold active Grand Office in both Masonic Bodies—a matter whereon I express no opinion, though I have a very decided one.

The Keystone is present because in the year 1845 the S.G.R.A.C. of Ireland took the Mark Degree "under its protection," and now, as most readers will know, in Ireland the Mark Degree is conferred in our Chapters as a necessary preliminary step to the Arch, and every First Principal before his installation as King has to be installed as V.W.M. of a Mark Lodge.

I fancy all this symbolism may have been inserted as a reminder that the Duke was head of R.A. Masonry in Ireland as well as of the Craft, which, of course, he was.

Behind the Grand Master is open country showing what I take to be a hill with a mound and a sprig of acacia stuck in it. At the back is what seems to be an unfinished building with Three Gates.

Scattered on the ground at the Grand Master's feet are certain Tools, a Sword, and a Book. Brother Shackles in his "Medals" mistakenly describes this last object as a "Rough Ashlar"; but it is undoubtedly a Book, the V.S.L. (N.B.—Shackles also misprints 5843 instead of 5849 as the date of the medal.)

The Sword plays a very important and memorable part in the Irish ceremony of Initiation. Our having preserved the beautiful piece of symbolism conveyed by it is one of the time-immemorial links we have with the Bristol Brethren: and I am disposed to hold it as an article of faith that in both Ireland and Bristol it is a survival from a very remote common original ritual. I cannot believe that Bristol borrowed this part of the ceremony from Ireland, and can see no reason why it should not have been preserved as tenaciously in the West of England as it was still farther West.

The Tools may be grouped together as follows for description, though they are not strictly arranged in this order on the medal: The 24-inch Gauge, Gavel, and Chisel.

The presence of the Chisel was not unexpected, and it gave me a great deal of pleasure to find it figuring here with the approval of the Grand Master's Lodge, for it was, beyond a shadow of doubt, one of the important Working Tools of old Irish Masonry, though it is now proscribed in our Lodges. This ruthless piece of mutilation was, I understand, committed not really so very long ago, certainly after 1849, as this medal proves. I have been told by a distinguished Irish Brother that the Chisel was in vogue at his initiation in a well-known Lodge of County Down in the year 1886.

Then come the Square, the Level, and the Plumbrule, which need no elucidation from me.

The Compasses have been already mentioned, but there is no sign (and I expected there would be no sign) of either a Pencil or a Skirret, though we have them in Ireland now. I assume that the date of the borrowing of the two latter implements must be subsequent to 1849. They are excellent acquisitions, but, to my mind, they do not atone for the loss of the Trowel and Chisel.

Two objects remain to be described, something that looks like a protractor for drawing angles and is new to me as part of the Furniture of a Lodge; and the other object I take to be a Triangular Plate of Gold such as we have in another Degree outside the Craft, a Degree that has lent other symbolism to this medal.

The medal is now in our Museum, where every Brother may check my deductions for himself. I offer them with rather mixed feelings: regrets that a ritual which has altered so little through the centuries compared with the rituals of other Constitutions should yet be proven to have suffered from tinkering with its distinctive and time-honoured symbolism at a comparatively recent period within the memory of man; but also pride at the thought of the discipline and loyalty in my Mother Constitution that made the Lodges generally accept such changes when they were decreed by the supreme authority of the Grand Lodge itself.

JOHN HERON LEPPER.

OBITUARY.

IT is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Rev. Canon **Charles William Barnard,** M.A., of Sutton Coldfield, on 18th August, 1928. Bro. Barnard held the rank of Past Grand Chaplain, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1915.

Frederick Thomas Beck, of West Bromwich, on 6th October, 1928. Our Brother had attained the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer in the Craft and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies in the R.A. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1915.

Arthur George Boswell, of London, S.W., on 18th September, 1928. Bro. Boswell held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1894.

Marston Charles Bridger, of Chingford, Essex, on 25th August, 1928. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, in Victoria, Australia. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1924.

Henry Burgess, of Hounslow, Middlesex, on 19th November, 1928. Bro. Burgess was a P.M. of Addiscombe Lodge No. 1556, and he had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1900.

James Castello, of London, W., on 18th July, 1928. Our Brother held L.R., and was a P.M. of Ionic Lodge No. 227, and P.Z. of the Royal York Chapter of Perseverance No. 7. He was one of the senior members of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in January, 1891.

Simeon Josephus Coker, of Sierra Leone, in 1928. Bro. Coker was P.M. of Freetown Lodge No. 1955 and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1914.

Dr. **Charles Curd,** of Bath, on 27th July, 1928. Our Brother held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1909.

William Munro Denholm, of Glasgow, in September, 1928. Bro. Denholm was Representative for the G.L. of Utah and the G.Chap. of Delaware. He held the rank of Past Grand Warden and Past Grand J., and had been a member of the Correspondence Circle since March, 1891.

Edmund Hunt Dring, of Sutton, Surrey, on 26th October, 1928. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1899; joined the Lodge in June, 1906; and was Master in 1912-13.

Alexander Boddie Hunter, of Leeds, on 13th September, 1928. Bro. Hunter was a member of Lodge No. 642 (I.C.), and joined our Correspondence Circle in January, 1910.

William Percy Jotcham, of Enfield, Middlesex, on 1st September, 1928. Our Brother was P.M. of High Cross Lodge No. 754, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1919.

W. Redfern Kelly, J.P., M.Inst.C.E., of Belfast, on 19th August, 1928. Bro. Kelly held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., Antrim, and Grand Superintendent, Antrim. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1904.

William Alfred Thomas Machin, of Bloemfontein, in 1928. Our Brother had attained the rank of P.Dep.Dis.G.D.C. and P.Dis.G.So. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1927.

Joseph Swan Mawson, of Sheffield, on 10th October, 1928. Bro. Mawson was P.M. of Hallamshire Lodge No. 2268 and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1922.

James Heron Stirling, of Belfast, on 23rd November, 1928. Our Brother held the office of Pr.G.M., Antrim. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1908.

John Sutherland, of Abercynon, Glam., on 3rd August, 1929. Bro. Sutherland held the rank of P.Pr.G.D.C. in the Craft and Royal Arch. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1923.

William Young, of London, S.W., on 13th November, 1928. Bro. Young was P.M. of Portland Lodge No. 1037 and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1922.

ST. JOHN'S CARD.

THE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1928:—

LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.:—Lodge Khyber No. 582, Peshawar, India; Lodge Granite No. 1328, London, W.; Lodge Light in the Himalayas No. 1448, Murree, India; Lodge Northern Star No. 1463, Ferozepore, India; Lodge Kitchener No. 2998, Simla, India; Lodge Derajat No. 3206, Dera Ismail Khan, India; Notts Installed Masters Lodge No. 3595, Nottingham; Lister Lodge No. 3599, Birmingham; University Lodge of Hong-Kong, No. 3666, Hong-Kong, China; Three Pillars Lodge No. 4867, Accra, W. Africa; Richard Collyer Lodge No. 4905, Horsham, Sussex; Lodge St. David No. 36, Edinburgh; Lodge in Vrijheid Een, Bussum, Holland; Summit Lodge No. 163, St. Paul, Minnesota, U.S.A.; Royal Connaught Lodge of Instruction No. 2676, Eastbourne; Red Triangle Lodge of Instruction No. 4000, London, E.; Yenangyaung Study Circle No. 4374, Upper Burma; Bond of Friendship Lodge of Instruction No. 4853, London, S.W.; Exeter Lodge of Instruction, Exeter; Stafford Study Circle, Stafford; Scottish Rite Library, Oakland, Cal., U.S.A.

BRETHREN:—Thomas Abbott, of West Stanley, Co. Durham. 2929, *2929*; Thomas Cumming Aitken, of Moffat, Dumfriesshire. 170, *288*; John Hodson Alcock, B.A., LL.B., of Mansfield, Notts. S.W. 4520; Morris Alexander, K.C., of Cape Town. Pr.G.M., S. Africa (D.C.); Thomas Edward Allibone, of Cambridge, 3911; Alexander Anderson, of Carron, Falkirk. W.M. 16, J. *210*; Dr. D. Drysdale Anderson, of Mauritius. 2546, *2546*; William Miller Duncan Anderson, of Glasgow. 1241, *189*; James F. Andrew, of Yoker, Glasgow. 117; Thomas Hawkes Andrew, of Exeter, P.Pr.G.W. Somerset, P.Pr.G.J. Som. & Devon.; Edgar Athelstan Vivian Angier, of Hampton Wick, Surrey. 3970; William Ross Chamberlin Ashby, of Woldingham, Surrey. J.W. 3016, *3016*; Charles Armstrong Austin, of London, W.C. P.M. 2398, H. *2738*; Philip Edward Back, Oulton Broad, Suffolk. P.Pr.G.W., Norfolk, P.Pr.G.So., Norfolk; John Theophilus Bagram, of Hong Kong. 1165, *1165*; Vivian J. Bailhache, of St. Helier, Jersey, C.I. Pr.G.Treas., Pr.G.Sc.E.; Edward Baker, of Singapore. J.W. 508, P.So. *508*; Harry Baker, of Brierfield, Lancs. 308, Sc.E. *2193*; Frederick John Baldwin, of St. Helens, Lancs. 41, *252*; W. Anthony Ball, M.B., of London, S.W. 2973; Charles Alison Barclay, of London. *3880*; Albert Edwin Septimus Barker, of West Hartlepool. P.M. 764, P.Z. *764*; H. I. Barnham, of Akaroa, New Zealand. P.M. 43; Alfred George Barnes, of London, S.W. S.W. 1321; Joseph Henry Barns, of London, N. L.R. 3163, *2346*; Alfred John Barter, of Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey. W.M. 2222, A.So. *2599*; Herman Bauling, of Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A. 392; Henry Bailey Bryant Beldham, of New Malden, Surrey. 2222; Samuel Robert Bennett, of Saltburn by the Sea. 4539, *602*; Edward Augustus Murray Benson, of East Malvern, Victoria, Australia. P.G.St.B. *44*; James Marr Beydone, of London, S.W. P.M. 222; Arthur Henry Bichard, of Banbury, Oxon. 39, *529*; Reddick H. Bickel, of San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A., 453, *1*; Major Constantine Bland, T.D., M.A., of Uppingham, Rutland. W.M. 1265, *1265*; William Joseph Bleach, of London, N.W. P.M. 1772, P.Z. *172*; Darwin Fred Boock, of Spokane, Wash., U.S.A. 74; Frederick Braund Box, of London, E.C. P.M. 3098, N. *3098*; Harry Boyes, of Bramley, Yorks. 4029,

304: William Edelsten Bracey, of Wedmore, Somerset. P.Pr.G.W., P.Z. *291*: Walter Morris Bradley, of London, E.C. 1708, *33*; Edwin Arthur Bramley, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 3187, *481*; Albert Alfred Brazier, of London, N. J.D. 3064; Henry John Bretton, of London, E. W.M. 198; Ernest E. Briggs, M.I.Mech.E., of London, N.W. 3736; Frank A. Briggs, of Purley Oaks, Surrey. P.M. 2694, P.So. *157*; Major Walter Berridge Brook, of Kisumu, Kenya. S.W. 4337; Benjamin George Broome, of London, S.E. L.R. 2191, P.Z. *2191*; Harold Stuart Brown, of London, S.W. 3012; Sidney Howard Browning, M.R.C.S., M.R.C.P., of London, W. P.M. 2410, *2410*: Robert John Buchanan, of Belfast. P.M. 274, P.K. *274*; J. E. Burnett Buckenham, M.D., of Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A. Librarian G.L.; Arthur Buckney, of Tokyo, Japan. W.M. 2015, Sc.N. *2015*; D. W. Bull, of London, E.; William Edgar Bull, of Kingston-on-Thames. J.D. 2540, *2540*; Charles E. Bullock, of London, W.C. W.M. 1635; His Honour Judge Willoughby Bullock, of Felpham, Sussex. 3752; Edward Richard Bunten, of London, S.W. 3411, *3411*; Edward William Bunten, of London, S.W. 3411, *3411*; David Archibald Burl, of Epsom, Surrey. Sec. 2422, *3585*; Charles Frederick Buxton, of Colombo, Ceylon. S.D. 2170; William Henry Elsley Carr, of Woodbridge, Suffolk. 81, *81*; William Casasola, of London, N. P.M. 179, H. *3500*; Arthur Casey, of Julia Creek, N.W. Queensland. P.M. 341; Reginald Henry Blackburn Cawdron, of London, N. P.M. 2763, J. *2763*; Frank Challans, of Bristol. P.M. 2323; Royle Richard Victor Challiner, of Hamilton, New Zealand. 291; William Tysoe Charlton, of London, P.M. 140, Z. *140*; Dr. Alexander Bruce Cheves, of Paignton, Devon. 4027; John Christie, of Montevideo, Uruguay. P.M. 876, P.Z. *876*; Rev. William Randal Slacke Clarendon, of Lurgan, Ulster. P.M. 184, P.K. *184*; George Clark, of Troon, Ayrshire. 0; John Edwin Clark, of Cheam, Surrey. 1364, *410*; Robert Harry Ingham Clark, of Tighnabrnaich, Argyleshire. P.Pr.G.W.; Joseph Ryle Clarke, of Sheffield. 3911, *3911*; William Arthur Clarke, of London, N.W. Pr.Dep.G.D.C., Middx.; Richard Henry Clerke, of London, E. P.M. 1662, P.So. *3524*; Eric Lascelles Cleugh, of Dublin. P.M. 141, H.P. *143*: Ernest Yeaman Coats, of Tynemouth. J.W. 3512; Gordon Cochrane, of Glasgow. D.M. 1241, So. *189*; Frederick George Cockey, of Surbiton. W.M. 1719; William Frederick Cockrell, of S. Lowestoft. P.Pr.G.W., P.Pr.G.H.; Reuben Cohen, of Stockton-on-Tees. P.M. 4027; Wilfrid Cole, of Sao Paulo, Brazil. 13; Dr. J. S. M. Connell, of Birmingham. 3599; Frederick Cook, of London, S.E. P.M. 87, P.Z. *2409*; William Alfred Cooke, of Hampton, Middx. P.Pr.A.G.D.C., J. *2381*; John Henry Cookson, of Kendal. P.Pr.G.R. (Craft & R.A.); Arthur Croft Cooper, of Claygate, Surrey. W.M. 4857, P.So. *3534*; Douglas Willman Cooper, of Exeter. 39; F. A. Cooper, of Cambridge. I.G. 3532; Horace Edward Cooper, of Maidenhead, Berks. W.M. 1566, *1566*; Frederick James Corbett, of Cambridge. J.W. 441; James Henry Rupert Cordell, of London, E. P.A.G.St.B., P.Z. *3696*; Frederick John George Cornish, of Cardiff. P.Pr.G.St.B. *960*; Henry William Bland Cotterill, of Cardiff. P.Pr.G.D., P.Pr.G.Sc. E.; Edward Becket Creasy, of Colombo, Ceylon. P.A.G.D.C. *2170*; Dr. George Lydston Crimp, of London, W. P.M. 1820, *1820*; Henry Crisp, of London, N. P.M. 4718, Sc.N. *1320*; William Henry Crosthwaite, of Middlesbrough. P.Pr.G.D., Cheshire, P.Z. *602*; George Crozier, of Armagh. P.M. 623, P.K. *623*; John Bate Cruickshanks, of Darlington. 4490, *1379*; George Cuming, of Ewell, Surrey. J.W. 3012; Capt. John Bernard Dalison, of Bombay. W.M. 3225, P.So. *3754*; George Davidson, of Oban, Argyll. 296 (I.C.), *124* (I.C.); William Davison, of London, S.E. 1139; Arthur Reginald Day, of Mitcham, Surrey. 4462; Percy Moffat Dewhirst, of York. 236; Dadabhoy Fakirji Dhalla, of Bombay. 342 (S.C.); Charles Dickinson, of Ampthill, Beds. W.M. 2490, Sc.E. *2490*; Joseph Austin Dolton, of Jersey, C.I. P.A.G.D.C. *229*; Alfred Dorzback, of London, N. 1017; Herbert Kingsley Duckworth, of Grange over Sands, Lancs. P.M. 1715; Sydney Duckworth, of Grange-over-Sands, Lancs. P.M. 1715; Major Charles Duly, D.S.O., of Bulawayo, S. Africa. P.M. 2566, *2566*; Andrew

Leslie Dykes, of Norwich. 1404; Frank Kittson Ebbitt, J.P., of Iroquois Falls, Ontario. P.Dis.D.G.M., P.G.Sup.; James Sigurd Eckman, of Vancouver, B.C. 3 (Minn.), *1* (Minn.): William Edgar Edleston, of Southport, Lancs. 2325: Maurice William Edmunds, of Banbury. P.M. 599, P.Z. *599*: George Azle Edwards, of Marietta, Ohio. P.M. 1, P.H.P. *1*: Edward Bryant Egles, of London, E.C. P.M. 4170: William John Elliott, of Richhill, Armagh. 623; Gilbert Brown Ellwood, of Leicester. P.M. 3448, *279*; William Rowe Elworthy, O.B.E., of Cambridge. Pr.G.D.; William Harold Francis Emmett, of Westcliff-on-Sea. 3095, *3095*: George Albert Victor Evans, of Bristol. 3992, *326*: Trevor Evans, of Swansea. P.Pr.G.W., S. Wales, E. Div.: William Turgoose Everatt, of Selby. P.M. 566, P.Z. *566*: Edward Eyles, of London, N.W. P.M. 167, P.Z. *167*; Sydney Bernard Farrell, of Rochdale. P.M. 298: Herbert John Field, of Chislehurst, Kent. 1635: Major John Charles Field-Richards, of London, S.W. 357, *1994*: John William Fingland, of Wylam, Northumberland. W.M. 3512; Ernest Frances Firman, of Orpington, Kent. P.M. 754: Emil Paul Fischer, of London, N.W. P.M. 25, P.Z. *158*; Ernest John Fish, of London, S.E. L.R., P.M. 534, P.Z. *9*: Harry Fischer, of Chingford, Essex. W.M. 901: Henry Middleton Fisher, of Sheffield. W.M. 2558, *169*: Sidney Fisher, of London, N. P.M. 1685: Sydney Alfred Macrae Fisk, of Westcliff-on-Sea. J.W. 4730, *2903*: Frank Ford, of Beverly, Ohio. P.M. 37, P.H.P. *108*; Harry James Ford, of Sydney, N.S.W. P.M. 500, 2nd G.P. (Hon.) (S.C.): Charles Joshua Fox, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., of Clacton-on-Sea. 3624, *3624*; Sidney Joseph Fox, of London, E.C. P.M. 1056, *174*: Frederick James French, of Chelmsford. P.Pr.G.D. *276*: Alfred Percy French, of Taunton. P.Pr.G.D., P.Pr.G.J.; Dr. Alfred Leonard Fuller, of Bath, P.Pr.G.W., P.Pr.G.H.: George William Gambles, of Christchurch, N.Z. S.D. 2597: Giacomo Gargini, of Aylesbury, Bucks. P.Pr.G.D., Z. *591*; Henry Forbes George, of Surbiton. L.R., P.M. 2511, P.Z. *2511*: Noel Bingham Gifford, of Lahari, Punjab. 459, *459*: William Leonard Gifford, of Cambridge. P.Pr.G.O. (Craft & R.A.): Joseph Gill, of New York City. 1, *141*: James Pickersgill Gill, of York. P.Pr.G.W., P.Pr.G.So.: John Gillespie, of Uddingston, Lanarkshire. P.M. 948, P.Z. *170*: Edward Robins Glenn, of Philadelphia. 51: Herbert Glover, of Stratford-on-Avon. 4243, *2133*: Ernest Arthur Goodey, of London, S.W. 4137; Walter Richard Goodchild, of Jersey, C.I. J.D. 245, *245*; S. Fabian Goodman, of New York. P.M. 271; R. Gordon-Greer, of Santiago, Chile. S.W. 22; John Marr Grant, of Glasgow. Sub.Pr.G.M.: Thomas Frederick Griggs, of Dartford, Kent. 569, *569*: Major J. B. Grogan, of Jubbulpore, India. P.Dis.G.Dy.D.C., Bombay; Shamarao Venkatrao Haldipur, M.B.E., B.A., of Simla, India. P.Dis.G.D., P.Dis.G.D.C. (R.A.), Punjab: Dr. A. Harrison Hall, of Oxford. I.G. 3599; Dr. H. Roper Hall, of Birmingham. Sec. 3599; Percy William Hall, of Cambridge. S.W. 3532, *3532*: Arthur Kirkham Hamilton, of Cuffley, Herts. P.M. 3601, P.Z. *3601*: Benjamin James Dick Hanna, of London, S.W. 2694, *2266*: Allan Hannah, of Larbert, Stirlingshire. P.M. 176; Weldon Hanson, of Stockton-on-Tees. W.M. 4027, *509*; John Harbinson, B.A., of Belfast; Gerald Walton Hardman, of Deal. J.D. 3452, *1096*; Wilfrid John Harrald, of London, S.E. P.M. 1622, *1622*; Cessey Morris Harris, of Bulawayo. 1204 (S.C.), *356* (S.C.): Arthur Harrison, P.A.S.I., of Stockton-on-Tees; Edwin Ransom Harrison, of Sheffield. J.W. 2263, *2263*: Thomas Hart, of Glasgow. Pr.G.M.Depute, E. Renfrewshire: Harold Roy Haslam, of Yarraville, Vic. 319, *36*; Archibald Casely Hayford, M.A., of Sekondi, W. Africa. 3851, *773*: James Hendry, of Glasgow. S.W. 1241, So. *189*; James Walter Hendry, of Glasgow. D.C. 1241, So. *189*: Edgar Samuel Henochsberg, of Durban. W.M. 3170, So. *3170*: H. W. F. Hill, of Umtali, S. Rhodesia. 1054 (S.C.): David Albert Hinchliffe, of Montreal. P.M. 32, *5*; Percy Le Hardy Hodgetts, of Jersey, C.I. P.Pr.A.G.P.: Herbert Lawrence Hogg, of Hartlepool. P.Pr.G.D., P.Pr.G.Sc.N.; Thomas William Holland, of Melbourne. P.G.S.B. *13*: Major Arthur Isaac House, M.C., T.D., of London, N.W. Pr.G.D., Buckinghamshire; Alfred Howard, of Cambridge. 88; Harold Allan Dilke Hoyland, of Patras, Greece. 687, *860*; Charles L.

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